









THE UNIVERSITY OF



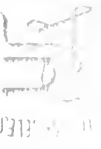
LOS ANGELES



THE LIBRARY OF



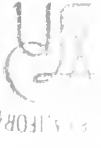
THE LIBRARY OF



THE LIBRARY OF



THE LIBRARY OF



THE LIBRARY OF



THE LIBRARY OF









# BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY

OF

## EMINENT SCOTSMEN.

BY ROBERT CHAMBERS,

AUTHOR OF "TRADITIONS OF EDINBURGH," "HISTORIES OF THE REBELLIONS IN SCOTLAND," &c

Embellished with splendid and authentic Portraits.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. III.

GLASGOW:

BLACKIE & SON, 8, EAST CLYDE STREET;

AND 5, SOUTH COLLEGE STREET, EDINBURGH;

W. CURRY, JUN., & CO., DUBLIN; AND SIMPKIN & MARSHALL, LONDON.

MDCCCXXXV.



GLASGOW:  
PRINTED BY GEORGE BROOKMAN.



CT  
813  
C354  
1835  
13

SCOTTISH

BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY.

---

H

HAMILTON, (THE RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR) WILLIAM, British ambassador at the court of Naples, and celebrated for his patronage of the fine arts, and his investigations on the subject of volcanoes, was born in 1730. Neither biographers nor contemporary periodical writers have furnished any account of his education or early habits; all that is commemorated regarding him previous to the commencement of his public life, is, that his family, a branch of the noble house of Hamilton, was in very reduced circumstances. He was in the most difficult of all situations—poor, highborn, and a Scotsman. “I was condemned,” to use his own words, “to make my way in the world, with an illustrious name and a thousand pounds.” Like many of his countrymen so situated, he had a choice betwixt semi-starvation in the army, and an affluent marriage—he prudently preferred the latter; and in 1755 he found himself most happily settled in life, with a young lady of beauty, connexions, amiable qualifications, and £5000 a-year. It is very probable that Mr Hamilton spent his hours in philosophical ease, until his acquisition of that situation in which he afterwards distinguished himself. In 1764, he was appointed ambassador to the court of Naples, where he continued till the year 1800. If his appointment as a resident ambassador for so long a period, is to be considered as but a method of expressing in more consequential terms the employment of an agent for advancing the study of the arts, the person was well chosen for the purpose, and the interests of the public were well attended to; but if Mr Hamilton’s claims to national respect are to be judged by his merely diplomatic duties, the debt, in addition to the salary he received, will be very small. The reason why a permanent representative of the British government should have been found requisite in Sicily, is in reality one of those circumstances which a diplomatist only could explain. The fame acquired in other departments by the subject of our memoir, has prompted his biographers to drag to light his diplomatic exertions, yet, although nothing has been discovered which can throw a blot on his good name, the amount of service performed in thirty-six years is truly ludicrous. He entered into explanations with the marquis Tanucci, first minister of Sicily, regarding some improper expressions used by a gentleman of the press of the name of Torcia, in his “Political Sketch of Europe.” He managed to keep his Sicilian majesty neuter during the American war. He acted with prudence during the family misunderstandings between Spain and Naples in 1784; and finally, he exerted himself in preventing any mischief from being perpetrated by “an eccentric



character among our nobility," who had made attempts to give much trouble to prudent people, by his conduct at Naples. But the kingdom of the two Sicilies was but the shadow of a European power, and was only regarded as it followed one or other of the great nations whose contests shook the world. It afforded in its active existence no arena for the statesman or the soldier. It was in the dust of buried ages that was hid beneath its soil that the active mind found employment in that feeble kingdom, and these were the only objects worthy to absorb the attention of the distinguished person whom we are commemorating.

On his arrival at the interesting country of his mission, Mr Hamilton repeatedly visited Vesuvius and Etna, and from a minute examination of the whole surrounding country, collected numerous important geological observations, which were from time to time, between the years 1766 and 1779, transmitted to the Royal Society, and afterwards made their appearance in the transactions of that body, and in the Annual Register. It was the design of Sir William Hamilton, to point out in these observations such evidence as might lead geologists to a better comprehension of the influence of subterraneous fires on the structure of the earth, and to display the first links of a chain of reasoning, which it was his hope future industry might make complete. It was his opinion that the land for many miles round Naples, was not, as it was generally supposed, a district of fruitful land, subject to the ravages of flame; but a part of the surface of the globe which owed its very existence to the internal conflagrations by which it was shaken. In illustration of this he considered Etna to have been formed by a series of eruptions, at protracted periods, as the smaller eminence of Monte Nuovo, near Puzzuoli, had been formed by one eruption of 48 hours' continuance. Among other minute circumstances, he discovered that the streets of Pompeii were paved with the lava of a former age, and that there was a deep stratum of lava and burnt matter under the foundations of the town, showing that the earliest eruption of history was not the first of nature, and that the labours of man might have been more than once buried beneath such coverings. As illustrations of these valuable remarks, the author collected a magnificent assortment of the various descriptions of lava, which he lodged in our national museum, that naturalists might be able to trace a connexion betwixt these immediate productions of the volcano, and other portions of the crust of the globe. These remarks were afterwards digested and systematized, and produced, first "*Observations on mount Vesuvius, mount Etna, and other volcanoes of the two Sicilies,*" published in London in 1772. The next, a more aspiring work, was published at Naples in 1776, in two folio volumes, and called "*Campi Phlegrei, Observations on the Volcanoes of the two Sicilies, as they have been communicated to the Royal Society of London, by Sir William Hamilton.*" The numerous plates in this magnificent work of art, from views taken on the spot by Mr Valris, a British artist, are faintly engraved in little more than outline, and coloured with so much depth and truth, that they assume the appearance of original water-colour drawings of a very superior order. They are illustrative of his favourite theory, and represent those geological aspects of the country which he considered peculiarly applicable as illustrations. It is to be remarked, that neither in his communications to the Royal Society, nor in his larger works, does this author trace any complete exclusive system. He merely points out the facts on which others may work, acknowledging that he is disposed to pay more respect to the share which fire has had in the formation of the crust of the earth, than Buffon and others are disposed to admit. "By the help of drawings," he says, "in this new edition of my communications to the society, which so clearly point out the volcanic origin of this country, it is to be hoped that farther discoveries of the same nature may be made, and



that subterraneous fires will be allowed to have had a greater share in the formation of mountains, islands, and even tracts of land, than has hitherto been suspected." Many men of eminence at that time visited Sir William Hamilton, and marked the progress of his discoveries, and among the rest Monsieur Sausure, professor of natural history at Geneva, who accompanied him in his investigations, and acceded to the arguments he derived from them. During the course of his communications to the Royal Society, it was the fortune of the author to have an opportunity of witnessing Vesuvius in eruption.

In October, 1767, occurred the eruption which is considered to have been the twenty-seventh from that which in the days of Titus destroyed Herculaneum and Pompei. The mountain was visited by Hamilton and a party of his friends during this interesting scene, which has afforded material for one of the most graphic of his communications. But a grander scene of devastation attracted his attention in October, 1779, when the unfortunate inhabitants of Ottaiano had reason to dread the fate described by Pliny. Of this memorable eruption our author transmitted an account to Sir Joseph Banks, which he afterwards published as a supplement to his "*Campi Phlegrei*."

Previously to the period of the last event we have mentioned, the subject of our memoir was connected with the preparation of another great work, for which the world has incurred to him a debt of gratitude. He had made a vast collection of Etruscan antiquities—vases, statues, and fresco paintings, partly dug from the earth, and partly purchased from the museums of the decayed nobility, among which was that great collection now deposited in the British museum, which had belonged to the senatorial house of Porcinari. Of the most precious of these remains of antiquity, Hamilton allowed the adventurer D'Hancarville, to publish illustrated plates, liberally allowing the artist to appropriate the whole profits of the work. "Long since," he says "Mr Hamilton had taken pleasure in collecting those precious monuments, and had afterwards trusted them to him for publication, requiring only some elegance in the execution, and the condition, that the work should appear under the auspices of his Britannic majesty." The work accordingly was published at Naples, under the title of "*Antiquites Etrusques, Greques, et Romaines*." The abbe Winckelman mentions, that two volumes of this work were published in 1765, and two others the year following. Along with the author of a notice of Sir William Hamilton's Life, which appeared in Baldwin's Literary Journal, we have been unable to discover a copy of the two former volumes of this work, or to find any reference to them on which we can repose trust, nor do we perceive that the two latter volumes bear the marks of being a continuation, and neither of the after editions of Paris, 1787, and Florence, 1801 and 1808, which might have informed us on this subject, are at present accessible to us. The two volumes we have mentioned as having seen, contain general remarks on the subjects of the plates, in English and French, which both the imaginative matter, and the language, show to have been translated from the latter language into the former. The plates, by far the most valuable part of the work, introduced a new spirit into the depiction of the useful remains of antiquity, which enabled the artist who wished to imitate them, to have as correct an idea of the labours of the ancients, as if the originals were before him. The terra-cotta vases predominate; some of these are votive offerings—others have been adapted for use. A general view of the form of each is given, with a measurement, along with which there is a distinct fac-simile of the paintings which so frequently occur on these beautiful pieces of pottery; the engraving is bold and accurate, and the colouring true to the original. This work has been the means of adding the bold genius of classic taste to modern accuracy and skill in workmanship. From the painter



and statuary, to the fabricator of the most grotesque drinking cup, it has afforded models to artists, and is confidently asserted to have gone far in altering and improving the general taste of the age. During the exertions we have been commemorating, Hamilton was in the year 1772, created a knight of the Bath, a circumstance which will account for our sometimes varying his designation, as the events mentioned happened previously to, or after his elevation. The retired philosophical habits of Sir William Hamilton prevented him in the earliest years of his mission from forming intimacies with persons similarly situated, and he lived a life of domestic privacy, study, and observation of nature. But fame soon forced friends on his retirement, and all the eminent persons who visited his interesting neighbourhood became his guests. One of his friends, the French ambassador at the court of Naples, has told us that he protected the arts because the arts protected him, and enriched him. The motives of the characteristic may be doubted. A love of art fascinates even mercenary men into generosity, and the whole of Sir William Hamilton's conduct shows a love of art, and a carelessness of personal profit by his knowledge, not often exhibited. Duclos, secretary of the French academy, on visiting Naples, has drawn an enthusiastic picture of the felicity then enjoyed by Sir William Hamilton—his lady and himself in the prime of life, his daughter just opening to womanhood, beauty, and accomplishments; the public respect paid to his merits, and the internal peace of his amiable family; but this state of things was doomed to be sadly reversed. In 1775, Sir William lost his only daughter, and in 1782, he had to deplore the death of a wife who had brought him competence and domestic peace. After an absence of twenty years, he revisited Britain in 1784. The purpose of this visit is whispered to have been that he might interfere with an intended marriage of his nephew, Mr Greville, to Miss Emma Hart. If such was his view, it was fulfilled in a rather unexpected manner. It is at all times painful to make written reference to those private vices, generally suspected and seldom proved, the allusion to which usually receives the name of "scandal;" but in the case of the second lady Hamilton, they have been so unhesitatingly and amply detailed by those who have chosen to record such events, and so complacently received by the lady herself and her friends, that they must be considered matters of history, which no man will be found chivalrous enough to contradict. This second Theodosia passed the earlier part of her life in obscurity and great indigence, but soon showed that she had various ways in which she might make an independent livelihood. Some one who has written her memoirs, has given testimony to the rather doubtful circumstance, that her first act of infancy was the consequence of charitable feeling, which prompted her to give her virtue in exchange for the release of a friend who had been impressed. Be this as it may, she afterwards discovered more profitable means of using her charms. At one time she was a comic actress—at another, under the protection of some generous man of fashion; but her chief source of fame and emolument seems to have been her connexion with Romney and the other great artists of the day, to whom she seems to have furnished the models of more goddesses than classic poets ever invented. Mr Greville, a man of accurate taste, had chosen her as his companion, and the same principles of correct judgment which regulated his choice probably suggested a transference of his charge to the care of Sir William Hamilton. His own good opinion of her merits, and the character she had received from his friend, prompted Sir William soon after to marry this woman, and she took the title of lady Hamilton in 1791. At that time both returned to Britain, where Sir William attempted in vain to procure for his fair but frail bride, an introduction to the British court, which might authorize, according to royal etiquette, her presentation at



the court of Naples. But this latter was found not so difficult a barrier as that which it was considered necessary to surmount before attempting it. The beauty and, perhaps, the engaging talents of lady Hamilton procured for her notoriety, and notoriety brings friends. She contrived to be essentially useful, and very agreeable, to the king and queen of the Sicilies; and procured for herself their friendship, and for her husband additional honours. Her connection with lord Nelson, and the manner in which she did the state service, are too well known; but justice, on passing speedily over the unwelcome subject, cannot help acknowledging that she seems here to have felt something like real attachment. The latter days of this woman restored her to the gloom and obscurity of her origin. She made ineffectual attempts after the death of her husband to procure a pension from government. Probably urged by necessity, she insulted the ashes of the great departed, by publishing her correspondence with lord Nelson, followed by a denial of her accession to the act, which did not deceive the public. She died at Calais in February, 1815, in miserable obscurity and debt, without a friend to follow her to the grave, and those who took an interest in the youthful daughter of Nelson, with difficulty prevented her from being seized, according to a barbarous law, for the debts of her mother.

But we return with pleasure to the more legitimate object of our details. There was one subject of importance on which some prejudices on the part of the Sicilian government, prevented Sir William Hamilton from acquiring that knowledge which he thought might be interesting and useful to his country. A chamber in the royal museum of Portici had been set aside for containing the manuscripts, of which a small collection had been found in an edifice in Pompeii; and on the discovery that these calcined masses were genuine manuscripts of the days of Pliny, the greatest curiosity was manifested to acquire a knowledge of their contents. The government was assailed by strangers for the watchfulness with which these were kept from their view, and the little exertion which had been bestowed in divulging their contents: the latter accusation was perhaps scarcely just; some venerable adherents of the church of Rome did not hesitate to spend months of their own labour, in exposing to the world the sentences which an ancient Roman had taken a few minutes to compose. The public were soon made sufficiently acquainted with the subject to be disappointed at the exposure of a few sentences of the vilest of scholastic stuff; and the narrow-mindedness of which Sir William Hamilton had to complain, has been since discontinued, and England has had an opportunity of showing her skill in the art of unrolling papyrus. To acquire the information, for which he found the usual means unavailing, Sir William Hamilton entered into an agreement with father Anthony Piaggi, a Piarist monk, the most diligent of the decyphers, by which, in consideration of a salary of £100, the latter was to furnish the former with a weekly sheet of original information, which, to avoid ministerial detection, was to be written in cipher. The contract seems to have been executed to the satisfaction of both parties, and Sir William procured for father Anthony an addition to his salary, equal to the sum at which it was originally fixed; and on the death of the father in 1798, he bequeathed all his manuscripts and papers to his patron. Sir William Hamilton, on his visit to Britain in 1791, was created a privy councillor.—The circumstances which in 1798 compelled him to accompany the Sicilian court to Palermo, are matter of history, and need not be here repeated.—In the year 1800, he left Sicily, and soon afterwards, accompanied by captain Leake, and lieutenant Hayes, undertook a journey through Egypt, visiting and describing with great minuteness the city of Thebes, and the other well-known parts of that interesting country. The notes collected by him on this occasion were published after his death in the year 1809, under the title



"*Ægyptiaca, or Some Account of the Ancient and Modern State of Egypt*, as obtained in the years 1801 and 1802, by William Hamilton, F. A. S."—"This work," says the *Edinburgh Review*, "will be found an excellent supplement to the more elaborate and costly work of Denon. His style is in general simple and unaffected; and therefore, loses nothing, in our opinion, when compared with that of some of the travellers who have gone before him." Sir William Hamilton died in April, 1803, in the 72nd year of his age. His death deprived the world of two great works which he hoped to have lived to prepare, on the subject of the museum of Portici.

HAMILTON, WILLIAM, a celebrated surgeon, and lecturer on anatomy and chemistry in the university of Glasgow. This meritorious individual was unfortunately cut off from the world too early in life, and too suddenly, to be enabled to give to the world those works on his favourite science, on which he might have founded his fame, and the circle of his influence and renown was hardly so extensive as to attract the attention of posterity; but a tribute to his memory, in the form of a memoir of his life, and remarks on his professional acquirements, read by his friend professor Cleghorn to the Royal Society of Edinburgh,<sup>1</sup> and inserted in the transactions of that eminent body, justifies us in enumerating him among distinguished Scotsmen. William Hamilton was born in Glasgow, on the 31st July, 1758. His father was Thomas Hamilton, a respectable surgeon in Glasgow, and professor of anatomy and botany in that university; and his mother, daughter to Mr Anderson, professor of church history in the same institution. He followed the usual course of instruction in the grammar school and college of his native city, from which latter he took the degree of master of arts in 1775, at the age of seventeen. Being supposed to show an early predilection for the medical profession, he proceeded to Edinburgh, then at the height of its fame as a school for that science, where he studied under Cullen and Black, the early friends of his father. The bad health of his father recalled the young physician after two sessions spent in Edinburgh, and both proceeded on a tour to Bath, and thence to London, where the son was left to pursue his studies, with such an introduction to the notice of Dr William Hunter, as a schoolfellow acquaintanceship between his father and that distinguished man warranted. The prudence, carefulness, and regularity of the young man's conduct, while surrounded by the splendour and temptation of the metropolis, have been commended by his friends; these praiseworthy qualities, joined to a quick perception on professional subjects, and an anxiety to perfect himself in that branch of his profession which calls for the greatest zeal and enthusiasm on the part of the medical student, attracted the attention of his observing friend. He was requested to take up his residence in Dr Hunter's house, and finally was trusted with the important charge of the dissecting room, a valuable, and probably a delightful duty. He seems to have secured the good opinion he had gained, by his performance of this arduous and important function. "I see and hear much of him," says Dr Hunter, in his correspondence with the young man's father, "and every body regards him as sensible, diligent, sober, and of amiable dispositions."—"From being a favourite with every body, he has commanded every opportunity for improvement, which this great town afforded, during his stay here; for every body has been eager to oblige and encourage him. I can depend so much on him, in every way, that if any opportunity should offer of serving him, whatever may be in my power, I shall consider as doing a real pleasure to myself." Such were the character and prospects of one, who, it is to be feared, was then nourishing by too intense study the seeds of dissolution in a naturally feeble constitution. Soon after, the father's state of health

<sup>1</sup> Vol. iv. p. 35, read 6th November, 1792.



imperiously requiring an assistant in his lectures, the son undertook that duty, and in 1781, on his father's final resignation, was nominated his successor, a circumstance which enabled his kind friend Dr Hunter to fulfill his former promise, by stating to the marquis of Graham, that he considered it "the interest of Glasgow to *give him*, rather than his to solicit the appointment." The father died in 1782, and the son was then left the successor to his lucrative and extensive practice, in addition to the duties of the university. During the short period of his enjoyment of these desirable situations, he received from the poorer people of Glasgow, the character, seldom improperly bestowed, of extending to them the assistance, which a physician of talent can so well bestow. He kept for the purpose of his lectures, and for his own improvement, a regular note-book of cases, which he summed up in a tabular digest at the termination of each year. Of these notes, he had before his death commenced such an arrangement as would enable him to form from them a system of surgery which he intended to have published. Some extracts from this collection are preserved by the biographer we have mentioned, as characteristics of the style of his composition, and the extent of his observation. In 1783, he married Miss Elizabeth Stirling, a lady accomplished, and of good connexions in Glasgow. Within a very few years after this event, the marked decay of his constitution alarmed his friends, and his knowledge as a physician enabled him to assure himself that death was steadily approaching. He died on the 13th day of March, 1790, in the 32d year of his age. Few, even of those who have departed in the pride of life—in the enjoyment of talents, hopes, and prosperity, seem to have caused greater regret, and it cannot be doubted that it was deserved. His manner as a public instructor is thus described by Mr Cleghorn: "As a lecturer, his manner was remarkably free from pomp and affectation. His language was simple and perspicuous, but so artless, that it appeared flat to those who place the beauty of language in the intricacy of arrangement, or the abundance of figures. His manner of speaking corresponded with his style, and was such as might appear uninteresting to those who think it impossible to be eloquent without violent gestures, and frequent variations of tone. He used nearly the tone of ordinary conversation, as his preceptor Dr Hunter did before him, aiming at perspicuity only, and trusting for attention to the importance of the subjects he treated."

HAMILTON, WILLIAM, of Bangour, a poet of considerable merit, was the second son of James Hamilton, Esq. of Bangour, advocate, and was born at Bangour in 1704. He was descended from the Hamiltons of Little Earnock in Ayrshire; his great-grandfather James Hamilton, (second son of John Hamilton of Little Earnock,) being the founder of the family of Bangour. On the death of his brother (who married Elizabeth Dalrymple) without issue, in 1750, the subject of this memoir succeeded to the estate. Born in elevated circumstances and in polished society, Mr Hamilton received all the accomplishments which a liberal education, with these advantages, could afford; and although exposed, as all young persons of his rank usually are, to the light dissipations of gay life, he resisted every temptation, and in a great measure dedicated his time to the improvement of his mind. The state of his health, which was always delicate, and his natural temperament, leading him to prefer privacy and study to mixing frequently in society, he early acquired a taste for literature, and he soon obtained a thorough and extensive acquaintance with the best authors, ancient and modern. The leaning of his mind was towards poetry, and he early composed many pieces of distinguished merit. Encouraged by the approbation of his friends, as well as conscious of his own powers, he was easily induced to persevere in the cultivation of his poetic powers. Many of his



songs breathe the true spirit of Scottish melody, especially his far-famed "Braes of Yarrow."

Thus in calm retirement, and in the pursuit of knowledge, his life might have passed serenely, undisturbed by the calls of ambition or the toils and alarms of war, had it not been for the ill-judged but chivalrous attempt of an adventurous prince to recover the throne of his ancestors from what was considered the grasp of an usurper. At the commencement of the insurrection of 1745, Mr Hamilton, undeterred by the attainder and exile of his brother-in-law the earl of Carnwath,<sup>1</sup> for his share in the rebellion in 1715, took the side which all brave and generous men of a certain class in those days were apt to take; he joined the standard of prince Charles, and celebrated his first success at Prestonpans in the well-known Jacobite ode of "Gladsmuir." After the battle of Culloden, so disastrous to the prince and his followers, he fled to the mountain and the glen; and there for a time, endured much wandering and many hardships. Finally, however, he succeeded, with some others in the same proscribed situation, in escaping into France. But his exile was short. He had many friends and admirers among the adherents of king George, and through their intercession his pardon was speedily procured from government. He accordingly returned home, and resumed possession of his paternal estate. His health, however, at all times weak, by the hardships he had endured, as well as from his anxiety of mind, had now become doubly so, and required the benefit of a warmer climate. He therefore soon afterwards returned to the continent, and for the latter years of his life, took up his residence at Lyons, where a slow consumption carried him off, on the 25th March, 1754, in the fiftieth year of his age. His corpse was brought to Scotland, and interred in the Abbey church of Holyrood.

Mr Hamilton was twice married, into families of distinction, and by his first lady, a daughter of Sir James Hall of Dunglass, baronet, he had issue one son, James, who succeeded him.

Though Mr Hamilton's works do not place him among the highest class of Scottish poets, he is fully entitled to rank among those of a secondary order. What was much in his favour, certainly not in furtherance of his facility of composition, but as an advantage to his fame, is, that for a whole century previous to the time he began to write, few names of any consequence were known in Scottish poetry. From 1615 till 1715 no poet of any note—except only Drummond and Stirling—had appeared.

From the days of Buchanan, the only other poets we could then boast of, following the example of that leading intellect, had composed in a language utterly opposite to their own, in construction, copiousness, and facility—we mean the Latin: and inferior poets as well as inferior scholars to Hamilton, in compliment to the reigning fashion, continued to use that didactic and difficult language for the expression of their sentiments. Hamilton, therefore, had much to overcome in entering the lists as an original writer in his own language, the elegance, the purity, and the freedom, though perhaps not the force nor the energy, of which he understood so well. He was convinced that the greater part, if not the whole, of those authors who preferred composing in a dead language would be utterly unknown to posterity, except perhaps to a few of the literati and the learned. But at the dawn of the eighteenth century the scholastic spell was at length broken, and Hamilton and Ramsay were among the first who gave utterance to their feelings, the one in English and the other in his native Scottish dialect; and this perhaps, even to the present day constitutes the principal cause of their fame. It may safely be asserted that in the works of Hamilton and Ramsay there is more genuine poetry, than in the works of the whole century of

<sup>1</sup> The earl married, as his third wife, Margaret, the poet's sister.



Latin poets who preceded them; though this may be denied by those classic readers, who are still in the habit of poring into the lucubrations of those authors, the greater part of whom have long ceased to be known to the general reader, while the works of Hamilton and Ramsay are still read and admired.

Mr Hamilton's poems were first published by Foulis, at Glasgow, in 1748, 12mo, and afterwards reprinted; but this volume was a pirated publication, and appeared not only without his name, but without his consent, and even without his knowledge; and as might have been expected, it abounded in errors. He was then abroad, and it was thought the appearance of that collection would have produced from him a more perfect edition: but though on his return he corrected many errors, and considerably enlarged some of the poems, he did not live to furnish a new and complete edition. It remained therefore for his friends, after his death, to publish from his original manuscripts the first genuine and correct collection of his works. It appeared in one volume small 8vo, at Edinburgh, in 1760, with a head by Strange, who had been a fellow adventurer with him in the cause of prince Charles.

This volume did not at first attract any particular notice, and his poems were rapidly fading from public remembrance, when an attempt was made by the late professor Richardson of Glasgow, to direct the attention of the public to his merits. In a very able criticism from the pen of that gentleman which appeared in the *Lounger*, among other observations no less just, the following formed one of his principal remarks: "The poems of Hamilton display regular design, just sentiments, fanciful invention, pleasing sensibility, elegant diction, and smooth versification." Mr Richardson then enters into an analysis of Hamilton's principal poem of "Contemplation," or "the Triumph of Love." He descants chiefly on the quality of fanciful invention, as being the principal characteristic of poetical composition. He says "that Mr Hamilton's imagination is employed among beautiful and engaging, rather than among awful and magnificent images, and even when he presents us with dignified objects, he is more grave than lofty, more solemn than sublime."—"It is not asserted," continues Mr Richardson, in illustrating the 'pleasing sensibility' he ascribes to Hamilton, "that he displays those vehement tumults and ecstasies of passion that belong to the higher kind of lyric and dramatic composition. He is not shaken with excessive rage, nor melted with overwhelming sorrow; yet when he treats of grave or affecting subjects, he expresses a plaintive and engaging softness. He is never violent and abrupt, and is more tender than pathetic. Perhaps '*The Braes of Yarrow*,' one of the finest ballads ever written, may put in a claim to superior distinction. But even with this exception, I should think our poet more remarkable for engaging tenderness than for deep and affecting pathos. In like manner, when he expresses the joyful sentiments, or describes scenes and objects of festivity, which he does very often, he displays good humour and easy cheerfulness, rather than the transports of mirth or the brilliancy of wit."

Mr Richardson, in illustration of these characteristics, quotes some passages which convey the most favourable impression of Mr Hamilton's poetical powers.

Mr M'Kenzie, the ingenious editor of the *Lounger*, enforced the judgment pronounced by Mr Richardson, in a note, in which he not only fully agrees with him, but even goes farther in Mr Hamilton's praise. Lord Woodhouselee was also among the first to acknowledge his excellence and vindicate his fame. He thus speaks of Mr Hamilton in his life of lord Kames, "Mr Hamilton's mind is pictured in his verses. They are the easy and careless effusions of an elegant fancy, and a chastened taste; and the sentiments they convey are the genuine feelings of a tender and susceptible heart, which perpetually owned the dominion of some favourite mistress; but whose passion generally evaporated in song, and



made no serious or permanent impression. His poems had an additional charm to his contemporaries, from being commonly addressed to his familiar friends of either sex, by name. 'There are few minds insensible to the soothing flattery of a poet's record.'

These authorities in Hamilton's favour are high and powerful, and it might have been expected that, with his own merits, they might have obtained for him a greater share of popularity than has fallen to his lot: but notwithstanding these and other no less favourable testimonies, the attention of the public was never steadily fixed upon his works. And although they have been inserted in Johnson and Chalmers' edition of the English poets, there has been no demand for a separate edition; nor is Hamilton among those writers, whom we often hear quoted by the learned or the gay.

As a first adventurer in English literature, rejecting altogether the scholastic school of poetry, Mr Hamilton must be allowed to have obtained no ordinary success. In his language he shows nearly all the purity of a native; his diction is various and powerful, and his versification but rarely tainted with provincial errors. He delights indeed in a class of words, which though not rejected by the best English writers, have a certain insipidity which only a refined English ear, perhaps, can perceive; such as *beauteous*, *dubious*, *duteous*, and even *melancholious*! The same peculiarity may be remarked of most of the early Scottish writers in the English language. In Thomson it is particularly observable. We also sometimes meet in Hamilton with false quantities; but they seem oftener to proceed from making a Procrustian of a poetic license, than from ignorance or inadvertence, as in the following verse:

"Where'er the beauteous heart-compeller moves,  
She scatters wide perdition all around:  
Blest with celestial form, and crown'd with loves,  
No single breast is *refractory* found."

If he had made the "*refractory*" precede the "*is*," so as to have rendered the latter the penultimate in this line, the euphony and the rhythm would have been complete: but in his days, we believe, this word was accented on the first syllable.

Lord Woodhouselee calls Hamilton's poems the "easy and *careless* effusions of an elegant fancy, and a chastened taste." This does not quite agree with the "*regular design*," which Richardson discovers in them; nor indeed with what his lordship himself tells us elsewhere, that "it appears from Hamilton's letters that he communicated his poems to his friends for their critical remarks, and was easily induced to alter or amend them by their advice. "*Contemplation*," for instance, he sent to Mr Home (lord Kames), with whom he lived in the closest habits of friendship, who suggested some alterations, which were thus acknowledged in a letter from Hamilton, dated July, 1739: "I have made the corrections on the moral part of '*Contemplation*,' and in a post I will send it to Will Crawford, who has the rest." Mr Hamilton had evidently too passionate a devotion to the muses, to be careless of his attentions to them. The writing of poetry, indeed, seems to have formed the chief business of his life. Almost the whole of his poems are of an amatory cast; and even in his more serious pieces, a tone of love, like a thread of silver, runs through them. It would seem, however, that to him love, with all its pangs, was only a poet's dream. Perhaps the following is the best illustration of the caprice and inconstancy of his affection. In a letter to Mr Home, dated September, 1748, in answer to one from that gentleman regarding some remarks on Horace, of the same tenor, it would appear, as those which he afterwards published in his *Elements of Criticism*, Mr



Hamilton after alluding to these remarks thus questions himself: "Why don't I rest contented with the small, perhaps, but sincere portion of that happiness furnished me *by my poetry*, and a few friends? Why concern myself to *please Jeanie Stewart*, or vex myself about that happier man, to whom the lottery of life may have assigned her. *Qui fit, Mæcenas, qui fit?* Whence comes it. Alas! whence indeed?

' Too long by love, a wandering fire, misled,  
My better days in vain delusion fled:  
Day after day, year after year, withdrew,  
And beauty blest the minutes as they flew;  
Those hours consumed in joy, but lost to fame,  
With blushes I review, but dare not blame;  
A fault which easy pardon might receive,  
Did lovers judge, or could the wise forgive:  
But now to wisdom's healing springs I fly,  
And drink oblivion of each charming eye:  
To love revolted, quit each pleasing care,  
Whate'er was witty, or whate'er was fair.'

I am yours, &c."

The "Jeanie Stewart" above alluded to complained to Mr Home, that she was teased with Mr Hamilton's continually dangling after her. She was convinced, she said, that his attentions to her had no serious aim, and she hinted an earnest wish to get rid of him. "You are his friend," she added, "tell him he exposes both himself and me to the ridicule of our acquaintance."—"No, madam," said Mr Home, who knew how to appreciate the fervour of Mr Hamilton's passion, "you shall accomplish his cure yourself, and by the simplest method. Dance with him to-night at the assembly, and show him every mark of your kindness, as if you believed his passion sincere, and had resolved to favour his suit. Take my word for it, you'll hear no more of him." The lady adopted the counsel, and she had no reason to complain of the success of the experiment.<sup>1</sup>

In poetry, however, no one could paint a warmer love, or breathe a fiercer flame. In some rather conceited lines, "upon hearing his picture was in a lady's breast," he chides it for

"Engrossing all that beauteous heaven,  
That Chloe, lavish maid, has given;"

And then passionately exclaims, that, if he were the lord of that bosom—

"I'd be a miser too, nor give  
An alms to keep a god alive."

A noble burst of fancy and enthusiasm! A most expressive image of the boundless avarice of love.

Of Mr Hamilton's poems not devoted to love, the most deserving of notice is "The Episode of the Thistle," which appears intended as part of a larger work never completed, called "The Flowers." It is an ingenious attempt, by a well devised fable, to account for the selection of the thistle, as the national emblem of Scotland. The blank verse which he has chosen for this uncomplete poem, does not seem to have been altogether adapted to his powers; yet, on reading

<sup>1</sup> "Bonnie Jeanie Stewart of Torsonce," as she was here fully described in ordinary parlance, married the earl of Dundonald, and was mother of the late ingenious earl, so distinguished by his scientific investigations, and by the generally unfortunate tenor of his life.



the piece, we were equally surprised and pleased with the felicity and modulation of its language.

The only poem which Mr Hamilton wrote in his native dialect was the "Braes of Yarrow," which has been almost universally acknowledged to be one of the finest ballads ever written. But Mr Pinkerton, whose opinion of the ancient ballad poetry of Scotland has always had considerable weight, has passed a different judgment on it. "It is," says he, "in very bad taste, and quite unlike the ancient Scottish manner, being even inferior to the poorest of the old ballads with this title. His repeated words and lines causing an eternal jingle, his confused narration and affected pathos, throw this piece among the rubbish of poetry." The jingle and affected pathos of which he complains are sometimes indeed sickening.

"Lang maun she weep, lang maun she, maun she weep,  
Lang maun she weep with dule and sorrow," &c.  
"Then build, then build, ye sisters, sisters sad,  
Ye sisters sad, his tomb with sorrow," &c.

On the other hand, the isolated condemnation of Mr Pinkerton must be allowed to have little weight against the interest with which this poem has so signally impressed Mr Wordsworth, as appears from his beautiful poems of "Yarrow Unvisited" and "Yarrow Visited."

There exists in manuscript another fragmentary poem by Mr Hamilton, called the "Maid of Gallowshiels." It is an epic of the heroi-comic kind, intended to celebrate the contest between a piper and a fiddler for the fair Maid of Gallowshiels. Mr Hamilton had evidently designed to extend it to twelve books, but has only completed the first and a portion of the second. Dr Leyden, who owns himself indebted to the friendship of Dr Robert Anderson for his knowledge of this MS., gives the following account of it in his preface to the "Complaynt of Scotland." "In the first (book) the fiddler challenges the piper to a trial of musical skill, and proposes that the maid herself should be the umpire of the contest.

'Sole in her breast, the favourite he shall reign  
Whose hand shall sweetest wake the warbled strain;  
And if to me th' ill-fated piper yield,  
As sure I trust, this well-contested field;  
High in the sacred dome his pipes I'll raise,  
The trophy of my fame to after days;  
That all may know, as they the pipes survey,  
The fiddler's deed, and this the signal day.  
All Gallowshiels the darling challenge heard,  
Full blank they stood, and for their piper fear'd:  
Fearless alone he rose in open view,  
And in the midst his sounding bagpipe threw.'

"The history of the two heroes is related with various episodes; and the piper deduces his origin from Colin of Gallowshiels, who bore the identical bagpipe at the battle of Harlaw, with which his descendant resolves to maintain the glory of the piper race. The second book, the subject of which is the trial of skill, commences with the following exquisite description of the bagpipe:

'Now, in his artful hand the bagpipe held,  
Elate, the piper wide surveys the field;  
O'er all he throws his quick-discerning eyes,  
And views their hopes and fears alternate rise;



Old Glenderule, in Gallowshiels long fam'd  
 For works of skill, this perfect wonder fram'd ;  
 His shining steel first lopp'd, with dexterous toil,  
 From a tall spreading elm the branchy spoil ;  
 The clouded wood, he next divides in twain,  
 And smoothes them equal to an oval plain ;  
 Six leather folds in still connected rows  
 To either plank conform'd, the sides compose ;  
 The wimble perforates the base with care,  
 A destin'd passage opening to the air :  
 But once inclosed within the narrow space,  
 The opposing valve forbids the backward race ;  
 Fast to the swelling bag, two reeds combin'd,  
 Receive the blasts of the melodious wind ;  
 Round from the twining loom, with skill divine,  
 Embost, the joints in silver circles shine ;  
 In secret prison pent, the accents lie,  
 Untill his arm the lab'ring artist ply :  
 Then, duteous, they forsake their dark abode,  
 Felons no more, and wing a separate road ;  
 These upward through the narrow channel glide,  
 In ways unseen, a solemn murmuring tide :  
 Those through the narrow part their journey bend,  
 Of sweeter sort, and to the earth descend ;  
 O'er the small pipe at equal distance lie,  
 Eight shining holes, o'er which his fingers fly ;  
 From side to side the aerial spirit bounds,  
 The flying fingers form the passing sounds,  
 That, issuing gently through each polish'd door,  
 Mix with the common air, and charm no more.'

" This poem, however, does not seem ever to have been corrected, and the extracts we have given are from the first rude draft of it. It would be unfair, therefore, to consider it as a test of Mr Hamilton's powers, though had he lived to complete it, we do not doubt, from the germs of excellence it evinces, but that it would have been a fitter criterion than any other of his works."

Mr Hamilton's poems, notwithstanding the melody of his numbers and the gayety of his fancy, bear all the marks of studious productions ; and the ease which they undoubtedly possess, is the ease resulting from elaboration and art. To this, in a great measure, his circumstantiality of painting is to be attributed.

The measure which Mr Hamilton was most partial to, is the *octo-syllabic* ; and certainly this being the smoothest and most euphonious, it best suited the refinement of his mind. He sometimes, however, attempted the *deca-syllabic* measure ; but here, as in his soaring to a greater height in his subjects, he did not succeed so well. His blank verse, like his conception, is without grandeur—without ease—without dignity : it is surcharged, rugged, and verbose. Of this he was himself aware, for he seldom attempted to clothe his sentiments in the style which was perfected by Milton and Shakspeare.

Mr Hamilton's amatory poetry abounds with " quaint conceits," and pleasing fancies : for example, in dedicating " Contemplation" to a young lady, speaking of the effects of unsuccessful love, he says,

" Gloomy and dark the prospect round appears ;  
 Doubts spring from doubts, and fears engender fears,



Hope after hope goes out in endless night,  
 And all is anguish, torture, and affright.  
 Oh ! beauteous friend, a gentler fate be thine ;  
 Still may thy star with mildest influence shine ;  
 May heaven surround thee with peculiar care,  
 And make thee happy, as it made thee fair."

Again, speaking of mutual affection, he calls it

" A mutual warmth that glows from breast to breast,  
 Who loving is belov'd, and blessing blest."

Can any thing be finer than the following couplet, with which he concludes an ardent aspiration for her happiness ! " Such," he says, " be thy happy lot," is the fond wish of him,

" Whose faithful muse inspir'd the pious prayer,  
 And wearied heaven to keep thee in its care."

The poem of " Contemplation" itself is full of beauties. Among his odes there is one " to fancy," in which his lively imagination and exquisite delicacy of sentiment, shine out to the greatest advantage. His descriptions of female loveliness are worthy of the subject—they are characterized by sweetness, beauty, and truth. What can surpass this image ?

" Her soul, awak'ning every grace,  
 Is all abroad upon her face ;  
 In bloom of youth still to survive,  
 All charms are there, and all alive."

And in recording in his verses the name and the beauty of another of his mistresses, he says that " his song " will " make her live beyond the grave :"

" Thus Hume shall unborn hearts engage,  
 Her smile shall warm another age."

But with all this praise of his quieter and more engaging style, we must admit that his poems, even the most perfect, abound in errors. Many of his questions are very strange, nay some of them ludicrous :

" Ah ! when we see the bad preferr'd,  
 Was it eternal justice err'd."

" Or when the good could not prevail,  
 How could almighty prowess fail ?"

" When time shall let his curtain fall,  
 Must dreary nothing swallow all ?"

" Must we the unfinish'd piece deplore,  
 Ere half the pompous piece be o'er."

What is the meaning of these questions, or have they any ?

Mr Hamilton's correspondence with his friends was varied and extensive, but seldom very important. He wrote for writing's sake, and his letters, therefore, are just so many little pieces of friendly gossip. Of those poets who were his contemporaries, or who immediately succeeded him, some have taken notice of him in their works. The most distinguished of those is the unfortunate Ferguson, who in his " Hame Content," thus alludes to Hamilton on his death :

" O Bargour ! now the hills and dales,  
 Nae mair gie back thy tender tales ;



The birks on Yarrow now deplore,  
 Thy mournful muse has left the shore ;  
 Near what bright burn, or chrystal spring,  
 Did you your winsome whistle hing ?  
 The Muse shall there, wi' wat'ry e'e,  
 Gie the dank swaird a tear for thee ;  
 And Yarrow's genius, dowy dame !  
 Shall there forget her blood-stain'd stream,  
 On thy sad grave to seek repose,  
 Wha mourn'd her fate, condol'd her woes."

Mr Hamilton of *Bangour* is sometimes mistaken for and identified with another poet of the same name, William Hamilton of *Gilbertfield* in Lanarkshire, a lieutenant in the navy, who was the friend and correspondent of Allan Ramsay, and the modernizer of Blind Harry's poem of Wallace. The compositions of this gentleman display much beauty, simplicity, and sweetness ; but he is neither so well known, nor entitled to be so, as the "Bard of Yarrow."

Mr Hamilton's private virtues were no less eminent than his poetical abilities. His piety, though fervent, was of that quiet and subdued cast that "does good by stealth, and blushes to find it fame." His manners were accomplished—indeed so much so, as to earn for him the title of "the elegant and amiable William Hamilton of Bangour."<sup>1</sup>

HART, ANDREW, deserves a place in this record, as one of the most distinguished of our early typographers. He flourished in the reign of James VI. Previous to 1600, he was in the habit of importing books from abroad ; he was at this time exclusively a bookseller. From a mere bookseller he seems to have gradually become a publisher : several books were printed in Holland about the years 1600 and 1601, "at his expense." Finally, he added the business of printing to his other dealings. The productions of his press specify that his shop was in the High Street of Edinburgh, on the north side, opposite the cross ; being, by a strange chance, the identical spot, from which Mr Archibald Constable, two hundred years after, issued so many noble efforts of Scottish genius. Hart's edition of the Bible, 1610, has always been admired for its fine typography. He also published a well-known edition of Barbour's Bruce. In addition to all other claims upon our praise, Hart was a worthy man. He died in a good old age, December, 1621, as we learn from a notice in Boyd of Trochrig's Obituary, quoted below.<sup>2</sup>

HENRY, the minstrel, more commonly styled BLIND HARRY, was a wandering poet of the fifteenth century, who wrote a well-known narrative of the life of Sir William Wallace.

The character of a wandering bard or minstrel was in early ages highly valued and honoured, although at a late period it fell into discredit. HENRY THE MINSTREL, or BLIND HARRY, had not the fortune to live during the sunshine of his profession ; for in the Scottish laws of his own time, we find *bards* classed with "vagabondis, fullis, and sic like idill peopill ;" but the misfortune of his blindness, and the unquestionable excellence of his talents, would in all probability secure to him a degree of respect and attention which was not then generally bestowed on individuals of his class. Indeed, we learn from Major, that the most exalted in the land countenanced the minstrel, and that he recited his

<sup>1</sup> A manuscript, containing many poems by Hamilton which never saw the light, was in the possession of the late George Chalmers, Esq. author of "Caledonia." A list of them is given in the transactions of the Antiquarian Society of Scotland, vol. iii., where a portrait of Mr Hamilton has also been given.

<sup>2</sup> Le moy de Dec. 1621, mourut à Edin. le bon homme, Andrew Hart, imprimeur et libraire ; decidé en bonne veillesse ; homme de bien et notre ancien amy.



poetical narratives before them. Major is the only writer from whom any information regarding Blind Harry is derived, and the meagreness of that information may be judged of, when it is known, that the whole is comprised in the following brief sentence. "Integrum librum Gullielmi Vallacei Henricus, a nativitate luminibus captus, mee infantie tempore eudit; et quæ vulgo dicebantur, carmine vulgari, in quo peritus erat, conscripsit; (ego autem talibus scriptis solum in parte fidem impertior;) qui historiarum recitatione coram principibus victum et vestitum quo dignus erat nactus est."—"Henry, who was blind from his birth, in the time of my infancy composed the whole *book of William Wallace*; and committed to writing in vulgar poetry, in which he was well skilled, the things that were commonly related of him. For my own part, I give only partial credit to writings of this description. By the recitation of these, however, in the presence of men of the highest rank, he procured, as he indeed deserved, food and raiment."

Brief, however, as this passage is, we gather from it the principal points of Henry's life—namely, that he was born blind—that he was well skilled in vernacular poetry—that he composed the book of William Wallace—and that by reciting it he procured food and raiment. The passage, also, is the only source from which we can learn the date of the poem or the period when its author flourished. Major was born in the year 1469, and as he says that the book of William Wallace was composed in his infancy, Blind Harry must have lived about that time, and the date of this work may be placed between 1470 and 1480. More than this, regarding the biography of a once popular poet, and one whose name is still familiar in the mouths of his countrymen, cannot be ascertained. Of the book itself, a few observations may be taken.

"That a man," says Mr Ellis,<sup>2</sup> *born blind* should excel in any science is extraordinary, though by no means without example: but that he should become an excellent poet is almost miraculous; because the soul of poetry is description. Perhaps, therefore, it may be easily assumed that Henry was not inferior in point of genius either to Barbour or Chaucer, nor indeed to any poet of any age or country." The question of what a man *might* have been under certain circumstances, is one of assumption altogether, and is too frequently used by individuals regarding themselves as a salve for their indolence and imperfections. Neither can we admit that description is the *soul* of poetry: we consider it rather as the outward garb or frame-work of the divine art, which unless inspired by an inward spirit of contemplation, has no further charm than a chronicle or gazetteer. Milton was blind when he composed *Paradise Lost*, and although he had the advantage of Henry in that he *once* saw, yet we have often heard his calamity adduced, to increase our wonder and admiration of his great work, whereas, had he retained his eyesight, *Paradise Lost* would probably never have been finished, or, if finished, might not have proved, as it has done, one of the noblest productions which a human being ever laid before his fellow creatures. Although, however, we disapprove of assuming a possible excellence in Henry had he been blessed with vision, it would be unjust not to acknowledge the disadvantages under which his poem has come down to us. He himself could not write it; nor is there any probability that it was regularly taken down from his dictation; the incorrectness and unintelligibility of many of its passages rather prove that much of it must have been written from recollection, while editors have, in too many instances, from gross misapprehensions, succeeded in rendering absurd what was previously only obscure. With all this, the poem is still of extraordinary merit—and, as a poem, is superior to Barbour's or Winton's. In an historical light,

<sup>1</sup> Hist. lib. iv. c. 15.

<sup>2</sup> "Specimens of Early English Poets," vol. i.



doubtless, its value can never be put in competition with the works of the above authors ; it is rather a romance than a history, and is full of exaggerations and anachronisms ; the narrative Henry professes to have derived from a complete history of Wallace (now lost) written, in Latin, partly by John Blair and partly by Thomas Gray ; and this circumstance, if true, exculpates the poet from the *invention* at least of its manifold and manifest absurdities. His information seems to have been, for the period, respectable. In his poem he alludes to the history of Hector, of Alexander the Great, of Julius Cæsar, and of Charlemagne ; but without profiting from the character which these heroes exhibited in history, of policy combined with prowess and bravery, he has in his book taken the childish or gross conception of a warrior, and held up Sir William Wallace as a mere man of muscular strength and ferocity—capable of hewing down whole squadrons with his single arm, and delighting in the most merciless scenes of blood and slaughter. It is in this point that the Minstrel is so far inferior to Barbour. He is destitute of that fine balancing of character displayed by the latter, and those broad political views which render “The Bruce” as much a philosophical history as a poem.<sup>3</sup>

HENDERSON, ALEXANDER, one of the most eminent of the many eminent men whose names are interwoven with the annals of Scotland at probably the most interesting period of her history, (the middle of the 17th century.) was born about the year 1583. He is supposed to have been descended from the Hendersons of Fordel, “a house,” says Wodrow, “of good quality in Fife.” Of his early life there is little farther known than that he was distinguished for his assiduity and progress in learning, in which he greatly excelled all his school fellows. Having been sent to the university of St Andrews to complete his studies, he there went through the ordinary routine of learning, but with much more than ordinary reputation, a circumstance sufficiently evinced by his having been made master of arts, and soon after admitted regent or professor of philosophy. As this appointment took place previous to the year 1611, when he could not not be more than eight and twenty years of age, it is evident that Henderson was already considered a man of no common attainments. The situation of professor of philosophy he held for several years, discharging its duties with a zeal and ability which acquired him much reputation.

It is not surprising to find, that at this period of his life he was a strenuous advocate for the dominant or episcopal party in the church. His patrons hitherto were of that party. He had long associated with men who entertained its principles, and, unable to foresee the great changes which were about to take place in the civil and religious polity of the kingdom, as well as that which afterwards happened in his own private sentiments, he naturally enough, while perfectly sincere in the opinions which he then entertained on religious matters, conceived besides, that in the direction of these opinions, and in that direction alone, lay the road to preferment. Inspired by the ambition of a mind conscious of its powers, Henderson, after the lapse of a few years, becoming impatient of the circumscribed sphere to which a professorship of philosophy confined

<sup>3</sup> In his late work, entitled “Lives of Scottish Worthies,” Mr P. F. Tytler has expressed his deliberate conviction, founded upon recent investigations, that the minstrel holds too low a rank as a credit-worthy historian. “I am persuaded,” says Mr Tytler, “that Wallace is the work of an ignorant man, who was yet in possession of valuable and authentic materials. On what other supposition can we account for the fact, that whilst in one page we meet with errors which show a deplorable perversion of history, in the next we find circumstances unknown to other Scottish historians, yet corroborated by authentic documents, by contemporary English annalists, by national monuments and records only published in modern times, and to which the minstrel cannot be supposed to have had access. The work, therefore, cannot be treated as an entire romance.” The ingenious historian then adduces a number of instances in which Henry’s statements are proved by lately discovered documents to have been correct.



him, turned his attention to divinity, as opening a wider field for the exercise of his talents.

After preparing himself for the ministerial calling, he was appointed to the church of Leuchars, in Fife, through the patronage of archbishop Gladstones. His appointment, however, was exceedingly unpopular: all his talents and learning could not reconcile his parishioners to a man introduced amongst them by episcopal influence, and who was known to be himself of that detested party. The consequence was, that on the day of his ordination he was received with every mark of popular dislike. The church doors were shut against him and carefully secured in the inside, to prevent all possibility of admittance. Determined, however, in despite of these very manifest tokens of public feeling, to perform the ceremony of ordination, Henderson's party entered the church by a window, and proceeded with the business of the day.

Whatever were Mr Henderson's other merits, and these were certainly of no ordinary kind, it is known that any extraordinary anxiety about the spiritual interests of his parishioners was not amongst the number. At this period of his life, in short, although not remarkable for the reverse, he seems to have been but slightly impressed with the sacredness of his new calling, and to have taken but little farther interest in matters of religion, than abiding by the general principles in which he had been educated. This conduct, however, and these sentiments were soon to undergo a remarkable change, and that under circumstances in themselves not less remarkable. Having learned that the celebrated Mr Bruce of Kinnaird was to assist at a communion in the neighbourhood of Leuchars, Henderson, desirous of hearing the preaching of a man who had long been conspicuous as an opponent of the court measures, and whose fame for peculiar gifts in matters of theology was widely spread, repaired to the church where he was officiating. Not choosing, however, to be recognized, he sought to conceal himself in a dark corner of the building. Bruce, nevertheless, seems to have been aware of his presence; or, if not, there was a singular coincidence in the applicability of the text which he chose, to the remarkable circumstances which attended Henderson's induction to his charge. Be this as it may, the sermon which followed made such a powerful impression upon him as effected an entire change in his religious conduct and sentiments; and from being a careless and indifferent pastor over his flock, and an upholder of a system odious in the highest degree to the people, he became a watchful and earnest minister, and a resolute champion in the cause of presbyterianism.

In three years after his appointment to Leuchars parish, which took place some time previous to the year 1615, Mr Henderson, though sedulous in the discharge of his ministerial duties since the period of his conversion, made no public appearance on the side of that party whose principles he had embraced. The opportunity, however, which was all that was wanting for his making such an appearance, at length presented itself. In August, 1618, the celebrated Five articles of Perth, which occasioned so much clamour in Scotland, from their containing as many points of episcopal worship, which James was desirous of thrusting on the people of that kingdom, having been carried by a packed majority in an assembly held at Perth, Henderson stood among the foremost of those who opposed, though unsuccessfully, the obnoxious measure; and this too, in defiance of the king's utmost wrath, with which all who resisted the adoption of the Five articles were threatened. "In case of your refusal," said the archbishop of St Andrews, addressing the assembled clergymen, "the whole order and estate of your church will be overthrown, some ministers will be banished, others will be deprived of their stipends and office, and all will be brought under the wrath of authority."



Not at all intimidated by this insolent and indecent threat, Henderson with several of his brethren courageously opposed the intended innovations. For this resistance, to which was added a charge of composing and publishing a book against the validity of the Perth assembly, he was with other two ministers summoned in the month of August, 1619, to appear before the court of High Commission in St Andrews. Obeying the summons, Henderson and his brethren presented themselves before the bishops, when the former conducted himself with such intrepidity, and discussed the various matters charged against him and his colleagues with such talent and force of reasoning, that his judges, though they eagerly sought it, could gain no advantage over him, and were obliged to content themselves with threatening, that if he again offended he should be more hardly dealt with. With this intimation Henderson and his friends were dismissed. From this period to the year 1637, he does not appear to have meddled much with any transactions of a public character. During this long period he lived retired, confining his exertions within the bounds of his own parish, in which he found sufficient employment from a careful and anxious discharge of his pastoral duties. Obscure and sequestered, however, as the place of his ministry was, his fame as a man of singular capacity, and as an eloquent and powerful debater, was already abroad and widely known; and when the hour of trial came, those talents were recollected, and their possessor called upon to employ them in the behalf of his religion.

Before, however, resuming the narrative of Mr Henderson's public career, it may be necessary to give a brief sketch of the circumstances which induced him to leave his retirement and to mingle once more in the religious distractions of the times. The unfortunate Charles I. inheriting all the religious as well as political prejudices of his father James VI. had, upon the moment of his accession to the throne, entertained the design of regulating church worship in Scotland by the forms observed in that of England. In this attempt he was only following out an idea of his father's; but what the one with more wisdom had little more than contemplated, the other determined to execute. Unfortunately for Charles he found but too zealous an abettor of his dangerous and injudicious designs in his favourite counsellor in church affairs, Laud, archbishop of Canterbury. Encouraged in the schemes of violence which he meditated against the religious prejudices of Scotland, and urged on to their execution by Laud, Charles, after a series of lesser inroads on the presbyterian mode of worship in Scotland, finally, and with a rash hand fired the train which he had prepared, and by which he set all Scotland in a blaze. This was the imposition of the Liturgy or Service Book on the church of Scotland. This celebrated book, which was principally composed by Wedderburn, bishop of Dunblane, and Maxwell, bishop of Ross, and afterwards revised by Laud, and Wren, bishop of Norwich, was grounded upon the book of common prayer used in England, but contained, besides, some parts of the catholic ritual, such as the benediction or thanksgiving for departed saints, the use of the cross in baptism and of the ring in the celebration of marriage, the consecration of water at particular times by prayer, with many other ordinances of a similar character. Most of these observances were introduced by Laud when revising the original work. When the book was completed, the king gave instructions to the archbishops and bishops regarding its introduction; and immediately after issued a proclamation requiring his subjects, both ecclesiastical and civil, to conform to the mode of worship which it enjoined, concluding with an order that every parish should be furnished with two copies, between the publication of the injunction and Easter. The book itself, a large folio, was prefaced by a charge from the king, denouncing as rebels all who refused it. To complete the measure of Charles's rashness on the



subject of the service book, it was introduced into Scotland without having been submitted to presbyteries, and without the sanction of the General Assembly.

The consequence of the introduction of the liturgy, aggravated as it was by the manner of its introduction, was, as might have been expected, in the last degree serious and important. The country rose nearly to a man against the popish innovation. In Edinburgh the bishops who presided at the ceremony of its first introduction were mobbed and maltreated : and the ministers everywhere carefully prepared their congregations to resist the obnoxious volume. The whole land, in short, was agitated by one violent commotion, and the minds of men were roused into a state of feverish excitement, which threatened the most serious results. It was at this critical moment that Henderson came again upon the stage. In the same predicament with other clergymen, Henderson was charged to purchase two copies of the liturgy for the use of his parish within fifteen days, under the pain of rebellion. On receiving the charge, Henderson immediately proceeded to Edinburgh and presented a petition to the privy council, representing that the service book had not received the sanction of the General Assembly nor was authorized by any act of parliament ; that the church of Scotland was free and independent, and ought not to be dictated to except through her own pastors, who were the proper and the best judges of what was for her benefit ; that the form of worship received at the Reformation was still sanctioned by the legislature and the supreme ecclesiastical judicatory, and could not be invaded excepting by the same authority ; that some of the ceremonies enjoined by the book had occasioned great divisions, and were extremely obnoxious to the people, who had been taught to hold them in abhorrence. This bold statement Henderson concluded by soliciting a suspension of the charge. What hope Henderson entertained that this supplication or rather remonstrance would be formally listened to by the privy council, cannot now be ascertained. There is no reason, however, to conclude, that he possessed any secret intelligence regarding the real dispositions of that body. The credit, therefore, must be awarded him of having come forward on this perilous occasion trusting to the strength of his cause alone, and fully prepared to meet the consequences, whatever they might be, of the step which he had taken. The result was more favourable than probably either Henderson or the country expected. The council granted the suspension required, until the king's further pleasure should be known ; but, for the remuneration of the king's printer, ordained by an express act, as the decision in Henderson's case was of course understood to apply to the whole kingdom, that each parish should provide itself with two copies of the book, but without any injunction to make use of them. The order for reading the liturgy was also suspended, until new instructions on the subject should be received from his majesty. The king's answer, however, to the representations of the privy council, at once overturned all hopes of concession in the matter of the liturgy. Instead of giving way to the general feeling, he repeated, in a still more peremptory manner than at first, his commands that the service book should be read, and farther ordered that no burgh should choose a magistrate which did not conform. This uncompromising and decided conduct on the part of the king was met by a similar spirit on the part of the people, and the path which Henderson had first taken was soon crowded by the highest and mightiest in the land, all pushing onward with the utmost eagerness and zeal to solicit the recall of the obnoxious liturgy, and discovering on each repulse and on the appearance of each successive obstacle to their wishes, a stronger and stronger disposition to have recourse to violence to accomplish their object, if supplication should fail. On the receipt of the king's last communication on the all-engrossing subject of the service book, the nobility, barons, ministers, and



representatives of boroughs, presented a supplication to the privy council, intreating that the matter might be again brought before the king. In this and in all other matters connected with it, Henderson took a leading part: he suggested and directed all the proceedings of the nonconformists; drew up their memorials and petitions, and was, in short, at once the head and right hand of his party, the deviser and executor of all their measures.

The result of this second supplication to the king was as unsatisfactory as the first. The infatuated monarch, urged on by Laud, and in some measure by erroneous impressions regarding the real state of matters in Scotland, still maintained his resolutions regarding the liturgy. He, however, now so far acknowledged the appeals which had been made to him, as to have recourse to evasion instead of direct opposition as at first, a course at all times more dangerous than its opposite; inasmuch, as while it exhibits all the hostility of the latter, it is entirely without its candour, and is destitute of that manfulness and promptitude, which, if it does not reconcile, is very apt to subdue.

In place of giving any direct answer to the supplication of the nobility and barons, the king instructed his privy council in Edinburgh to intimate to the people by proclamation, that there should be nothing regarding church matters treated of in the council for some time, and that, therefore, all persons who had come to Edinburgh on that account, should repair to their homes within twenty-four hours, on pain of being denounced rebels, *put to the horn*, and all their movable goods being escheat to the king. This proclamation was immediately followed by another, announcing an intended removal of the court of session from Edinburgh to Linlithgow, and this again by a third, calling in, for the purpose of being burned, a pamphlet lately published against the service book.

These proclamations, which but too plainly intimated that nothing would be conceded to supplication, and that there was no hope of any change in the sentiments of the king, instantly called forth the most decided expressions of popular resentment and determination. The city was at this moment filled with strangers—noblemen, gentlemen, clergymen, and commissioners from the different parishes, besides immense numbers of persons of inferior rank, whose curiosity or interest in the engrossing topic of the day, had assembled in the metropolis from all parts of the country. The town, thus surcharged, as it were, with inflammable matter, soon became a scene of violence and insubordination. The leaders of the nonconformists again met in the midst of the storm, and in defiance of the proclamation which enjoined their departure, proceeded to deliberate upon the question of what was next to be done. The result was some farther supplications and petitions to the privy council and to the king. These, however, being still unsuccessful, were followed up some months afterwards by a determination to appeal to the people, to unite them in one common bond, and to make the cause at once and unequivocally, the cause of the whole nation. The leaders resolved to adopt a measure which should involve all in its results, be it for good or for evil; by which, in short, not a leader or leaders, nor a party, but an entire kingdom should stand or fall, by swearing before their God to peril the alternative.

This measure was a renewal of the national covenant of 1580 and 1581, adapted, by changes and additions, to the existing circumstances. The remodeled document was drawn up by Mr Henderson, with the assistance of the celebrated Archibald Johnstone, an advocate, and was first exhibited for signature, February 28th, 1638, in the Grey Friars' church in Edinburgh, where an immense multitude had assembled, for the purpose of hailing the sacred document, and of testifying their zeal in the cause which it was intended to support, by subscribing it. On this occasion Henderson addressed the people with so



much fervour and eloquence, that their feelings, already excited, were wound up to the highest pitch, and a degree of enthusiasm pervaded the multitude which sufficiently assured their leaders of the popularity of their cause. The instrument itself, which was now submitted for signature, was a roll of parchment four feet long and three feet eight inches broad; yet such was the general zeal for the covenant, that this immense sheet was in a short time so crowded with names on both sides throughout its whole space, that there was not room latterly for a single additional signature; even the margin was scrawled over with subscriptions, and as the document filled up, the subscribers were limited to the initial letters of their names. Copies were now sent to different parts of the kingdom, and met every where, excepting in three places to be afterwards named, with the same enthusiastic reception which had marked its appearance in Edinburgh, receiving thousands of signatures wherever it was exhibited. The three excepted places were Glasgow, St Andrews, and Aberdeen. In the two former, however, the feeling regarding the covenant amounted to little more than indifference; but in the latter city it was absolutely resisted. Anxious to have the voice of all Scotland with them, and especially desirous that there should not be so important an exception as Aberdeen, the leaders of the covenanters despatched several noblemen and two clergymen, one of whom was Henderson, to that city, to attempt to reclaim it; and this object, chiefly through the powerful eloquence of the subject of this memoir, they accomplished to a very considerable extent, obtaining no less than five hundred signatures, many of them of the highest respectability, immediately after the close of a discourse by Mr Henderson, in which he had urged the most irresistible arguments for the subscribing of the covenant. Mr Henderson was now universally acknowledged as the head of the nonconforming Scottish clergy. On his moderation, firmness, and talent, they reposed their hopes; and to his judgment they left, with implicit confidence, the guidance and direction of their united efforts. Of this feeling towards him they were now about to afford a remarkable proof. The king, though still without any intention of yielding to the demands of the covenanters, having consented that a General Assembly should be held, empowered his commissioner, the marquis of Hamilton, to convoke it. On the second day of the meeting of this celebrated assembly, which sat down at Glasgow on the 21st November, 1638, Mr Henderson was chosen moderator, without one single dissenting voice. To form a correct idea of the general esteem for his amiable qualities, and the appreciation of his abilities which this appointment implied, it is necessary to consider all the singular and important circumstances connected with it—circumstances which altogether rendered it one of the utmost delicacy, difficulty, and hazard. He was, at a moment of the most formidable religious distraction, called upon to preside over an assembly whose decisions were either to allay or to promote that distraction; who were to discuss points of serious difference between their sovereign and the nation; who were to decide, in short, whether the nation was to proclaim open war against their sovereign—a sovereign backed by a nation of much greater power and larger population; an assembly by whose proceedings the religious liberties of the kingdom were either to stand or fall, and one, in consequence, on which the eyes of the whole people were fixed with a gaze of the deepest and most intense interest. Important, however, and responsible as the appointment was, Henderson was found more than equal to it, for he conducted himself on this trying occasion not only with a prudence and resolution which increased the respect and admiration of his own party for his character and talents, but with a forbearance and urbanity which secured him also the esteem of those who were opposed to them. “We have now,” said Henderson at the conclusion of the eloquent and impassioned



address which terminated the sittings of the assembly, "we have now cast down the walls of Jericho; let him that rebuildeth them beware of the curse of Hiel the Bethelite?" a sentence which comprised typically all that had been done and all that would be done in the event of such an attempt being made. Episcopacy was overthrown, the king's authority put at defiance, and such an attitude of hostility to the court assumed as fell short only of a declaration of open war.

Such was the accession of popularity which Henderson's conduct procured him on this occasion, that, a day or two before the rising of the assembly, two supplications were given in from two different places earnestly soliciting his pastoral services, the one from St Andrews, the other from Edinburgh. Henderson himself was extremely unwilling to obey either of these calls. Strongly attached to Leuchars, the charge to which he had been first appointed, and which he had now held for many years, he could not reconcile himself to the idea of a removal, pleading in figurative but highly expressive language, that "he was now too old a plant to take root in another soil." The supplicants, however, with a flattering perseverance pressed their suits, and after a strenuous contest between the two parties who sought his ministry, he acquiesced in a removal to Edinburgh; in favour of which the competition terminated by a majority of seventy-five votes. He only stipulated, that when old age should overtake him, he should be permitted to remove again to a country charge. Soon after his removal to Edinburgh, he was promoted to be, what was then called, first or king's minister. This change, however, in no way abated his zeal in the cause of the covenant; he still continued to be the oracle of his party, and still stood with undisputed and unrivaled influence at the head of the church as now once more reformed.

In the year after his translation to Edinburgh (1639) he was one of the commissioners deputed by the Scottish army, then encamped on Dunse Law, to treat with the king, who, with his forces, had taken post at the Birks, a plain on the English side of the Tweed, within three or four miles of Berwick. During the whole of the various negotiations which took place at this critical and interesting conjuncture, Henderson conducted himself with his usual ability, and moreover with a prudence and candour which did not escape the notice of the king. One of the well known results of these conferences was the meeting in Edinburgh of the General Assembly in the following month of August. On this occasion the earl of Traquair, who was now his majesty's commissioner, was extremely desirous that Mr Henderson should be re-elected moderator, a sufficient proof of the estimation in which he was held by men of all parties. The idea, however, of a constant moderatorship was exceedingly unpopular, and contrary to the constitution of the church; and the suggestion of Traquair was overruled to the entire satisfaction of Mr Henderson himself, who was one of the most strenuous opponents of the proposition. As former moderator, however, he preached to the assembly, and towards the close of his discourse, addressed the earl of Traquair—"We beseech your grace," he said, "to see that Cæsar have his own; but let him not have what is due to God, by whom kings reign. God hath exalted your grace unto many high places within these few years, and is still doing so. Be thankful, and labour to exalt Christ's throne. When the Israelites came out of Egypt they gave all the silver and gold they had carried thence for the building of the tabernacle; in like manner your grace must employ all your parts and endowments for building up the church of God in this land." He next addressed the members, urging them to persevere in the good cause, but carefully inculcating prudence and moderation in all their doings; for zeal, he said, without these, was "like a ship that hath a full sail, but no rudder."



On the 31st of the same month, (August,) Mr Henderson was called upon to preside, in his clerical capacity, at the opening of the parliament, and on that occasion delivered a most impressive discourse, in which he treated of the duties and utility of governors with singular ability and judgment.

A proof still more flattering, perhaps, than any he had yet received of the estimation in which his character and talents were held, was afforded him in the following year, (1640.) Previous to this period the college of Edinburgh was without any presiding officer to regulate its affairs, these receiving only such attention as might result from an annual visit of the town council. As this was little more than a visit of ceremony, the system of education, and almost every thing else connected with the university, was in a most deplorable condition. To remedy these evils the town council came to the resolution of having a rector appointed, to be chosen annually, and whose duty it should be to direct all matters connected with the college, to keep an eye on the conduct of the principal and professors, and to superintend the education of the students, and the disposal of the revenues.

To this honourable and highly responsible office Mr Henderson was unanimously elected: an appointment not more indicative of the general opinion entertained of his moral qualities, than of his learning and abilities; for besides the merely legislative duties which were connected with it, the rector, by the constitution of the office, was to be invited by the preses at all solemn meetings of the college, "to go before the rest in all public disputes of philosophy and divinity."

Mr Henderson, notwithstanding his other various and important avocations, discharged the duties of this office with an attention, ability, and judgment, which soon placed the university on a very different footing from what it had hitherto been. He added to and improved its buildings and its approaches, bestowed especial care on the education of candidates for the ministry, instituted a professorship of oriental languages, a department which had previously been greatly neglected, to the serious injury, in particular, of the students of divinity, whose knowledge of the Hebrew was left to be gleaned from one short weekly lecture on that language; and, in short, he overlooked nothing which could contribute to its interests and prosperity. His own personal influence, together with the high respectability which his sagacious administration had procured for the college, was so great, that the citizens of Edinburgh, with a spirit of emulation which was very far from existing before, strove who should most contribute to the accommodation of its members. The consequence of these judicious and important services was, that Mr Henderson was continued, by re-election, in the office of rector till his death.

From these peaceful pursuits Henderson was occasionally directed to take a share in the renewed distractions of the times. The king having refused to ratify some of the points agreed upon at the Birks, both parties again took up arms: Charles denouncing the covenanters as rebels, marched towards Scotland with an army; while the latter, with three or four and twenty thousand men, penetrated into England. Some partial successes of the Scottish army on this occasion, together with some defections in his own, again brought the unfortunate monarch to pacificatory terms with the covenanters. A conference was begun at Rippon, and afterwards, as the king's presence was required in London, transferred to that city. The commissioners who were despatched thither by the covenanters to conclude the conference, took with them several of the most popular of the clergy, and amongst these was Mr Henderson, on whose talents they relied for all the subsidiary efforts which were at once to bring the conference to an issue satisfactory to themselves, and to impress the English with a favour-



able opinion of their cause. Both of these objects they accomplished, and that in no small measure by means of the impressive eloquence and literary talents of Mr Henderson, who, besides exerting himself in the pulpit and elsewhere in forwarding the views of the commissioners by discourses and lectures, wrote also several able tracts and papers which attracted much attention, and produced important effects in favour of the cause which he had come to support.

During Mr Henderson's stay in London on this occasion, he had an interview with the king, by whom he was graciously received. The conference was a private one, and although on the part of Henderson it was sought specially for the purpose of soliciting a favour for the university of Edinburgh, it is not unlikely that it embraced objects of much greater interest. On his return to Edinburgh in July, 1641, having been detained in London nine months, he was again chosen moderator of the General Assembly, then sitting at Edinburgh, and which had removed thither from St Andrews, where it first met, for the greater conveniency of the nobles who were attending parliament, and, a striking proof of his importance, that it might at this critical period have the advantages of Mr Henderson's services as moderator.

On this occasion Mr Henderson delivered to the assembly a letter from a number of ministers in London, requesting the advice of their Scottish brethren on certain points of church government. In some perplexity they had written, "That almighty God having now of his infinite goodness raised up our hopes of removing the yoke of episcopacy, (under which we have so long groaned,) sundry other forms of church government are by sundry sorts of men projected to be set up in the room thereof." Henderson was instructed to reply to this letter. In his answer he expressed, in the name of the assembly, the deep interest which they took in the state of what they called, by a somewhat startling association of words, the kirk of England, and earnestly urged a uniformity in church government throughout Britain. Soon after this (14th August) the unfortunate Charles arrived in Edinburgh. Foreseeing the approaching war between himself and his English parliament, he had come down to Scotland with the humiliating view of paying court to the leaders of the presbyterian faction, and of following up, by personal condescensions, the concessions by which he had already recovered, for the time at least, the favour of that party; thus hoping to secure the aid of Scotland when he should be assailed by his subjects at home;—the unhappy monarch's situation thus much resembling that of a bird closely pursued by a hawk, and which, preferring a lesser to a greater evil, flies to man for protection. On this occasion the king appointed Mr Henderson his chaplain, and by this well judged proceeding at once gratified the people, whose favourite preacher he had long been, and not improbably also gratified his own predilection in his favour, resulting from Henderson's temper and moderation in those instances where they had been brought in contact. Henderson constantly attended the king during the time of his residence in Edinburgh, praying every morning and evening before him, and preaching to him in the chapel royal at Holyrood house every Sunday, or standing by his chair when another performed that duty. Henderson, who, although of incorruptible integrity, and a zealous presbyterian, as the share which he took in the struggles of that party sufficiently witness, was yet a mild and humane man, could not help sympathizing with the sorrows of his unfortunate sovereign. The religion of which he was so eminent a professor, taught him to entertain charitable and benevolent feelings toward all mankind, and his was not the disposition to except an humbled and unhappy prince from this universal precept, whatever were the faults which had placed him in these melancholy circumstances. The mild and amiable disposition of the man, too, which frequent interviews must have forced upon Henderson's notice, must



have in some measure obliterated in his mind the errors of the monarch. It was hard, then, that Henderson for this sympathy, for opening his heart to the best feelings of humanity, for practising one of the first and most amiable virtues which the Christian religion teaches and enjoins, should have been, as he was, subjected to the most bitter calumnies on his character and motives. These calumnies affected his pure and generous nature deeply, and in the next assembly he entered into a long and impassioned defence of those parts of his conduct which slander had assailed. His appeal touched the hearts and excited the sympathy of his brethren, who assured him of their unshaken confidence in his integrity.

This assurance restored the worthy divine to that cheerfulness of which the injurious reports which had gone abroad regarding him had for some time deprived him. If any thing were wanting to establish Henderson's character for integrity besides the public testimony of his brethren, it is to be found in the opinion of one who widely differed from him regarding the measures of the day, bearing witness that "his great honesty and unparalleled abilities to serve this church and kingdom, did ever remain untainted."

In 1642, Mr Henderson conducted the correspondence with England which now took place on the subject of ecclesiastical reformation and union, and was soon after desired to hold himself in readiness with certain other commissioners to proceed to England, in the event of such a proceeding being necessary. After some delay, occasioned by the open rupture which took place between the king and the English parliament, Henderson, with the other commissioners, set out for the sister kingdom. While there he used every effort, but unfortunately to no purpose, to effect a reconciliation between Charles and his English subjects; he proposed to the king to send the queen to Scotland, with the view of exciting an interest in his behalf. He even went to Oxford, where the king then was, to endeavour to prevail upon him at a personal interview, to make some advances towards a reconciliation, and at the same time to offer him the mediation of Scotland. All his efforts, however, were unavailing; the king, in place of acknowledging error, endeavoured to defend the justice of his cause, and on better grounds expressed high indignation at the interference of the Scots in the church reformation of England. Finding he could be of no further service, Henderson, together with his colleagues, returned to Edinburgh, where his conduct throughout the whole of this delicate mission was pronounced by the General Assembly to have been "faithful and wise." In 1643, he was once more chosen moderator of the General Assembly under peculiar circumstances. This was the presence in that body of the English commissioners sent down to Scotland by the parliament of England, to solicit the aid and counsel of the former in their present emergency. Mr Henderson, with several other commissioners, was soon after sent up to London to attend the celebrated Westminster assembly of divines, to represent in that assembly the church of Scotland, and to procure its assent, with that of both houses of parliament, to the solemn league and covenant, all of which important duties, with the assistance of his colleagues, he discharged with his usual ability and judgment. On this occasion he remained for three years in London, during all which time he was unremittingly employed in assisting the assembly in preparing the public formularies of the religious union between the three kingdoms. In 1645, he was appointed to assist the commissioners of the Scottish and English parliaments to treat with the king at Uxbridge, and finally, was deputed to negotiate with the latter when his fortunes had reached a crisis, at Newcastle. Henderson arrived on his mission at Newcastle about the middle of May, 1646, and met with a cordial reception from his majesty. After some



discussion on religious subjects, it was agreed that the scruples of the king should be treated of in a series of papers written alternately by his majesty and Henderson. In the last of these papers, addressed by the former to the latter, and all of which and on both sides were written with great talent, the king at once expressing his high opinion of Mr Henderson, and his determination to adhere to the sentiments which he had all along entertained, says, "For instance, I think you the best preacher in Newcastle, yet I believe you may err, and possibly a better preacher may come, but till then must retain my opinion." Immediately after this, Henderson, whose health was now much impaired, returned to Edinburgh by sea, being unable to bear the fatigue of travelling by land. The illness with which he was afflicted rapidly gained upon him, and he at length expired on the 19th of August, 1646, in the 63d year of his age, not many days after his return from Newcastle. After the death of this celebrated man, his memory was assailed by several absurd and unfounded calumnies. It was alleged that he died of mortification at his having been defeated in the controversy with the king; others asserted that he had been converted by the latter, and that on his death-bed he had expressed regret for the part he had acted, and had renounced presbytery. All of these charges were completely refuted by the General Assembly, who, taking a becoming and zealous interest in the good name of their departed brother, established his innocence on the testimony of several clergymen, and still more decisively by that of the two who attended him on his death-bed, and who heard him in his last moments pray earnestly for a "happy conclusion to the great and wonderful work of Reformation." Henderson was interred in the Grayfriars' church-yard, where a monument was erected to his memory by his nephew Mr George Henderson. This monument, which was in the form of an obelisk, with suitable inscriptions<sup>1</sup> on its four sides, was, with others of the leading covenanters, demolished at the Restoration, but was again replaced at the Revolution.

This sketch of one of the most eminent divines that Scotland has produced cannot be better concluded than in the eloquent and accurate summation of his character by the Rev. George Cook, in his "History of the Church of Scotland." "In Henderson," says that judicious and able writer, "the church and the kingdom experienced a severe loss. He had from an early period acquired a decided ascendancy over ecclesiastical proceedings, and with considerable learning and great talents he conjoined a justness of sentiment and a moderation which, though not sufficient to stem the torrent, often gave to it a salutary direction. Zealous for his party, and deeply impressed with the importance of setting bounds to the prerogative, he cordially joined in the measures requisite for doing so, but there is every reason to believe that had his life been preserved, he would have exerted himself to restrain the violent dissensions and the unchristian practices which ere long disgraced those with whom he had associated, and that he would gladly have contributed to rescue his unfortunate sovereign from the melancholy fate which awaited him. His death was justly lamented by the covenanters. They had been accustomed to venerate him as their guide; they had left to him the choice of the most difficult steps, which, in resisting episcopal tyranny, they had been compelled to take; his memory was associated with one of the most interesting struggles in which his countrymen had ever been engaged, and they honoured that memory by every expression of esteem,

<sup>1</sup> The east side of the monument is thus inscribed, "To the sacred memory of Mr Alexander Henderson, chaplain to the king, minister at Edinburgh, and primar of the college there, who was a scholar at St Andrews college, and a bountiful enlarger and patron thereof." On the inscription on the north side he is described as "a godly man and truly great; illustrious in all manner of virtue, piety, learning, and prudence, equally beloved by the king and estates of both kingdoms."



transmitting by monumental inscriptions and by solicitude, to rescue him from misrepresentation, their deep regret that they were for ever deprived of his assistance which their critical situation and the highly agitated state of the public mind would then have rendered peculiarly important."

HENRY, (DR) ROBERT, an eminent historian, was born in the parish of St Ninians in Stirlingshire, on the 18th of February, 1718;—his father was James Henry, a respectable farmer in Murtown of the same parish, who had married the daughter of Mr Galloway of Burrowmeadow in Stirlingshire. As a respectable farmer's son, young Henry enjoyed opportunities of instruction beyond the average of those who study for the church in Scotland, and he found little difficulty in indulging his inclination to become a member of a learned profession. He commenced his education under Mr Nicholson of the parish school of St Ninians, and having attended the grammar school of Stirling, perfected himself in his literary and philosophical studies at the university of Edinburgh. After leaving that institution, he occupied himself in teaching, the usual resource of the expectants of the Scottish church, and became master of the grammar school of Annan. The district in which he was so employed was soon afterwards erected into a separate presbytery, and Henry was admitted as its first licentiate, on the 27th of March, 1746. In 1748, he was ordained as clergyman of a congregation of presbyterians at Carlisle. Here he remained for twelve years, when he was transferred to a similar dissenting congregation at Berwick upon Tweed. In 1763, he married Ann Balderston, daughter of Thomas Balderston, surgeon in Berwick. Little is said of this lady by Henry's biographers, except in reference to the domestic happiness she conferred on her husband. During his residence at Berwick, Dr Henry applied his active mind to the preparation of a scheme for establishing a fund to assist the widows and orphans of the dissenting clergymen in the north of England. The admirable fund which had some time previously been so firmly and successfully established for bestowing similar benefits on the families of the clergy of Scotland, formed the model of his imitation; but in assimilating the situation of a dissenting to that of an established church, he laboured under the usual difficulties of those who raise a social fabric which the laws will not recognize and protect. The funds which, in Scotland, were supplied by the annual contribution of the clergy, enforced by act of parliament, depended, in the English institution, on the social and provident spirit of its members. The perseverance of Henry overcame many of the practical difficulties thus thrown in his way: the fund was placed on a permanent footing in the year 1762, and Henry, having for some years undertaken its management, had afterwards the satisfaction to see it flourish, and increase in stability and usefulness as he advanced in years. The design of his elaborate history, which must have gradually developed itself in the course of his early studies, is said to have been finally formed during his residence in Berwick, and he commenced a course of inquiry and reading, which he found that the resources of a provincial town, and the assistance of his literary friends in more favoured situations, were quite incapable of supplying for a subject so vast and intricate, as that of a complete history of Britain from the invasion of Julius Cæsar. In this situation Dr Henry found a useful friend in Mr Laurie, provost of Edinburgh, who had married his sister. The interest of this gentleman procured for his brother-in-law, in the year 1768, an appointment to the ministry of the new Grey Friar's church in Edinburgh, whence, in 1776, he was removed to the collegiate charge of the Old Church.

In the extensive public libraries of Edinburgh, Dr Henry found means of prosecuting his researches with effect. The first volume of his history was published in quarto in the year 1771, the second appeared in 1774, the third in 1777,



the fourth in 1781, and the fifth in 1785. The method of treating the subject was original and bold, and one the assumption of which left the author no excuse for ignorance on any subject which had the slightest connexion with the customs, intellects, and history of our forefathers, or the constitution of the kingdom. The subject was in the first place divided into periods, which were considered separately, each period occupying a volume. The volume was divided into seven chapters, each containing a distinct subject, linked to the corresponding subject in the next volume by continuance of narrative, and to the other chapters of the same volume by identity of the period discussed. The subjects thus separated were—1st, The simple narrative of the civil and military transactions of the country—2d, The ecclesiastical history—3d, The information which is generally called constitutional, narrating and accounting for the rise of the peculiarities in the form of government, the laws, and the courts of justice—4th, The state of learning, or rather the state of literature which may be called purely scholastic, excluding the fine arts, and constitutional and political information—5th, The history and state of arts and manufactures—6th, A history of commerce, including the state of shipping, coin, and the prices of commodities; and lastly, The history of the manners, customs, amusements, and costumes of the people.—The writer of a book on any subject on which he is well informed, will generally choose that manner of explaining his ideas best suited to his information and comprehension. It may be questioned whether the plan pursued by Henry was adapted for the highest class of historical composition, and if the other great historians who flourished along with him, would have improved their works by following his complicated and elaborate system. It is true that mere narrative, uninterwoven with reflection, and such information as allows us to look into the hearts of the actors, is a gift entirely divested of the qualities which make it useful; but there are various means of qualifying the narrative—some have given their constitutional information in notes, or detached passages; others have woven it beautifully into the narrative, and presenting us with the full picture of the times broadly and truly coloured, have prevented the mind from distracting itself by searching for the motives of actions through bare narrative in one part of the work, and a variety of influencing motives to be found scattered through another. The plan, which we may say was invented by Dr Henry, has only been once imitated, (unless it can be said that the acute and laborious Hallam has partly followed his arrangement.) The imitator was a Scotsman, the subject he encountered still more extensive than that of Henry, and the ignorance the author displayed in some of its minute branches excited ridicule. This is an instance of the chief danger of the system. The acquisition of a sufficient amount of information, and regularity in the arrangement, are the matters most to be attended to; Henry's good sense taught him the latter, his perseverance accomplished the former, and the author made a complete and useful work, inferior, certainly, as a great literary production, to the works of those more gifted historians who mingled reflection with the current of their narrative, but better suited to an intellect which did not soar above the trammels of such a division of subject, and which might have fallen into confusion without them.

The circumstances of the first appearance of the earlier volumes of this useful book are interesting to the world, from their having raised against the author a storm of hostility and deadly animosity almost unmatched in the annals of literary warfare. The chief persecutor, and grand master of this inquisition on reputation, was the irascible Dr Gilbert Stuart. The cause of his animosity against a worthy and inoffensive man, can only be accounted for by those whose penetration may find its way to the depths of literary jealousy.



The letters of Stuart on the subject, have been carefully collected by D'Israeli, and published in his "Calamities of Authors," and when coupled with such traces of the influence of the persecutor as are to be found scattered here and there among the various periodicals of the age, furnish us with the painful picture of a man of intelligence and liberality, made a fiend by literary hate. Stuart commenced his dark work in the "Edinburgh Magazine and Review," established under his auspices in 1773. Dr Henry had preached before the Society (in Scotland) for Promoting Christian Knowledge, a sermon entitled "Revelation the most effectual means of civilizing and reforming mankind," and in pursuance of the custom on such occasions, the sermon was published. The sermon was as similar to all others of its class, as any given piece of mechanism can be to all others intended for similar purposes; but Stuart discovered audacity in the attempt, and unexpected failure in the execution; it required "the union of philosophy and political skill, of erudition and eloquence, qualities which he was *sorry* to observe appeared here in *no* eminent degree."<sup>1</sup> Dr Macqueen published a letter in an anonymous form, defending the sermon, and the hidden literary assassin boldly maintained it to be the work of Dr Henry, an accusation not withdrawn till the respectable author announced himself to the world. Dr Henry was soon after appointed by the magistrates to the situation of morning lecturer to the Tron church. Under the disguise of the communication of a correspondent, who mildly hints that the consequence of the proceeding will be a suit against the magistrates, we find the rounded periods of Stuart denouncing the act in those terms in which indignant virtue traces the mazes of vice and deceit, as "affording a precedent from which the mortifications of the pious, may be impiously prostituted to uses to which they were never intended." In token of high respect, the General Assembly had chosen Dr Henry as their moderator, on his first return as a member of that venerable body; and being thus marked out as a leader in the affairs of the church, he took a considerable share in the proceedings of the ensuing session. Here his enemy keeps an unsleeping eye on his motions. Whilst the speeches of others are unnoticed or reported in their native simplicity, the narrator prepares himself for the handling of a choice morsel when he approaches the historian. "The opinion of one member," he observes, "we shall lay before the reader, on account of its singularity. It is that of Dr Henry, the moderator of last assembly;"<sup>2</sup> and then he proceeds to attract the finger of scorn towards opinions as ordinary as any opinions could well be conceived. The Doctor cannot even absent himself from a meeting without the circumstance being remarked, and a cause assigned which will admit the application of a pre-concerted sneer. Dr Robertson was the opponent of Dr Henry in this assembly. The periodical writer was the enemy of both, and his ingenuity has been taxed to bestow ridicule on both parties. Stuart at length slowly approaches the head and front of his victim's offending, and fixes on it with deadly eagerness. After having attacked the other vulnerable points of the author, he rushes ravenously on his history, and attempts its demolition. He finds that the unfortunate author "neither furnishes entertainment nor instruction. Diffuse, vulgar, and ungrammatical, he strips history of all her ornaments. His concessions are evidently contradictory to his conclusions. It is thus perpetually with authors who examine subjects which they cannot comprehend. He has amassed all the refuse and lumber of the times he would record." "The mind of his readers is affected with no agreeable emotions, it is awakened only to disgust

<sup>1</sup> Edinburgh Review and Magazine, i. 199.

<sup>2</sup> Edinburgh Review and Magazine, i. 357.



and fatigue."<sup>3</sup> But Stuart was not content with persecution at home, he wished to add the weapons of others to his own. For this purpose he procured a worthy associate, Whitaker, the historian of Manchester, and author of the "Genuine History of the Britons." Stuart, a vague theorist in elegant and sonorous diction, who was weak enough to believe that his servile imitations of Montesquieu raised him to a parallel with that great man, associated himself in this work of charity with a minute and pugnacious antiquary, useful to literature from the sheer labour he had encountered, but eminently subject to the prejudices to which those who confine their laborious investigations to one narrow branch of knowledge, are exposed;—a person who would expend many quarto pages in discussing a flint arrow-head or a tumulus of stones, occasionally attempting with a broken wing to follow the flights of Gibbon, but generally as flat and sterile as the plains in which he strove to trace Roman encampments; two more uncongenial spirits hardly ever attempted to work in concert. It may easily be supposed that the minute antiquary looked with jealousy on the extended theories of his generalizing colleague; and the generalizer, though he took occasion to praise the petty investigations of the antiquary, probably regarded them in secret with a similar contempt. But Stuart found the natural malignity of Whitaker a useful commodity; and the calm good sense of Henry afforded them a common object of hatred. A few extracts will give the best display of the spirit of Stuart's communications to his friends during his machinations. "David Hume wants to review Henry: but that task is so precious, that I will undertake it myself. Moses, were he to ask it as a favour, should not have it; yea, not even the man after God's own heart. I wish I could transport myself to London to review him for the Monthly—a fire there, and in the Critical, would perfectly annihilate him. Could you do nothing in the latter? To the former I suppose David Hume has transcribed the criticism he intended for us. It is precious, and would divert you. I keep a proof of it in my cabinet, for the amusement of friends. This great philosopher begins to dote.<sup>4</sup> To-morrow morning Henry sets off for London, with immense hopes of selling his history. I wish sincerely that I could enter Holborn the same hour with him. He should have a repeated fire to combat with. I entreat that you may be so kind as to let him feel some of your thunder. I shall never forget the favour. If Whitaker is in London, he could give a blow. Paterson will give him a knock. Strike by all means. The wretch will tremble, grow pale, and return with a consciousness of his debility. I have a thousand thanks to give you for your insertion of the paper in the London Chronicle, and for the part you propose to act in regard to Henry. I could wish that you knew for certain his being in London before you strike the first

<sup>3</sup> Edinburgh Review and Magazine, vol. i. p. 266—270.

<sup>4</sup> D'Israeli's Calamities of Authors, ii. 67. "The author appends in a note 'The critique on Henry, in the Monthly Review, was written by Hume, and because the philosopher was candid, he is here said to have doted.' We suspect this is erroneous, and founded on mere presumption. We have carefully read the two critiques on Henry in the Monthly Review, which appeared previous to Hume's death. The elegance and profundity of Hume are wanting, and in giving an opinion of the work, which is moderate and tolerably just, the Reviewer compares it somewhat disparagingly with the works of Hume and Robertson, a piece of conceit and affectation which the great philosopher would not have condescended to perpetrate. That Hume prepared and published a Review of Henry's book we have no doubt. In the Edinburgh Magazine for 1791, and in the Gentleman's Magazine for the same year, a critique is quoted, the work 'of one of the most eminent historians of the present age, whose history of the same periods justly possesses the highest reputation.' Without the aid of such a statement, the style stamps the author, and we may have occasion to quote it in the text as the work of Hume. Where it made its first appearance, a search through the principal periodicals of the day has not enabled us to discover. It is in the first person singular, and may have been in the form of a letter to the editor of a newspaper."



blow. An inquiry at Cadell's will give this. When you have an enemy to attack, I shall in return give my best assistance, and aim at him a mortal blow; and rush forward to his overthrow, though the flames of hell should start up to oppose me."

Henry was not in possession of the poisoned weapons which would have enabled him to retaliate, and his good sense and equanimity of mind were no permanent protection against assaults so unceasing and virulent. He felt himself the personal subject of ridicule and perversion, his expected gains denied, and the fame which he expected from years of labour and retirement snatched from his grasp by the hand of a ruffian.<sup>5</sup> In the midst of these adversities Henry went to London for actual shelter, but the watchful enemy observed his motions—attacks were inserted in one print and copied into another—the influence of his persecutor is widely perceptible in the periodical literature of the age. The *Critical Review* had praised the first volume of his history. The second meets with a very different reception: "it is with pain the reviewer observes, that in proportion as his narrative and inquiries are applied to cultivated times, his diligence and labour seem to relax," and a long list of alleged inaccuracies, chiefly on minute and disputed points, follows: the style is evidently not the natural language of the pompous Stuart, but it is got up in obedience to his directions on the vulnerable points of the historian, and the minuteness hints at the hand of Whitaker. Henry answered by a moderate letter defending his opinions, and acknowledging one mistake. The reviewer returns to his work with renovated vigour, and among other things accuses the historian of wilfully perverting authority. The charge of dishonesty rouses the calm divine, and with some severity he produces the words of the authority, and the use he has made of them. The editor claims the merit of candour for printing the communication, and as there is no gainsaying the fact it contains, appends an obscure hint which seems to intimate he knows more than he chooses to tell; a mode of backing out of a mistake not uncommon in periodical works, as if the editorial dignity were of so delicate a nature as not to bear a candid and honourable confession of error. Years afterwards, it is singular to discover the *Critical Review* returning to its original tone, and lauding the presence of qualities of which it had found occasion to censure the want. Stuart associated himself with his friend Whitaker in conducting the *English Review* in 1783, and it is singular, that amidst the devastation of that irascible periodical, no blow is aimed at Henry. But Stuart did not neglect his duty in the *Political Herald*, published in 1785, an able disturber of the tranquillity of literature, of which he was the sole conductor. Here he gave his last and deepest stab; accusing the venerable historian in terms the most bitter and vituperative, of a hankering after language and ideas, unworthy of his profession; concluding with the observation that "an extreme attention to smut in a presbyterian clergyman, who has reached the last scene of his life, is a deformity so shocking, that no language of reprobation is strong enough to chastise it."<sup>6</sup> The heartless insinuation was probably dictated by the consciousness that, whether true or false, no charge would be more acutely felt by the simple-minded divine. Stuart had, however, a very acute eye towards the real failings of Henry, and in his Protean attacks, he has scarcely left one of them without a brand. It was not without reason that he said to his London correspondent, "If you would only transcribe his jests, it would make him perfectly ridiculous." Henry was fond of garnish-

<sup>5</sup> Behold the triumph of the calumniator in the success of his labours: "I see every day that what is written to a man's disparagement is never forgot nor forgiven. Poor Henry is on the point of death, and his friends declare that I have killed him; I received the information as a compliment, and begged they would not do me so much honour." D'Israeli's *Calamities*, ii. 72.

<sup>6</sup> *Political Herald*, v. i. p. 209.



ing with a few sallies of wit, his pictures of human folly ; but he was unhappy in the bold attempt. They had too much pleasing simplicity and good-humoured grotesqueness for the purpose to which they were applied. More like the good-natured humour of Goldsmith, than the piercing sarcasm of Voltaire, they might have served to strike the lighter foibles exhibited in our daily path ; but to attack the grander follies of mankind displayed in history, it may be said they did not possess sufficient venom to make formidable so light a weapon as wit.

We have been so much engrossed with the dreary details of malignity, that we will scarcely find room for many other details of Henry's life ; but the history of the book is the history of the author—in its fate is included all that the world need care to know, of the unassuming individual who composed it. It is with pleasure, then, that we turn to the brighter side ; Henry calmly weathered out the storm which assailed him, and in his green old age, the world smiled upon his labours. Hume, who had so successfully trod the same field, was the first to meet Henry's book with a welcome hearty and sincere ; he knew the difficulties of the task, and if he was sufficiently acute to observe that Henry was far behind himself, neither jealousy nor conceit provoked him to give utterance to such feelings. "His historical narratives," says this able judge, "are as full as those remote times seem to demand, and at the same time, his inquiries of the antiquarian kind omit nothing which can be an object of doubt or curiosity. The one as well as the other is delivered with great perspicuity, and no less propriety, which are the true ornaments of this kind of writing ; all superfluous embellishments are avoided ; and the reader will hardly find in our language any performance that unites together so perfectly the two great points of entertainment and instruction." Dr Henry had printed the first edition of the first five volumes of his book at his own risk, but on a demand for a new edition, he entered into a transaction with a bookseller, which returned him £3300. In the middle of its career the work secured royal attention ; lord Mansfield recommended the author to George the Third, and his majesty "considering his distinguished talents, and great literary merit, and the importance of the very useful and laborious work in which he was so successfully engaged, as titles to his royal countenance and favour," bestowed on him a pension of a £100 a-year. For the honour of royal munificence, it is to be hoped that the gift was the reward of labour and literary merit, and not (as the author's enemies have proclaimed) the wages of the political principles he inculcated. The insinuation is, indeed, not without apparent foundation. Henry, if not a perverter of history in favour of arbitrary power, is at least one of those prudent speculators who are apt to look on government as something established on fixed and permanent principles, to which all opposing interests must give way—on the government as something highly respectable,—on the mass of the people as something not quite so respectable—on the community as existing for the government, and not on the government as adapted to the conveniences of the community.

Five volumes of Dr Henry's history appeared before his death, and the ample materials he had left for the completion of the sixth were afterwards edited by Mr Laing, and a continuation was written by Mr Petit Andrews. The laborious author prepared the whole for the press with his own hand, notwithstanding a tremulous disorder, which compelled him to write on a book placed on his knee. In the latter years of his life, he retired to Milnfield, about twenty miles from Edinburgh, where he enjoyed the company of his friend and relative, Mr Laurie. In 1786, his constitution began visibly to decline ; but he continued his labours till 1790. About that period his wife was affected with blindness from a cataract, and he accompanied her to Edinburgh, where she submitted to the usual operation, which, however, had not the desired effect during her husband's life-



time. Dr Henry died on the 24th of November, 1790, in the 73d year of his age.—The fifth edition of the History of Britain was published in 1823, in twelve volumes 8vo. A French translation was published in 1789—96, by MM. Rowland and Cantwell.

HENRYSON, EDWARD, LL.D., an eminent civilian and classical scholar, and a senator of the College of Justice. The period of the birth of this eminent man is unknown, but it must have taken place early in the sixteenth century. Previously to the year 1551, we find him connecting himself, as most Scotsmen of talent and education at that period did, with the learned men on the continent, and distinguishing himself in his knowledge of civil law, a science which, although it was the foundation of the greater part of the municipal law of Scotland, he could have no ready means of acquiring in his own country. This study he pursued at the university of Bruges, under the tuition of Equinar Baro, an eminent civilian, with whom he afterwards lived on terms of intimacy and strong attachment. It is probable that he owed to this individual his introduction to a munificent patron, who afterwards watched and assisted his progress in the world. Ulric Fugger, lord of Kirchberg and Weissenhome, a Tyrolese nobleman, who had previously distinguished himself as the patron of the eminent Scottish civilian, Scringier, extended an apparently ample literary patronage to Henryson, admitting him to reside within his castle, amidst an ample assortment of valuable books and manuscripts, and bestowing on him a regular pension. Henryson afterwards dedicated his works to his patron, and the circumstance that Baro inscribed some of his commentaries on the Roman law to the same individual, prompts us to think it probable that Henryson owed the notice of Fugger to the recommendation of his kind preceptor.<sup>1</sup> Dempster, who in his life of Henryson, as usual, refers to authors who never mention his name, and some of whom indeed wrote before he had acquired any celebrity, maintains that he translated into Latin (probably about this period, and while he resided in Fugger's castle) the "*Commentarium Stoicorum Contrariorum*" of Plutarch; and that he did so must be credited, as the work is mentioned in Quesnel's *Bibliotheca Thuana*; but the book appears to have dropped out of the circle of literature, and it is not now to be found in any public library we are aware of. In the year 1552, he returned to Scotland, where he appears to have practised as an advocate. The protection and hospitality he had formerly received from the Tyrolese nobleman, was continued to him by Henry Sinclair, then dean of Glasgow, afterwards bishop of Ross, and president of the Court of Session;—thus situated, he is said to have translated the *Encheiridion* of Epictetus, and the *Commentaries* of Arrian; but the fruit of his labours was never published, and the manuscript is not known to be in existence. Again Henryson returned to the continent, after having remained in his native country for a short period, and the hospitable mansion of Fugger was once more open for his reception. About this period Baro, whom we have mentioned as Henryson's instructor in law, published a *Tractatus on Jurisdiction*, which met an attack from the civilian Govea, which, according to the opinion expressed by Henryson, as an opponent, did more honour to his talents than to his equanimity and candour. Henryson defended his master, in a controversial pamphlet of some length, entering with vehemence into the minute distinctions which, at that period, distracted the intellects of the most eminent juriconsults. This work is dedicated to his patron Fugger. He was in 1554 chosen professor of the civil law at Bruges, a university in which one who wrote a century later states him to have left behind him a strong recollection of his talents and virtues. In 1555, he published another work on civil law, entitled "*Commentatio in Tit. X. Libri*

<sup>1</sup> Vide the dedication to *Tractatus de Jurisdictione Henrysoni*, Meerman's *Thesaurus*, vol. ii.



Secundi Institutionum de Testamentis Ordinandis." It is a sort of running commentary on the title of which it professes to treat; was dedicated to Michael D'Hospital, chancellor of France, and had the good fortune along with his previous Tractatus, to be engrossed in the great Thesaurus Juris Civilis et Canonici of Gerard Meerman, an honour which has attached itself to the works of few Scottish civilians. Henryson appears, soon after the publication of this work, to have resigned his professorship at Bruges, and to have returned to Scotland, where lucrative prospects were opened to his ambition.

A very noble feature in the history of the Scottish courts of law, is the attention with which the legislature in early periods provided for the interests of the poor. Soon after the erection of the College of Justice, an advocate was named and paid, for conducting the cases of those whose pecuniary circumstances did not permit them to conduct a law-suit; and Henryson was in 1557 appointed to the situation of counsel for the poor, as to a great public office, receiving as a salary £20 Scots, no very considerable sum even at that period, but equal to one-half of the salary allowed to the lord advocate. When the judicial privileges which the Roman catholic clergy had gradually engrossed from the judicature of the country, were considered no longer the indispensable duties and privileges of churchmen, but more fit for the care of temporal judges, Henryson was appointed in 1563 to the office of commissary, with a salary of 300 merks. Secretary Maitland of Lethington having in January, 1566, been appointed an *ordinary*, in place of being an *extraordinary*, lord of session, Henryson was appointed in his stead, filling a situation seldom so well bestowed, and generally, instead of being filled by a profound legal scholar, reserved for such scions of great families, as the government could not easily employ otherwise. Henryson was nominated one of the commission appointed in May, 1566, "for viseing, correcting, and imprenting the Laws and Acts of parliament." Of the rather carelessly arranged volume of the Acts of the Scottish parliament, from 1424 to 1564, which the commission produced in six months after its appointment, he was the ostensible editor, and wrote the preface; and it was probably as holding such a situation, or in reward for his services, that in June, 1566, he received an exclusive privilege and license "to imprent or cause imprent and sell, the Lawis and Actis of Parliament; that is to say, the bukes of Law callit Regiam Majestatem, and the remanent auld Lawis and Actis of Parliament, consequentlie maid be progress of time unto the dait of thir presentis, viseit, sychtit, and correctit, be the lordis commissaris speciallie deput to the said viseing, sychting, and correcting thairrof, and that for the space of ten yeires next to cum." In November, 1567, he was removed from the bench, or, in the words of a contemporary, taken "off sessions, because he was one of the king's council." This is the only intimation we have of his having held such an office; and it is a rather singular cause of removal, as the king's advocate was then entitled to sit on the bench, and was frequently chosen from among the lords of session. Henryson was one of the procurators for the church in 1573. The period of his death is not known, but he must have been alive in 1579, as lord Forbes at that time petitioned parliament that he might be appointed one of the commissioners for deciding the differences betwixt the Forbeses and Gordons.

Henryson has received high praise as a jurisconsult, by some of his brethren of the continent, and Dempster considered him—"Solis Papinianis in juris cognitione inferior." A monument was erected to his memory in the Grey Friars' churchyard of Edinburgh, by his son Thomas Henryson, lord Chesters, who is said by Dempster and others to have displayed many of the legal and other qualifications of his father.

<sup>2</sup> Reports from the Record Commission, i. 257.

<sup>3</sup> Dennmiln MS.—Haig and Brunton's History of the College of Justice, 133.



HENRYSON, or HENDERSON, ROBERT, a poet of the fifteenth century, is described as having been chief schoolmaster of Dunfermline, and this is almost the only particular of his life that is sufficiently ascertained. According to one writer, he was a notary public, as well as a schoolmaster; and another is inclined to identify him with Henryson of Fordell, the father of James Henryson who was king's advocate and justice clerk, and who perished in the fatal battle of Flodden. This very dubious account seems to have originated with Sir Robert Douglas; who avers that Robert Henryson appears to have been a person of distinction in the reign of James the Third, and that he was the father of the king's advocate. Douglas refers to a certain charter, granted by the abbot of Dunfermline in 1478, where Robert Henryson subscribes as a witness;<sup>1</sup> but in this charter he certainly appears without any particular distinction, as he merely attests it in the character of a notary public. A later writer is still more inaccurate when he pretends that the same witness is described as Robert Henryson of Fordell;<sup>2</sup> in this and other two charters which occur in the Chartulary of Dunfermline, he is described as a notary public, without any other addition.<sup>3</sup> That the notary public, the schoolmaster of Dunfermline, and the proprietor of Fordell, were one and the same individual, is by no means to be admitted upon such slender and defective evidence. Henryson, or, according to its more modern and less correct form, Henderson, was not at that period an uncommon surname. It is not however improbable that the schoolmaster may have exercised the profession of a notary. While the canon law prevailed in Scotland, this profession was generally exercised by ecclesiastics, and some vestiges of the ancient practice are still to be traced; every notary designates himself a *clerk* of a particular diocese; and by the act of 1584, which under the penalty of deprivation prohibited the clergy from following the profession of the law, they still retained the power of making testaments; so that we continue to admit the rule of the canon law, which sustains a will attested by the parish priest and two or three witnesses.<sup>4</sup> If therefore Henryson was a notary, it is highly probable that he was also an ecclesiastic, and if he was an ecclesiastic, he could not well leave any legitimate offspring. The poet, in one of his works, describes himself as "ane man of age;" and from Sir Francis Kinaston we learn that "being very old he died of a diarrhæ or fluxe." With respect to the period of his decease, it is at least certain that he died before Dunbar, who in his Lament, printed in the year 1508, commemorates him among other departed poets:

" In Dunfermling he hes tane Broun,  
With gude Mr Robert Henrysoun."

The compositions of Henryson evince a poetical fancy, and, for the period when he lived, an elegant simplicity of taste. He has carefully avoided that cumbersome and vitiated diction which began to prevail among the Scottish as well as the English poets. To his power of poetical conception he unites no inconsiderable skill in versification: his lines, if divested of their uncouth orthography, might often be mistaken for those of a much more modern poet. His principal work is the collection of Fables, thirteen in number, which are written in a pleasing manner, and are frequently distinguished by their arch simplicity; but in compositions of this nature, brevity is a quality which may be considered

<sup>1</sup> Douglas's Baronage of Scotland, p. 518.

<sup>2</sup> Sibbald's Chronicle of Scottish Poetry, vol. i. p. 88.

<sup>3</sup> Chartulary of Dunfermline, f. 64. a.—Robert Henryson is a witness to other two charters which occur in the same record, f. 63. a. b. His only mark of distinction is that of being designated *Magister*, while the names of several other witnesses appear without this title. He had perhaps taken the degree of master of arts.

<sup>4</sup> Decretal. Gregorii IX. lib. iii. tit. xxvi. cap. x.



as almost indispensable, nor can it be denied that those of Henryson sometimes extend to too great a length. The collection is introduced by a prologue, and another is prefixed to the fable of the lion and the mouse.

The tale of Vpoulans Mouse and the Burgesse Mouse may be regarded as one of his happiest efforts in this department. The same tale, which is borrowed from Æsop, has been told by many other poets, ancient as well as modern. Babrias has despatched the story of the two mice in a few verses, but Henryson has extended it over a surface of several pages. Henryson's Tale of Sir Chauntecleire and the Foxe is evidently borrowed from Chaucer's Nonnes Preestes' Tale. From these apologues some curious fragments of information may be gleaned. That of the Sheepe and the Dog, contains all the particulars of an action before the consistory court, and probably as complete an exposure of such transactions as the author could prudently hazard. The proceedings of the ecclesiastical courts seem about this period to have been felt as a common grievance.

Another conspicuous production of Henryson is the Testament of Cresseid,<sup>5</sup> which is the sequel to Chaucer's Troilus and Cresseide, and is commonly printed among the works of that poet. It evidently rises above the ordinary standard of that period, and on some occasions evinces no mean felicity of conception. The silent interview between Troilus and Cresseid is skilfully delineated; and the entire passage has been described as beautiful by a very competent judge of old poetry.<sup>6</sup> It is unnecessary to remark that for "the tale of Troy divine," neither Chaucer nor Henryson had recourse to the classical sources: this, like some other subjects of ancient history, had been invested with all the characteristics of modern romance; nor could the Scottish poet be expected to deviate from the models which delighted his contemporaries. Sir Troilus is commended for his knightly piety; a temple is converted into a *kirk*; Mercury is elected speaker of the parliament; and Cresseid, on being afflicted with a leprosy, is consigned to a spittal-house, in order to beg with cup and clapper. The personages are ancient, but the institutions and manners are all modern.

Henryson's tale of Orpheus is not free from similar incongruities, and possesses fewer attractions; it is indeed somewhat languid and feeble, and may have been a lucubration of the author's old age. Sir Orpheus is represented as a king of Thrace, and is first despatched to heaven in search of the lost Eurydice.

Quhen endit was the sangis lamentable,

He take his harp, that on his breast can hyng,

Syne passit to the hevin, as sais the-fable,

To seke his wyf, bot that auailit no thing :

<sup>5</sup> The Testament of Cresseid, compylit be Mr Robert Henrysone, Sculemaister in Dumfermling. Imprintit at Edinburgh be Henrie Charteris, 1593, 4to.—"Ffor the author of this supplement," says Sir Francis Kinaston, "called the Testament of Cresseid, which may passe for the sixt and last booke of this story, I have very sufficiently bin informed by Sr. Tho. Ereskin, late earle of Kelly, and divers aged schollers of the Scottish nation, that it was made and written by one Mr Robert Henderson, sometime chiefe schoole-master, in Dumfermling, much about the time that Chaucer was first printed and dedicated to King Henry the 8th by Mr Thimne, which was neere the end of his raigne. This Mr Henderson wittily observing that Chaucer in his 5th booke had related the death of Troilus, but made no mention what became of Cresseid, he learnedly takes upon him, in a fine poetical way, to expres the punishment and end due to a false unconstant whore, which commonly terminates in extreme misery." See the Loves of Troilus and Cresseid, written by Chaucer; with a Commentary by Sir Francis Kinaston, p. xxix. Lond. 1796, 8vo. Kinaston had translated into Latin rhyme two books of Chaucer's poem, and had published them under the title of *Amorum Troili et Cresseide libri duo priores Anglico-Latini*, Oxoniae, 1635, 4to. He completed his version of the poem, together with a commentary; and his manuscript at length came into the possession of Mr Waldron, who announced his intention of committing it to the press, but did not find encouragement to proceed beyond a short specimen.

<sup>6</sup> Scott's Notes to Sir Tristrem, p. 362.



By Wadlyng strete<sup>7</sup> he went but taryng,  
 Syne come down throu the spere of Saturn ald,  
 Quhilk fader is of all thir sternis cald.

Having searched the sun and planets without success, he directs his course towards the earth, and in his passage is regaled with the music of the spheres. His subsequent adventures are circumstantially, but not very poetically detailed. In enumerating the various characters whom he finds in the domains of Pluto, the poet is guilty of a glaring anachronism: here Orpheus finds Julius Cæsar, Nero, and even popes and cardinals; and it is likewise to be remarked that the heathen and Christian notions of hell are blended together. But such anachronisms are very frequently to be found in the writers of the middle ages. Mr Warton remarks that Chaucer has been guilty of a very diverting, and what may be termed a double anachronism, by representing Cresseid and two of her female companions as reading the Thebaid of Statius.<sup>8</sup> Like the fables of Henryson, his tale of Orpheus is followed by a long moral; and here he professes to have derived his materials from Boethius and one of his commentators.

The Bludy Serk is an allegorical poem of considerable ingenuity. The poet represents the fair daughter of an ancient and worthy king as having been carried away by a hideous giant, and cast into a dungeon, where she was doomed to linger until some valiant knight should achieve her deliverance. A worthy prince at length appeared as her champion, vanquished the giant, and thrust him into his own loathsome dungeon. Having restored the damsel to her father, he felt that he had received a mortal wound: he requested her to retain his bloody shirt, and to contemplate it whenever a new lover should present himself. It is unnecessary to add that the interpretation of this allegory involves the high mysteries of the Christian faith.

The Abbey Walk is of a solemn character, and is not altogether incapable of impressing the imagination. Its object is to inculcate submission to the various dispensations of Providence, and this theme is managed with some degree of skill. But the most beautiful of Henryson's productions is Robene and Makyne, the earliest specimen of pastoral poetry in the Scottish language. I consider it as superior in many respects to the similar attempts of Spenser and Browne; it is free from the glaring improprieties which sometimes appear in the pastorals of those more recent writers, and it exhibits many genuine strokes of poetical delineation. The shepherd's indifference is indeed too suddenly converted into love; but this is almost the only instance in which the operations of nature are not faithfully represented. The story is skilfully conducted, the sentiments and manners are truly pastoral, and the diction possesses wonderful terseness and suavity.

The Fables of Henryson were reprinted in 1832, for the Bannatyne Club,<sup>9</sup> from the edition of Andrew Hart; of which the only copy known to exist had been recently added to that great repository of Scottish literature, the Advocates' Library.

<sup>7</sup> Watling-street is a name given to one of the great Roman ways in Britain. (Horsley's Roman Antiquities of Britain, p. 387. Lond. 1732, fol.) This passage, which to some persons may appear so unintelligible, will be best explained by a quotation from Chaucer's House of Fame, b. ii.

Lo, quod he, caste vp thyne eye,  
 Se yonder, lo, the Galaxye,  
 The whiche men clepe the Milky Way,  
 For it is whyte; and some perfay  
 Callen it Watlynge strete.

<sup>8</sup> In Shakspeare's *Troilus and Cressida*, says Mr Douce, "Hector quotes Aristotle, Ulysses speaks of the bull-bearing Milo, and Pandarus of a man born in April. Friday and Sunday, and even mince-pies with dates in them, are introduced." (Illustrations of Shakspeare, vol. ii. p. 291.)

<sup>9</sup> From the accurate memoir prefixed to this volume, we have, by the kind permission of the



HEPBURN, JAMES BONAVENTURA, of the order of the Minims, said to have been an extensive linguist, lexicographer, grammarian, and biblical commentator. When the historian and biographer happens within the range of his subjects, to find accounts of occurrences evidently problematical, and as evidently based on truths, while he can discover no data for the separation of truth from falsehood, his critical powers are taxed to no inconsiderable extent. There are three several memoirs of the individual under consideration. The first is to be found in the *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum*, of Dempster, an author whose veracity we have already had occasion to characterize. Another is in the *Lives of Scots Writers*, by Dr George M'Kenzie, a work to which we have made occasional allusions, and which shall hereafter receive due discussion; and the third is in the *European Magazine* for 1795, from the pen of Dr Lettice. Dempster's account is short and meagre, except in the enumeration of the great linguist's works; the second is as ample as any one need desire; and the third adds nothing to the two preceding, except the facetious remarks of the author. Among other authorities which might have given some account of his writings, or at least hinted at the existence of such a person, all we can discover bearing reference to any of his twenty-nine elaborate works, is the slight notice we shall presently allude to. According to M'Kenzie, "Dempster says that he is mentioned with great honour by Vincentius Blancus, a noble Venetian in his *Book of Letters*;" on reference to Dempster, the apparently extensive subject shrinks into "*De Literis in manubrio cultelli sancti Petri*." Now we might have suspected that Dempster had intended to perpetrate a practical joke in the choice of a name, had we not, after considerable research, discovered that there is such a discussion on the pen knife of St Peter in existence, from the pen of Vincenzo Bianchi, a Venetian;<sup>1</sup> to this rare work, however, we have not been so fortunate as to obtain access, the only copy of it, of which we have been enabled to trace the existence, being in the library of the British museum, and we must leave the information it may afford on the life of Hepburn to some more fortunate investigator. M'Kenzie farther states that "he is highly commended by that learned Dr of the canon law, James Gassarel, in his book of *Unheard of Curiosities*;" on turning to this curious volume, we find the author "highly recommending" *Heurnius* and his book, "*Antiquitatum Philosophiæ Barbaricæ*."<sup>2</sup> But unfortunately for the fame of our linguist, the author of that book was Otho Heurnius, or Otho Van Heurn, a native of Utrecht, and son and successor to the celebrated physician Jan Van Heurn. We now turn with some satisfaction to the only firm ground we have, on which to place the bare existence of Hepburn as an author. In the *Bibliotheca Latino-Hebraica* of Imbonatus,<sup>3</sup> amidst the other numberless forgotten books and names, it is mentioned in a few words that "*Bonaventura Hepburnus Scotus ord. min.*" wrote a small Hebrew lexicon, printed in duodecimo: its description shows it to have been a small and trifling

editor, Dr Irving, abridged the above article. In the *Lives of Scottish Worthies*, Mr P. F. Tytler has entered at considerable length into the merits of Henryson's poetry, of which he gives copious extracts. He says—"of the works of this remarkable man it is difficult, when we consider the period in which they were written, to speak in terms of too warm encomium. In strength, and sometimes even in sublimity of painting, in pathos and sweetness, in the variety and beauty of his pictures of natural scenery, in the vein of quiet and playful humour, which runs through many of his pieces, and in that fine natural taste, which rejecting the faults of his age, has dared to think for itself—he is altogether excellent."

<sup>1</sup> Vincenzo Bianchi *Parere intorno alli caratteri che sono sopra il manico del coltello di S. Pietro*, 4to, Ven., 1620.

<sup>2</sup> Jacobi Gallarelli *Curiositates inaudite, de figuris Persarum talismanicis, cum notis, &c.*, ex editione Gregorii Michaelis, Hamb. 1676, 2 vols., 12mo, vide pp. 22, 35, 61, 134.

<sup>3</sup> *Bibliotheca Latino-Hebraica, sive de scriptoribus Latinis, qui ex diversis nationibus, contra Judæos, vel de re Hebraica utcumque scripsere, &c. auct. et vend. D. Carolo Joseph. Imbonato, Mediolanensi*, p. 14.



production, of a very different description from the vast volumes which Dempster and M'Kenzie have profusely attached to his name. We have been unable to procure access to this dictionary, or to ascertain its existence in any public library. Without some more ample data or authority, we should deem ourselves worthy of the reproach of pedantry, were we to abbreviate the accounts presented to us, and tell the reader, *ex cathedra*, what he is to believe and what he is to discredit. We have then before us the choice, either to pass Mr Hepburn over in silence, or briefly to state the circumstances of his life, as they have been previously narrated. To follow the former would be disrespectful, not only to the veracious authors we have already mentioned, but also to the authors of the various respectable biographical works who have admitted Hepburn on the list of the ornaments of literature; and the latter method, if it do not furnish food for investigation, may at least give some amusement.

James Bonaventura Hepburn, was son to Thomas Hepburn, rector of Oldhamstocks in Lothian. M'Kenzie states that he was born on the 14th day of July, 1573, and, that we may not discredit the assertion, presents us with a register kept by the rector of Oldhamstocks, of the respective periods of birth of his nine sons. He received his university education at St Andrews, where, after his philosophical studies, he distinguished himself in the acquisition of the oriental languages. Although educated in the principles of the protestant religion, he was induced to become a convert to the church of Rome. After this change in his faith, he visited the continent, residing in France and Italy, and thence passing through "Turkey, Persia, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Ethiopia, and most of the eastern countries," gathering languages as he went, until he became so perfect a linguist, "that he could have travelled over the whole earth, and spoke to each nation in their own language." On returning from these laborious travels, he entered the monastery of the Minims at Avignon, an order so called from its members choosing in humility to denominate themselves "Minimi Fratres Eremitæ," as being more humble still than the Minores, or Franciscans. He afterwards resided in the French monastery of the holy Trinity at Rome. Here his eminent qualities attracted a ferment of attention from the learned world, and pope Paul the fifth, invaded his retirement, by appointing him librarian of the oriental books and manuscripts of the Vatican.<sup>4</sup>

We shall now take the liberty of enumerating a few of the many weighty productions of our author's pen, chiefly it is to be presumed written during the six years in which he was librarian of the Vatican. *Dictionarium Hebraicum*—*Dictionarium Chaldaicum*—*Peter Malcuth, seu gloria vel decus Israelis*, [continet cent. homilias sive conciones]—*Epitomen Chronicorum Romanorum*—*Gesta Regum Israelis*—*Grammatica Arabica*, (said to have been published at Rome in 1591, 4to.) He translated *Commentarii Rabbi Kimchi in Psalterium*—*Rabbi Abraham Aben Ezra Librum de Mysticis numeris*—*Ejusdem Librum alium de septemplici modo interpretandi sacram scripturam*.

We shall now turn our consideration to one work of the celebrated linguist, from which a little more information appears to be derivable. This is the "*Schema Septuaginta Duorum Idiomatum, sive virga aurea—quia Beata Virgo dicitur tot annis in vivis fuisse; et ille numerus discipulorum est Christi, et Romanæ Ecclesiæ cardinalium, et tot mysteria in nomine Dei: Romæ, 1616.*" M'Kenzie says, "this was communicated to me by the late Sir John Murray of

<sup>4</sup> It is singular that a person in the 17th century, living in Italy, professing so many languages in a country where linguists were rare, a librarian of the Vatican, and one whose "eminent parts had divulged his fame through the whole city"—should have entirely escaped the vast researches of Andre in general literature, Fraboschi's ample *Investigation of Italian Literature*, the minute *Ecclesiastical Bibliographies* of Dupin and Labbe, and other works of the same description.



Glendoich, and since it is a singular piece of curiosity, I shall give the reader a particular account of it, with some reflections upon the different languages that are here set down by our author." Whether by the term "communicated" the biographer means to intimate that he saw the production he criticises, is somewhat doubtful; but at all events, our opinion of M'Kenzie's veracity is such, that we do not believe he would deliberately state that he had either been informed of or shown any particular work by Sir John Murray, and thereafter give a full and minute account of it, without some sort of foundation on which to erect his edifice of narrative. M'Kenzie proceeds to assure us that this is a large print, engraved at Rome in the year 1616, and dedicated to Pope Paul V. That upon the top is the blessed virgin, with a circle of stars about her head, wrapt in a glorious vestment, upon which is her name in Hebrew, sending forth rays of eulogiums in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, while over her head appear the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Angels and the apostles are at her side, and the moon and stars beneath her feet. Then follow seven columns in which these encomiums are translated into the numerous dialects with which the mighty linguist was familiar. A great northern philologist, recently deceased, has been held up to the wonder of the human race, as having been acquainted with thirty-two languages; but in a period when few were acquainted with more tongues than that of their native place, along with the Greek and Latin, and when the materials for more extensive acquisitions were with difficulty accessible, the craving appetite of Hepburn could not be satiated with fewer than seventy-two. We have among these—The Cussian, the Virgilian, the Hetruscan, the Saracen, the Assyrian, the Armenian, the Syro-Armenian, the Gothic, and also the *Getic*; the Scythian, and the Mæso-Gothic. Then he leaves such modern labourers as Champolion and Dr Young deeply in the shade, from his knowledge of the Coptic, the Hieroglyphic, the Egyptian, the Mercurial Egyptian, the Isiac-Egyptian, and the Babylonish. He then turns towards the Chaldaic, the Palestinian, the Turkish, the Rabbinical, the German Rabbinical, the Galilean, the Spanish-Rabbinical, the Afro-Rabbinical, and what seems the most appropriate tongue of all, the "Mystical."<sup>5</sup> Gradually the biographer rises with the dignity of his subject, and begins to leave the firm earth. He proceeds to tell us how Hepburn wrote in the "Noachic," the "Adamean," the "Solomonic," the "Mosaic," the "Hulo-Rabbinic," the "Seraphic," the "Angelical," and the "Supercelestial."<sup>6</sup> "Now," continues M'Kenzie, with much complacency at the successful exhibition he has made of his countryman's powers, but certainly with much modesty, considering their extent, "these are all the languages (and they are the most of the whole *habitable world*,) in which our author has given us a specimen of his knowledge, and which evidently demonstrates that he was not only the greatest linguist of his own age, but of any age that has been since the creation of the world, and may be reckoned amongst those prodigies of mankind, that seem to go beyond the ordinary limits of nature."

Hepburn dabbled in the doctrines of the Cabala, but whether in vindication or attack, the oracular observations of his biographers hardly enable us to ascertain. He died at Venice in October, 1620, a circumstance in which Dempster has the best reason to be accurate, as it is the very year in which he pens his account. M'Kenzie finds that "others" (without condescending to mention who they are,) "say that he died at Venice, anno 1621, and that his picture is still to be seen there, and at the Vatican at Rome." Dr Lettice, in the refined

<sup>5</sup> Perhaps the Cabalistic arrangement of the alphabet.

<sup>6</sup> Perhaps M'Kenzie may in naming this alphabet have had some confused idea in his mind, of an arrangement of the celestial bodies, by alternate contortion, into something resembling the letters of the Hebrew alphabet, followed by some of the worshippers of the secret sciences. The arrangement was called the celestial alphabet. *Vide* Caffarel.



spirit of a philosophical biographer, has drawn of him the following character : " Although Hepburn's attainments in language were worthy of great admiration, I find no reason to believe that his mind was enlarged, or his understanding remarkably vigorous. He does not appear to have possessed that quick sense of remote but kindred objects, that active faculty of combining and felicity of expressing related ideas, or that intuitive discernment betwixt heterogeneous ones; those creative powers, in short, of thought or expression, by which original works of whatever kind are produced; those works in the contemplation of which alone, taste ever recognizes the fascination of genius." Did we possess the power of creating opinions out of nothing, which the Dr possessed, and to which he seems to refer, we should have tried his canons of criticism, on a minute review of all Hepburn's works, but in the meantime, we can only say, we can scarcely agree with him in thinking that the linguist had not a quick sense of " remote but kindred objects," or that he had any defect in his discernment of heterogeneous ideas; nor do we conceive that his biographer has allowed him too narrow an allowance of " creative power."

HERD, DAVID, an ingenious and useful inquirer into our national antiquities, was born in the parish of St Cyrus, Kincardineshire, about the year 1732. Of his education, and early life in general, nothing has been ascertained. He probably served an apprenticeship under a country writer, and then, like many young men in his circumstances, sought a situation of better promise in the capital. Throughout a long life, he appears to have lived unambitiously, and a bachelor, in Edinburgh, never rising above the character of a *Writer's clerk*. He was for many years clerk to Mr David Russel, accountant. A decided taste for antiquities, and literary antiquities in particular, led Mr Herd to spend a great part of his savings on books; and although the volumes which he preferred were then much cheaper than now, his library eventually brought the sum of £254, 19s. 10d. The same taste brought him into association with the principal authors and artists of his own time: Runciman, the painter, was one of his intimate friends, and with Ruddiman, Gilbert Stuart, Fergusson, and Robert Burns, he was well acquainted. His information regarding Scottish history and biography was extensive. Many of his remarks appeared in the periodical works of his time, and the notes appended to several popular works were enriched by notes of his collecting. Sir Walter Scott, for instance, was much indebted, in his *Border Minstrelsy*, to a manuscript of Mr Herd's, which is frequently quoted by the editor, both for ballads and for information respecting them. Mr Herd was himself editor of what Scott calls " the first classical collection" of Scottish songs, which first appeared in one volume in 1769, and secondly in two volumes, in 1772. At his demise, which took place, June 25, 1810, he was understood to have left considerable property, which fell to a gentleman in England, supposed to have been his natural son, and who is said to have died a major in the army.

HERIOT, GEORGE, founder of the excellent hospital in Edinburgh which bears his name, and jeweller to king James VI., was descended from the Heriots of Trabroun in East-Lothian. This respectable family was connected with some of the most distinguished names in Scottish history. The mother of the illustrious Buchanan was a daughter of the family, and it was through the patronage of James Heriot of Trabroun, his maternal uncle, that the future poet and statesman was sent to prosecute his studies at the university of Paris. Elizabeth, daughter of James Heriot of Trabroun, was the mother of Thomas Hamilton of Priestfield, first earl of Haddington, president of the court of session, and secretary and prime minister to James VI. But the family may, with more reason, boast of their connexion with the subject of this memoir, who, though



filling only the unaristocratic rank of a tradesman, has been the means of drawing forth from obscurity *some* persons of high talent, and *many* who have moved in the middle ranks with the greatest honour to themselves and benefit to society.

George Heriot, senior, was a goldsmith in Edinburgh and a person of wealth and consideration. He filled some of the most responsible civic situations in the Scottish metropolis: his name often occurs in the rolls of the Scottish parliament as a commissioner for Edinburgh, in the parliaments and conventions of estates, and he was frequently appointed a commissioner by parliament for the consideration of important questions.<sup>1</sup>

George, his eldest son (the subject of our inquiry) is supposed to have been born in June, 1563. He was destined to follow his father's profession, at that time one of the most lucrative and honourable among the burgesses. The goldsmiths of Edinburgh were, in ancient times, classed with the hammermen; at what time they were separated seems uncertain. They received (in August, 1581) a charter of incorporation from the magistrates, in which many privileges, amounting in fact to a monopoly of their trade, were granted to them, and these were afterwards (1586) confirmed by a charter from James VI. They were, besides, for a long period, the only money lenders; and the high rate of interest, with their frequent command over the resources of the court and the nobility, rendered them persons at once of wealth and power.

At the age of twenty-three George Heriot entered into a contract of marriage with Christian Marjoribanks, daughter of Simon Marjoribanks, a substantial burgess of Edinburgh. On this occasion, his father presented him with 1000 merks "to be ane begyning and pak to him," and 500 more to purchase the implements of his trade and to fit out his shop. By his wife he received 1075 merks, which appear to have been lent out at ten per cent. interest, the usual rate of that period. Their union does not appear to have been of long duration, although the date of this lady's death is unknown; it is even doubtful if she had any children—if she had, none of them survived her.

Master Heriot was admitted a member of the incorporation of goldsmiths on the twenty-eighth of May, 1588. In 1597 he was appointed goldsmith to the queen by a charter from James VI., and this (to use the expression of a contemporary chronicler, Birrel,) "was intimat at the crosse be opin proclamatione and sound of trumpet; and ane Clei, the French man, dischargit, quha was the queen's goldsmith befor." Heriot was soon after constituted goldsmith and jeweller to the king, with all the emoluments attached to that lucrative office. It would appear that he had already amassed a considerable fortune from his transactions with the court, but no notice of his work occurs in the treasurer's books till September, 1599, when we have the following:

"Payit at his majesties special command, with advyiss of the lords of secret counsal, to George Heriot, younger, goldsmith, for a copburd propynit to Monsieur Vetonu, Frenche ambassadour, contening the peeces following, viz.: twa basingis, twa laweris effeiring thairto, twa flaconis, twa chandilleris, sex couppis with coveris, twa couppis without coveris, ane lawer for water, ane saltfalt with ane cover; all chissellit wark, and dowbill owirgilt, weyand twa stane 14 pund and 5 unces at aucht mark the unce, £4160. Item, for graving of 28 almessis upon the said copburd £14," Scots money.

No other notice of him appears between this period and that of the removal of the court to England, whither he soon followed it.

Heriot was now possessed of large fortune, and determined upon forming a marriage connexion with a family of good rank. The object of his choice was Alison

<sup>1</sup> Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland (folio edition), iv. 181, 379.



Primrose, eldest daughter of James Primrose, clerk to the Scottish privy council; a gentleman whose industry and talents had raised him to that honourable office, and who was the grandfather of the first earl of Roseberry. Heriot was also destined to survive this lady, who died, without leaving issue, on the 16th of April, 1612. "The loss of a young, beautiful, and amiable partner, at a period so interesting," Sir Walter Scott conjectures, "was the probable reason of her husband devoting his fortune to a charitable institution." She was interred in the south aisle of the choir of Saint Gregory's church, where her sorrowing husband erected a handsome monument, bearing a Latin inscription, to her memory.

From the period of Heriot's settlement at London little is known of his history. Many of the accounts of jewels furnished by him to the queen have been preserved, and several are printed by Mr Constable in his memoir of Heriot. These accounts, from 1605 to 1615, amount to many thousand pounds sterling, but there does not appear to have been the same liberality towards all the members of the royal family. We find the duke (then marquis) of Buckingham, writing to his "dere dad, gossip and steward," the king, from the Spanish court in the following manner relative to the prince: "Hitherto you have beine so sparing [of jewels] that whereas you thought to have sent him sufficiently for his one [own] wearing, to present to his mistris, who, I am sure shall shortlie now louse that title, and to lend me, that I to the contrarie have bene forced to lend him." About the same period Charles writes the following letter from Madrid to his royal father:

"I confess that ye have sent mor jewells then (at my departure) I thought to had use of; but, since my cunning, seeing manie jewels worne here, and that my braverie can consist of nothing else, besydes that sune of them which ye have appointed me to give to the Infanta, in Steenie's oppinion and myne are not fit to be given to her; therefore I have taken this bouldness to entreate your majesty to send more for my own wearing, and for giving to my mistris, in which I think your majesty shall not doe amiss to take Carlyle's advice."<sup>2</sup> It is said that Heriot furnished these jewels, and that they were never paid for by James, but that their price was deducted from the purchase-money of the barony of Broughton when bought by the trustees of the hospital.<sup>3</sup> If this is the case, it is the last transaction in which we have found Heriot engaged. He died at London on the 12th of February, 1624, and was buried at St Martin's in the Fields on the 20th of the same month.

Of Heriot's private character little unfortunately is known. He seems to have possessed those strict business-like habits of accuracy for which he is so distinguished in the novel of the *Fortunes of Nigel*. With his relations he must have lived on amicable terms, for besides the munificent provision made in his will for the establishment of an hospital, he left considerable sums to many of his relations. Of these the nearest were two natural daughters.

By his will, (dated 20th January, 1623,) he left the whole of his fortune, after deducting the legacies to his relations, servants, &c. to "the provost, bailiffs, ministers, and ordinary council, for the time being, of the said town of Edinburgh, for and towards the founding and erecting of an hospital within the said town of Edinburgh, in perpetuity; and for and towards purchasing of certain lands in perpetuity to belong unto the said hospital, to be employed for the

<sup>2</sup> Stark's *Picture of Edinburgh*, p. 232.

<sup>3</sup> Ellis's *Letters illustrative of English history*, (first series) iii. 145, 6. Buckingham adds the following postscript in his usual style: "I your doge (dog) sayes you have manie jewels neyther fit for your one (own,) your sones, nor your daughters, wearing, but very fit to bestow on those here who must necessarie have presents; and this way will be least chargeable to your majesty in my poure opinion."



maintenance, relief, bringing up, and education of so many poor fatherless boys, freemen's sons of the town of Edinburgh, as the means which I give, and the yearly value of the lands purchased by the provost, bailiffs, ministers, and council of the said town shall amount, or come to." The education of the boys is superintended by able masters, and they are not only taught to read, write, and cast accounts, (to which the statutes of the hospital originally confined the trustees,) but Latin, Greek, Mathematics, &c. If the boys choose a learned profession, they are sent to the university for four years, with an annual allowance of thirty pounds. The greater number are bound apprentices to tradesmen in the city, and are allowed the annual sum of ten pounds for five years; at the end of their apprenticeship they receive five pounds to purchase a suit of clothes, upon producing a certificate of good conduct from their master.

The foundation of the present magnificent structure (designed by the celebrated architect Inigo Jones,) was laid on the 1st of July, 1628, but from the disturbed state of the country continued unfinished till April, 1659. From the rise in the value of their property, the yearly revenue at the disposal of the trustees has very greatly increased, especially during the last half century. A body of statutes by which the institution is governed was drawn up by Dr Balcanquhal, dean of Rochester, the well known author of a "Declaration concerning the late tumults in Scotland," 1639, published in name of king Charles I.

HERON, ROBERT, a miscellaneous writer, was born in the town of New Galloway, on the 6th November, 1764. His father, John Heron, was a weaver, generally respected for his persevering industry and exemplary piety. By his grandmother, Margaret Murray, aunt of the late Dr Alexander Murray, he claimed no very distant relationship to that profound philologist. He was early instructed in his letters under the careful eye of a fond parent, and was not sent to the school of the parish until he had reached his ninth year. He soon became remarkable for the love he showed for learning, and the unwearied anxiety with which he pursued his inquiries after every point connected with his studies. This being early perceived by his parents, they resolved to give him the benefit of a liberal education as far as their means would allow. He had scarcely remained two years at school when, at the age of eleven, he contrived to maintain and educate himself by mingling with his studies the labour of teaching and writing. From his own savings out of a very limited income, and a small assistance from his parents, he was enabled to remove to the university of Edinburgh at the end of the year 1780.

His hopes of preferment at that time being centered in the church, he first applied himself to the course of study which that profession requires. While attending the college he was still obliged to devote a considerable portion of his time to private teaching, as well as writing occasional essays for newspapers and magazines, in order to provide for his subsistence. To quote his own words, "he taught and assisted young persons at all periods in the course of education, from the alphabet to the highest branches of science and literature." Being well grounded in a knowledge of the French language, he found constant employment from booksellers in translating foreign works. His first literary production, published with his name, appeared in 1789, "*A Critique on the Genius and Writings of Thomson*," prefixed to a small edition of the Seasons. It was highly spoken of, and reflected much credit on the judgment and taste of the author. His next work was a version of *Fourcroy's Chemistry*, from the French, followed by *Savary's Travels in Greece*, *Dumourier's Letters*, *Gesner's Idylls* in part, an abstract of *Zimmerman on Solitude*, and several abridgments of *Oriental Tales*.

In 1790-1, he says he "read lectures on the law of nature, the law of nations, the Jewish, Grecian, Roman, feudal, and canon law—and then on the



several forms of municipal jurisprudence established in modern Europe ;"—these lectures, he says, were to assist gentlemen who did not study professionally, in the *understanding of history*. Though he devoted much time and study to prepare these lectures, he was afterwards unfortunate in not being able to obtain a sufficient audience to repay him for their composition—they were consequently soon discontinued. A syllabus of the entire course was afterwards published. Still the sums of money he continued to receive from his publishers were amply sufficient to maintain him in a respectable manner, if managed with prudence and discretion ; but his unfortunate peculiarity of temper, and extravagant desire of supporting a style of living which nothing but a liberal and certain income would admit of, frequently reduced him to distress, and finally to the jail. He might have long remained in confinement, but that some worthy friends interceded ; and, on their suggestion, he engaged himself to write a History of Scotland, for which Messrs Morrisons of Perth were to pay him at the rate of three guineas a sheet, his creditors, at the same time, agreeing to release him for fifteen shillings in the pound, to be secured on two thirds of the copyright ; before this arrangement was fully concluded, melancholy to relate, nearly the whole of the first volume of the History of Scotland was written in jail. It appeared in 1793, and one volume of the work was published every year successively, until the whole six were completed. During that period he went on a tour through the western parts of Scotland, and from notes taken on the road, he compiled a work in two volumes octavo, called "A Journey through the Western Parts of Scotland." He also gave to the world, "A Topographical Account of Scotland," "A New and Complete System of Universal Geography," "A Memoir of Robert Burns," besides many contributions to magazines and other periodical works. He was also engaged by Sir John Sinclair, to superintend the publication of his Statistical Account of Scotland. By this time he had acquired great facility in the use of his pen, and, being extremely vain of the versatility of his genius, he flattered himself there was no range in literature, however high, that was not within the scope of his powers. Impressed with these ideas, he made an attempt at dramatic composition, and having some influence with the manager of the theatre, he contrived to get introduced on the stage an after-piece, written, as he says, in great haste, called, "St Kilda in Edinburgh ; or, News from Camperdown ;"—but as if to verify the adage, "Things done in a haste are never done well," so it turned out with St Kilda. Being devoid of every thing like interest, and violating in many parts the common rules of decency, it was justly condemned before it reached the second act.

Our author's vanity must have on this occasion received a deep wound, being present in the house at the time ;—overwhelmed with disappointment, he flew to his lodgings and confined himself to bed for several days. Still blinded by vanity in the midst of his mental sufferings, he imputed the failure of his play to the machinations of his enemies. He therefore determined on "shaming the rogues" by printing. It is needless to say, it neither sold nor was talked of. The most amusing part of this affair was the mode in which he persisted in forcing his production on the public. We shall present our readers with an extract from his highly inflated preface. It commences with a quotation from Sterne's *Tristram Shandy*. "The learned bishop Hall tells us in one of his decades, at the end of his Divine Meditations, that it is an abominable thing for a man to *commend himself*, and verily I think so ; and yet, on the other hand, when a thing is executed in a *masterly* kind of fashion, which thing is not likely to be found out, I think it is fully as abominable that a man should lose the honour of it. This is exactly my situation." In the following he quotes Swift :—"When a *true genius* appears in the world, you may know him by this sign—



that the *dunces* are all in confederacy against him." Yet, though blinded by folly and weighed down by distress, still his filial affections were alive, and, although he could not afford his parents any permanent support, he seemed anxious to promote the education of their family; which the following extracts from his letters will sufficiently prove:

"I hope by living more pious and carefully, by managing my income frugally, and appropriating a part of it to the service of you and my sisters, and by living with you in future at least a third part of the year, to reconcile your affections more entirely to me, and give you more comfort than I have yet done. Oh forget and forgive my follies; look on me as a son who will anxiously strive to comfort and please you, and, after all your misfortunes, to render the evening of your days as happy as possible." And again,—“We will endeavour,” says he, “to settle our dear Grace comfortably in life, and to educate our dear little Betty and Mary aright.” He brought his eldest brother, John, to Edinburgh, to study at the university, with the view of his entering the church; he was a youth of promising abilities, but of weak constitution, and sank into an early grave in 1790. As the other children increased in years, faithful to his promise, he brought his favourite sister, Mary, to live with him in Edinburgh to complete her education. His irregularities, and consequent embarrassments, made her situation in town any thing but an enviable one. Her mortifications, however, in this life were not of long duration, as she died at his lodgings in 1798. To a mind of his quick sensibility this was a dreadful shock. Almost frantic with grief at the loss he experienced, he gave himself up to the wildest despair: every unkind action or word he made use of towards her rushed to his distracted memory, until life itself was almost insupportable. Neither the sympathy of friends, nor the consolations of religion, could mitigate his woes. At the same time his means of subsistence became every day more precarious; his literary labours were ceasing to pay, so that, added to his other misfortunes, starvation and a jail were hourly staring him in the face. Shunning as much as possible all his former companions, he might now be seen wandering about the suburbs of the city, with wasted cheek and sunken eye, a miserable victim of want and care. By degrees, however, he was recalled to a better state of mind, when, finding his views not likely to succeed any longer in Scotland, he was induced to go to London in 1799. For the first few years of his residence there, it appears he found good employment, and his application to study being very great, his profits and prospects were alike cheering. In a letter written to his father about the time we are speaking of, he says—

“My whole income, earned by full sixteen hours a-day of close application to reading, writing, observation, and study, is but very little more than three hundred pounds a-year. But this is sufficient to my wants, and is earned in a manner which I know to be the most useful and honourable—that is, by teaching beneficial truths, and discountenancing vice and folly more effectually and more extensively than I could in any other way. This I am here always sure to earn, while I can give the necessary application; and if I were able to execute more literary labour I might readily obtain more money.”

He for a time pursued his literary vocations with an unwearied industry, and there was scarcely a publication then in London of any note but contained some of his fugitive writings. He realized in consequence a good income, but, unfortunately, for no great length of time. His former bad habits returned, and while money continued to flow in, he indulged in the wildest extravagance. Wishing to be thought an independent man of fortune, he would carry his folly so far as at times to keep a pair of horses, with a groom in livery. All this time his pen was laid aside; and until warned of his fate by the appearance



of his last shilling, he seemed altogether devoid of reflection. Then he would betake himself to his work, as an enthusiast in every thing, confining himself for weeks to his chamber, dressed only in his shirt and morning gown, and commonly with a green veil over his eyes, which were weak, and inflamed by such fits of ill regulated study.

In 1806, he addressed a letter to Mr Wilberforce on the *justice and expediency of the Slave Trade*. He wrote a short system of Chemistry, and a few months previous to his death he published a small work called the *Comforts of Life*, which, it appears, met with a ready sale.

The last years of his life were spent in the deepest misery. His friends and associates by degrees deserted him; some offended at his total want of steadiness, others worn out by constant importunities, and not a few disgusted at the vanity and envy he displayed on too many occasions; added to all this, his employers found they could place no dependence on his promises, as he would only resume his pen when urged to it by stern necessity, so that he found at last, it was with great difficulty he could procure even a scanty subsistence. Deep in debt, and harassed by his creditors, who were all exasperated at his constant want of faith, he was at last consigned to the jail of Newgate, where he dragged on a miserable existence for many months. From that vile prison he wrote the following pathetic appeal to the Literary Fund, which we derive from a most appropriate source, D'Israeli's "Calamities of Authors."

"Ever since I was eleven years of age I have mingled with my studies the labour of teaching or writing to support and educate myself. During about twenty years, while I was in constant and occasional attendance at the university of Edinburgh, I taught and assisted young persons at all periods in the course of education, from the alphabet to the highest branches of science and literature. I read lectures on the law of nature, the law of nations, the Jewish, the Grecian, the Roman, and the canon law, and then on the feudal law, and on the several forms of municipal jurisprudence established in modern Europe. I printed a Syllabus of these lectures, which was approved; they were as introductory to the professional study of law, and to assist gentlemen who did not study it professionally, in the understanding of history. I translated Fourcroy's Chemistry twice, Savary's Travels in Greece, Dumourier's Letters, Gesner's Idyls in part, an abstract of Zimmerman on Solitude, and a great diversity of smaller pieces. I wrote a journey through the western parts of Scotland, which has passed through two editions; a History of Scotland in six volumes 8vo; a typographical account of Scotland, which has been several times reprinted; a number of communications in the Edinburgh Magazine; many prefaces and critiques. A Memoir of the Life of Burns, which suggested and promoted the subscription for his family, has been reprinted, and formed the basis of Dr Currie's life of him, as I learned by a letter from the Doctor to one of his friends; a variety of *jeux d'esprit*, in verse and prose, and many abridgments of large works. In the beginning of 1799, I was encouraged to come to London. Here I have written a great multiplicity of articles in almost every branch of literature, my education in Edinburgh having comprehended them all. The London Review, the Agricultural Magazine, the Universal Magazine, the Anti-Jacobin Review, the Public Characters, the Annual Necrology, with several other periodical works, contain many of my communications. In such of these publications as have been received, I can show that my anonymous pieces have been distinguished with very high praise. I have written also a short system of Chemistry, and I published a few weeks since a small work called the *Comforts of Life*, of which the first edition was sold in one week, and the second edition is now in rapid



sale. In the newspapers—The Oracle, The Porcupine, when it existed, The General Evening Post, The Morning Post, The British Press, The Courier, &c. I have published my reports of the debates in parliament, and I believe a greater variety of fugitive pieces than I know to have been written by any one person. I have written also a great variety of compositions in Latin and French, in favour of which I have been honoured with the testimonials of liberal approbation.

"I have invariably written to serve the cause of religion and morality, pious Christian education, and good order in the most direct manner. I have considered what I have written as mere trifles, and I have incessantly studied to qualify myself for something better. I can prove that I have for many years read and written one day with another from twelve to sixteen hours a-day. As a human being I have not been free from follies and errors; but the tenor of my life has been temperate, laborious, humble, quiet, and, to the utmost of my power, beneficent. I can prove the general tenor of my writings to be candid, and ever adapted to exhibit the most favourable views of the abilities, dispositions, and exertions of others. For the last ten months I have been brought to the very extremity of bodily and pecuniary distress.

"I shudder at the thoughts of perishing in a jail.

"92, Chancery Lane, Feb. 2d. 1807.

(In confinement.)"

His life was now fast drawing to a close. With a mind bowed down by want and despair, and a body emaciated from increasing disease, he was incapable of farther exertion; and being removed to an hospital as his last and only hope, in one week after his entrance there, he breathed his last, on the 13th of April, 1807, without a friend to console or assist him. Thus perished Robert Heron in the prime of life, with talents and acquirements of a very rare description, which, if governed by prudence, were eminently calculated to gain for him an honourable independence in the world. It is difficult to estimate the true depth of his genius by his miscellaneous publications in prose; his style was of a mixed description,—sometimes pompous and declamatory, at other times chaste and elegant. But it must be considered he was seldom allowed the choice of a subject, being all his life under the dictates of a publisher.<sup>1</sup> He composed with great rapidity, and seldom made any corrections but in his proof sheets. His appearance was at most times impressive and dignified; his figure, above the middle size, stately and erect, and his countenance had a benevolent expression, though pale and care-worn from study and confinement.

With all his faults he had still many redeeming virtues; and above all a strong sense of the respect which is due to religion and morality. In a diary of his life, kept at various times, which contains a free confession of his sentiments, he has recorded, that, in whatever manner he spent the day, he never closed his eyes at night without humbling himself in prayer before the throne of the Most High.

The brief memoir of this accomplished scholar affords another striking instance of the impossibility of shielding genius from poverty and disgrace when blinded by passion, or perverted by eccentricity.

HILL, (Dr) GEORGE, an eminent leader of the church of Scotland, and principal of St Mary's college, St Andrews, was born in that city, in the month of June, 1750. His father, the Rev. John Hill, was one of the ministers of St Andrews; and he went through his whole course of education in the university there. The elements of education he received very early, after which he was

<sup>1</sup> A specimen of the writings of this extraordinary genius is given in the present work, under the head "Robert Burns."



sent to the grammar school, then taught by Mr Dick, who afterwards obtained a chair in the university. While he continued at school, he made a rapid progress, and was generally at the head of his class. At the age of nine years, he exhibited so much precocity of talent as to compose a sermon, superior in his father's opinion to many sermons he had heard from the pulpit; and the late countess of Buchan was so much pleased with it, that she requested it might be dedicated to her, and carried it to London with her, with the intention of having it printed. The intention, however, without any loss to the world we presume, was never brought into act. He entered upon his academical course in the eleventh year of his age, and in all the different classes maintained a decided superiority. His tasks he performed always with ease; and he was highly respected by all the professors under whom he studied. At fourteen years of age, he had completed his philosophical course, and was made a master of arts; and, having determined to devote himself to the church, entered upon the study of theology in his fifteenth year. During the second session of his theology, the earl of Kinnoul, having been appointed chancellor of the university of St Andrews, gave for the encouragement of learners, a number of prizes, to be bestowed on the most deserving in the various classes. These prizes his lordship distributed to the successful candidates with his own hand; and young Hill, having gained one of them, though he had to contend with many that were greatly his seniors, attracted the particular notice of his lordship, who from that moment took a warm interest in his success in life, giving him directions for his conduct, and aid for the prosecution of his schemes, with the warmth of a parent rather than the cold and stately formality of a patron. During his college vacations, he was in the habit of visiting frequently at Temple, his uncle, Dr M'Cormick, the biographer of Carstairs, by whom he was introduced to the metropolitan of the Scottish church, principal Robertson, and by the principal he was recommended as tutor to the eldest son of Pryce Campbell, M. P., and at that time one of the lords of the treasury. In consequence of this appointment, he repaired to London in November, 1767, not having completed his seventeenth year. Such a series of fortunate incidents occurs in the lives of few individuals. "Educated," says his biographer, "in the genuine principles of whiggism, he considered the great design of government to be the promotion of the liberty and the happiness of the people;" but in the close of the very same paragraph this writer introduces the subject of his panegyric saying to his mother, "as I have seen nothing but mobbing and the bad effects of faction since I came to England, I am very moderate, and think it the duty of an honest man to support almost any ministry." Mr Hill was, indeed, a whig of a somewhat odd kind; the man whom he most admired was lord North, and the objects of his aversion and his vituperation were the American colonists, Messrs Beckford, Wilkes, and the other members of the opposition in the house of commons.

Mr Hill, while at St Andrews, had been an ambitious member of those associations generally formed at colleges for the purpose of exercising the talent of speech, and he was not long in London till he found his way into the Robin Hood Debating Society, where he even then consulted his interest by defending the measures of administration. His account of this society gives no very high idea of its members. "Last night I went to the Robin Hood Society and was very highly entertained there. We had speakers of all kinds, shoemakers, weavers, and quakers, whose constant topic was the dearness of provisions. There were one or two who spoke very comically, and with a great deal of humour. But what surprised me much, I heard one of the easiest and most masterly speakers that ever I heard in my life. His dress was rather shabby, but he is a constant attendant and by long practice has greatly improved. I



spoke once or twice, and had the honour of being listened to with great attention, which is a compliment in a society of this kind, which is made up of people of all descriptions. It sits on Mondays from eight to ten. A ticket costs sixpence, for which you get a well lighted room and as much porter and lemonade as you choose to drink. There is a subject fixed, and if that fail, the president gives another. I shall be a constant attendant, not only as it is one of the highest entertainments; but as the best substitute for the select clubs which I have left."—"I carried," he says in another letter to his mother, "my pupil to the Robin Hood Society, along with Mr Brodie, Mr Campbell's parochial clergyman at Calder, who was on a visit to London. I made a splendid oration, which had the honour of a loud clap, and was very much approved by Mr Brodie. It is a fine exercise for oratorical talents." On another occasion Mr Hill thus expresses himself: "I am obliged to you for your observations on the knowledge of mankind. The true secret certainly for passing through life with comfort, and especially to a person in my situation, is to study the tempers of those about him and to accommodate himself to them. I don't know whether I am possessed of this secret, or whether there is something remarkable in the persons with whom I converse, but I have found every body with whom I have had any connexion since I came to England or Wales, exceedingly agreeable. From all I have met with politeness and attention, and, from many, particular marks of favour and kindness. I may be defective in penetration and sagacity, and in judging of character, but I am sure I am pliable enough, more than I think sometimes quite right. I can laugh or be grave, talk nonsense, or politics, or philosophy, just as it suits my company, and can submit to any mortification to please those with whom I converse. I cannot flatter; but I can listen with attention, and seem pleased with every thing that any body says. By arts like these, which have, perhaps, a little meanness in them, but are so convenient that one does not choose to lay them aside, I have had the good luck to be a favourite in most places." This at eighteen, except perhaps in Scotland, will be looked upon as an amazing instance of precocious worldly sense. In the scramble for the good things of this world, had such a man failed, who could ever hope to succeed?

In a subsequent letter to his mother, referring to the circumstance of a younger brother entering upon his education, he observes, "What is the learning of any one language, but throwing away so much time in getting by heart a parcel of words in one language, and another parcel corresponding to the first in another? It is an odd thing that some more rational and useful employment cannot be found out for boys of his age, and that we should still throw away eight or ten years in learning dead languages, after we have spunged out of them all that is to be found. God certainly never intended that so much of our time should be spent in learning Greek and Latin. The period allotted to us for action is so short that we cannot too soon begin to fit ourselves for appearing upon the stage. Mr Campbell cannot read Greek, and he is a bad Latin scholar; yet he is a philosopher, a divine, and a statesman, because he has improved his natural parts by reading a great deal of English. I am, and perhaps all my life shall continue a close student; but I hate learning. I have no more than is absolutely necessary, and as soon as I can I shall throw that little away." Whatever was his Latinity, Mr Campbell's interest was good and promised still to be better, in consequence of which Mr Hill's friends were instant with him to go into the church of England, where, through the attention of Mr Campbell, he might be much better provided for than he could be in the church of Scotland, to which, notwithstanding, he still professed not only adherence, but a high degree of veneration.

From this temptation he was delivered by the death of Mr Pryce Campbell,



who was cut off in the prime of his days, and in the midst of his expectations. Mr Hill, however, was still continued with his pupil, who was now under the protection of his grandfather; and as great part of his estates lay in Scotland, that his education might be corresponding to the duties which, on that account, he might have to perform, young Campbell was sent for two sessions to the university of Edinburgh, and that he might be under the eye of principal Robertson, he was, along with his tutor, boarded in the house of Mrs Syme, the principal's sister. During these two sessions, Mr Hill attended the divinity class and the meetings of the Speculative Society, where he acquired considerable eclat from a speech in praise of the aristocracy. He also waited on the General Assembly, in the debates of which he took so much interest as to express his wish to be returned to it as an elder. With Dr Robertson his intercourse was uninterrupted, and by him he was introduced to the notice of the principal men in and about Edinburgh. By his uncle, Dr M'Cormick, he was introduced at Arniston house, and in that family (Dundas) latterly found his most efficient patrons. While he was thus swelling the train of rank and fashion, it was his fortune to meet for the first time, dining at general Abercrombie's, with the celebrated David Hume, of whom he thus wrote immediately after: "I was very glad to be in company with a man about whom the world has talked so much; but I was greatly surprised with his appearance. I never saw a man whose language is more vulgar, or whose manners are more awkward. It is no affectation of rudeness as being a philosopher, but mere clownishness, which is very surprising in one who has been so much in high life, and many of whose writings display so much elegance." During all this time, the progress of his pupil was not commensurate to the expectations of his friends, and the expenses it occasioned; and with the approbation of his patron, lord Kinnoul, Mr Hill resigned his charge. Mr Morton, professor of Greek in the university of St Andrews, at this time wishing to retire on account of the infirmities of age, Mr Hill became a candidate, was elected after some little opposition, and on the 21st of May, 1772, was admitted joint professor of Greek, being yet only in the twenty-second year of his age. He now went to London with his former pupil, and visited Cambridge, where Mr Campbell was to finish his studies; and, having received from lord Kinnoul and Dr Robertson ample testimonials to the ability and faithfulness with which he had discharged his duty while residing in Edinburgh, the family parted with him, expressing their thankfulness, their respect, and regret. Returning to Scotland, he spent some time with his uncle, preparing for meeting with his class, which he did in the end of the year 1772. The duties of this charge did not prevent him from various other pursuits. In the year 1774, Mr Campbell, in order to make the most of his parliamentary interest in the shire of Nairn, gave to a number of his friends votes upon life-rent superiorities, and among others conferred one upon Mr Hill, who, while at Nairn performing his friendly office as one of Mr Campbell's voters, nearly lost his life by sleeping in a room that had been newly plastered. His groans, however, happened to be heard, and a physician being in the house to give immediate assistance, he was soon recovered. The year following, he formed the resolution of entering the church, and having made application to the presbytery of Haddington, with which, through his brother-in-law Mr Murray of North Berwick, he considered himself in some sort connected, he was by that reverend court licensed to preach the gospel on the 3d of May, 1775. He was immediately after this employed as assistant to principal Tullidolph in the parochial church of St Leonard's, which has always been united with the principality of the college. In this situation, he continued till the death of principal Tullidolph in the year 1777. The same year he was offered the parish of Coldstream by the earl of Haddington; but he



did not think it worth accepting. The following year, on the death of Dr Baillie, professor of theology in the college of Glasgow, principal Robertson desired him to stand candidate for that chair; but he seems to have taken no steps for that purpose, probably from the circumstance of his being only a preacher, which might have operated against him in case of a well supported candidate coming forward. The same year, probably to be ready in case of a similar emergency, he again applied to the presbytery of Haddington, and was by them ordained to the holy ministry. In the year 1779, through the interest of principal Robertson, and his uncle Dr McCormick, he was offered one of the churches of Edinburgh, with the prospect of a chair in the university in a short time. This also he declined with a view to some contemplated arrangements of lord Kinnoul. In consequence of the death of principal Morison, Dr Gillespie was shortly after removed from the first charge in the city to the principalty of the new college. Dr Adamson, the second minister, was promoted to Dr Gillespie's benefice, and Mr Hill was elected by the town-council successor to Dr Adamson. In consequence of his holding the professorship of Greek, Mr Hill's induction was protested against by a member of the presbytery of St Andrews, and the case was brought before the General Assembly in the year 1780, which dismissed it without ceremony, as it did also overtures on the subject from the synods of Fife, Perth, and Stirling. Mr Hill was, accordingly, with the full concurrence of the congregation, admitted to the church in which his father had officiated, on the 22nd day of June, 1780. Since his settlement at St Andrews as a professor of Greek, he had sat in the General Assembly as an elder; he now appeared in the more weighty character of a minister, and on the retirement of Dr Robertson became the most important member of the house, and confessedly the leader of the moderates.

We have already noticed his acceptance of a life-rent superiority, by which he became a freeholder in the county of Nairn in the year 1774. He continued to stand on the roll of freeholders for that county till the winter of 1784, when a new election came on; but Mr Campbell, from being on the side of the ministry, was now violent on the side of the opposition. In this case, for Mr Hill to have given his vote to Mr Campbell's candidate would have been considered by the ministry as open rebellion against their claims on the church, for which they might have selected another leader, and have, at the same time, withdrawn every mark of their favour from him. They might also have prosecuted him before the justiciary on a charge of perjury, as they had already done some others in similar circumstances. Under this complication of difficulties, Mr Hill as usual had recourse to the earl of Kinnoul, and to his brother-in-law Mr Murray of North Berwick. Lord Kinnoul most ingeniously gave him back his own views; did not, as chancellor of the university think he was warranted to allow him to desert his professional duties for the purpose merely of giving a political vote; and stated, that though he himself could have greatly extended his interest by such votes as Mr Hill possessed, he had never granted one of them. A charge of perjury he admitted, might be brought against any person who received them, and whether it might be well founded or not, it was a charge to which, in his opinion, no minister of the gospel should expose himself. The judgment of his lordship we cannot but approve, though it is probable that if the candidate had been a ministerial one, the Greek class might have been allowed a few holidays without the smallest impropriety. Mr Murray, while he regretted (though he no doubt knew it from the first,) that his friend should ever have accepted such a vote, applauded his purpose of relinquishing it, and of refusing, under all circumstances, to comply with the requisition to attend the election. Mr Hill's biographer labours hard to clear him from any degree of blame in this affair,



but without effect: it carries its character full in its face, and holds up a most important lesson to all clergymen, to beware of intermeddling in political intrigues of any kind.

In 1787 Mr Hill was honoured by the university with the title of D.D., and in 1788 was appointed to succeed Dr Spens as professor of divinity in St Mary's college. He had been the previous year appointed dean to the order of the thistle, a place that had been first created to gratify Dr Jardine for his services in support of Dr Robertson, but with no stated salary; the dean only claiming a perquisite of fifty guineas on the installation of every new knight. During Dr Hill's incumbency, no instalment took place, and he of course derived no pecuniary benefit from the situation. He had been little more than three years in the divinity chair, when the situation of principal became vacant by the death of Dr Gillespie, and it was by lord Melville bestowed on Dr Hill. This appointment in his letter of thanks he considered as peculiarly valuable, as being the best proof that lord Melville approved the mode in which he had discharged the duties of the divinity professorship. "I will not attempt, he continues, to express by words the gratitude which I feel; but it shall be the study of my life to persevere as a clergyman in that line of conduct upon which you have generously conferred repeated marks of your approbation." This was the termination of his university preferment; but he was shortly afterwards nominated one of his majesty's chaplains for Scotland, with a salary annexed; and, on the death of his uncle Dr M'Cormick, he succeeded him as one of the deans of the chapel royal. The deanery of the thistle already noticed was unproductive; but the above two situations, while they added nothing to his labours, increased his income in a material degree. In his management of the General Assembly Dr Hill copied closely after Dr Robertson; except that the entire satisfaction of himself and his party with the law of patronage as it then stood, was marked by withdrawing from the yearly instructions to the commission, the accustomed order to embrace every opportunity of having it removed, and by still bolder attempts to do away with the form of moderating calls for presentees and to induct them solely upon the footing of presentations. In his progress Dr Hill certainly encountered a more formidable opposition than Dr Robertson latterly had to contend with. In one case, and in one only, he was completely defeated. This was an overture from the presbytery of Jedburgh concerning the imposition of the Test upon members of the established church of Scotland, which it was contended was an infringement of the rights of Scotsmen, and a gross violation of the privileges and independence of the Scottish church. In opposition to the overture it was maintained by the moderates of the assembly that the Test Act was a fundamental article of the treaty of union; and Dr Hill, in particular, remarked that there were no complaints on the subject except from one single presbytery, nor was there any ground to complain; for, to a liberal and enlightened mind it could be no hardship to partake of the Lord's Supper according to the mode sanctioned by a church whose views of the nature and design of that ordinance were the same with his own. For once the popular party gained a triumph, and the accomplished and ingenious leader was left in a minority. A series of resolutions moved by Sir Henry Moncrieff were adopted, and by the unanimous voice of the assembly a committee was appointed to follow out the spirit and purpose of these resolutions. Care, however, was taken to render the committee of no avail, and nearly thirty years elapsed without any thing further being done. We cannot enlarge on Dr Hill's administration of the affairs of the church, and it is the less necessary that no particular change was effected under him. Matters generally went on as usual, and the influence of political men in biasing her decisions were, perhaps, fully



more conspicuous than under his predecessor. Of his expertness in business, and general powers of management, the very highest sense was entertained by the public, though differences of opinion latterly threatened to divide his supporters.

In 1807 Dr Hill had a severe attack, from which it was apprehended he would not recover; contrary to all expectation he did recover, and the following year, on the death of Dr Adamson, he was presented to the first ecclesiastical charge in the city of St Andrews. Eight years after, namely, in 1816, we find him as active in the General Assembly as at any former period of his life. Shortly after this time, however, he was attacked with slight shocks of apoplexy, which impaired his speech, and unfitted him for his accustomed exercises. He was no more heard in the assembly house; but he continued to preach occasionally to his own congregation till the year 1819, when he was laid aside from all public duty. He died on the 19th of December that year, in the seventieth year of his age, and thirty-ninth of his ministry.

Dr Hill married in 1782, Miss Scott, daughter to Mr Scott, a citizen of Edinburgh, who had chosen St Andrews as his place of retirement in his old age, after he had given up business. By this lady, who survived him, Dr Hill had a large family, several of whom are yet alive. His eldest son is a minister of the church of Scotland, and for pulpit talents scarcely less celebrated than his father. In a life of principal Hill, it would be unpardonable to pass over his various publications, some of which possess high excellence. We cannot, however, afford room for criticism, and shall merely notice them in a general way. Single sermons seem to have been his first publications, though they are mentioned by his biographer in a very indistinct manner. One of these, preached before the sons of the clergy, seems to have been sent to the bishop of London, whose commendation it received. Another, from the text, "Happy art thou, O Israel; who is like unto thee, O people saved by the Lord?" was published in the year 1792, as a sedative to the popular excitement produced by the French revolution. The sermon was an unmeasured panegyric on the existing order of things in Great Britain, and had, for a short time, an immense popularity. "I believe it will be agreeable to you," writes his bookseller, "to inform you that I have had success with respect to your sermon, beyond my most sanguine imagination. I have written a hundred letters upon the subject, and have got all the capital manufacturers in Scotland to enter into my idea. I have printed off ten thousand copies of the coarse, and one thousand copies of the fine. I have got letters of thanks from many capital persons, with proper compliments to you. \* \* \* I congratulate you upon the extensive circulation of the sermon, for never was such a number of a sermon sold in this country before, and I flatter myself it will, in a great measure, answer the purpose for which it was intended." The following year he published a third sermon, "Instructions afforded by the present war to the people of Great Britain." This sermon, however, passed without any particular notice. In 1795, he published a volume of sermons, which is said to have met with limited success. Several years after, Dr Hill published "Theological Institutes," containing Heads of his Lectures on Divinity; "a View of the Constitution of the Church of Scotland;" and "Counsels respecting the duties of the Pastoral Office." This last is an interesting and valuable work. In 1812, he published, "Lectures, upon portions of the Old Testament, intended to illustrate Jewish history and Scripture characters." To this work is prefixed the following dedication: "To the congregation which attends the author's ministry, this specimen of a Course of Lectures, in which he led them through the Books of the Old Testament, is, with the most grateful sense of their kindness, and the most affectionate wishes for their welfare, respectfully inscribed." There



is no mode of publication a minister can adopt so likely to be useful as this. It gives a most pleasing idea of a clergyman when he thus takes, as it were, a last farewell of his people, who cannot fail to peruse a work bequeathed to them under such circumstances, with peculiar interest. These lectures, we doubt not, were regarded among his parishioners more than all his other works. Of Dr Hill's character the reader has been furnished with materials for forming a judgment for himself. His precocious abilities, his talents for adapting himself to the uses of the world, his diligence in all his offices, and his powers of managing public business and popular assemblies, conspire to mark him out as a very extraordinary man. It may only be remarked that, for the most of tastes, his conduct will in general appear too much that of a courtier.

HOG, (SIR) ROGER, lord Harcarse, a judge and statesman, was born in Berwickshire about the year 1635. He was the son of William Hog of Bogend, an advocate of respectable reputation, to whom is attributed the merit of having prepared some useful legal works, which have unfortunately not been given to the public. The subject of this memoir passed as an advocate in June 1661, and continued in the enjoyment of a lucrative and successful practice, till a breach between Nisbet of Dirleton, and the powerful and vindictive Hatton, opened for him a situation on the bench on the resignation of that judge in 1677; being marked out by the government as a useful instrument, the appointment was accompanied with the honours of knighthood from Charles the second. At this period the judges of the Scottish courts, like ministerial officers, held their situations by the frail tenure of court favour, and were the servants, not of the laws, but of the king. It was the good fortune of Harcarse to be, in the earlier part of his career, particularly favoured by the ruling powers; and on the 18th November, 1678, we accordingly find Sir John Lockhart of Castlehill summarily dismissed from the bench of the court of justiciary, and Harcarse appointed to fill his place. At this period he represented the county of Berwick in the Scottish parliament, an election which, from the journals of the house, we find to have been disputed, and finally decided in his favour. A supreme judge of the civil and criminal tribunals, and a member of the legislative body, Harcarse must have had difficult and dangerous duties to perform. The times were a labyrinth full of snares in which the most wary went astray: few of those who experienced the sunshine of royal favour, passed with credit before the public eye, and none were blameless. Among the many deeds of that bloody reign, which mankind might well wish to cover with a veil of eternal oblivion, was one daring and unsuccessful attempt, with regard to which, the conduct of Harcarse, in such an age and in such a situation, had he been known for nothing else, is worthy of being commemorated. In 1681, the privy council had called on Sir George M'Kenzie, as lord advocate, to commence a prosecution for treason and perjury against the earl of Argyle, for his celebrated explanation of his understanding of the contradictions of the test. To the eternal disgrace of that eminent man, he brought with him to the prosecution those high powers of argument and eloquence with which he had so frequently dignified many a better cause. The relevancy of the indictment was the ground on which the unfortunate earl and his counsel, Sir George Lockhart, placed their whole reliance, but they leaned on a broken reed. In a midnight conclave, held it would appear after the minds of most of the judges were sufficiently fatigued by the effect of a long day of labour, the full depth of iniquity was allowed to the crime "of interpreting the king's statutes other than the statute bears, and to the intent and effect that they were made for, and as the makers of them understood." Queensberry, who presided as justice general, having himself been obliged to accompany the oath with a qualification, remained neuter, and to oppose the insult on sense and justice,



was left to Harcarse, and Collington, a veteran cavalier. In order to do the business with certainty, and prevent his majesty's interest from being sacrificed to opposition so unusual and captious, Nairn, an infirm and superannuated judge, was dragged from his bed at dead of night, and the feeble frame of the old man yielding to the desire of sleep while the clerk read to him a summary of the proceedings, he was roused from his slumber, and by his vote the relevancy of the indictment was carried by a majority of one. The course pursued by lord Harcarse in this trial escaped the vengeance of government at the time, but his conduct was held in remembrance for a future opportunity. In the year 1688, a question came before the court of session, in which the matter at issue was, whether a tutory, named by the late marquis of Montrose, should subsist after the death of one of the tutors, who had been named, in the language of the Scottish law, as a "*sine qua non*." In a matter generally left to the friends of the pupil, the unusual measure of the *instance* of the lord advocate was adopted by government, for the purpose of having the pupil educated in the Roman catholic faith. Wauchope lord Edmonstone and Harcarse voted for the continuance of the trust in the remaining tutors, and on a letter from the king, intimating to the court that, "for reasons best known to himself," it was his royal will and pleasure that they should cease to act as judges, both were removed from the bench, "notwithstanding," says Fountainhall, with some apparent astonishment, "that Edmonston was brother to Wauchop of Nidrie, a papist." The doctrine of the law, previously vacillating, has since this decision been considered as properly fixed, according to the votes of the majority; but an opposition to the will of government in such a matter can be attributed to no other motives but such as are purely conscientious. Other opinions on government and prerogative, maintained in a private conference with some of the leaders of the ministry, are alleged to have contributed to this measure; but these were never divulged. At the period of his downfall, a public attack was made on the character of lord Harcarse, on the ground of improper judicial interference in favour of his son-in-law, Aytoun of Inchdarnie, by an unsuccessful litigant. These animadversions are contained in a very curious pamphlet, entitled "*Oppression under colour of Law; or, my Lord Harcarse his new Practicks: as a way-marke for peaceable subjects to beware of playing with a hot-spirited lord of Session, so far as is possible when Arbitrary Government is in the Dominion*," by Robert Pittilloch, advocate, London, 1689.<sup>1</sup> The injured party is loud in accusation; and certainly if all the facts in his long confused legal narrative be true, he had reason to be discontented. He mentions one rather striking circumstance, that while the case was being debated at the side bar of the lord ordinary, previous to its coming before the other judges, "my lord Harcarse compeared in his purple gown, and debated the case as Inchdarnie's advocate;" a rather startling fact to those who are acquainted with the comparatively pure course of modern justice, and which serves with many others to show the fatal influence of private feeling on our earlier judges, by whom an opportunity of turning judicial influence towards family aggrandizement, seems always to have been considered a gift from providence not to be rashly despised. After the Revolution, the path of honour and wealth was again opened to lord Harcarse, but he declined the high stations proffered to him; and the death of a favourite and accomplished daughter, joined to a disgust at the machinations of the court, prompted by his misfortunes, seems to have worked on a feeble frame, and disposed him to spend the remainder of his days in retirement. He died in the year 1700, in the 65th year of his age, leaving behind him a collection of decisions from 1681 to 1692, published in 1757, in the form of a dictionary, a useful and well arranged compilation. The pamphlet of

<sup>1</sup> Re-edited by Mr Maidment, Advocate, in 1827.



the unsuccessful litigant, previously alluded to, though dictated by personal and party spleen, has certainly been sufficient somewhat to tinge the judicial integrity of lord Harcarse; but those who had good reason to know his qualities have maintained, that "both in his public and private capacity, he was spoken of by all parties with honour, as a person of great knowledge and probity;"<sup>2</sup> it would indeed be hard to decide how far the boasted virtues of any age might stand the test of the opinion of some more advanced and pure stage of society, did we not admit that in a corrupt period, the person who is less vicious than his contemporaries is a man of virtue and probity; hence one who was a profound observer of human nature, an accurate calculator of historical evidence, and intimately acquainted with the state of the times, has pronounced Harcarse to have been "a learned and upright judge."<sup>3</sup> Some unknown poet has penned a tribute to his memory, of which, as it displays more elegance of versification and propriety of sentiment than are generally to be discovered in such productions, we beg to extract a portion.

"The good, the godly, generous, and kind  
The best companion, father, husband, friend;  
The stoutest patron to maintain a cause,  
The justest judge to square it by the laws;  
Whom neither force nor flattery could incline  
To swerve from equity's eternal line;  
Who, in the face of tyranny could own,  
He would his conscience keep, though lose his gown;  
Who, in his private and retired state  
As useful was, as formerly when great;  
Because his square and firmly tempered soul,  
Round whirling fortune's axis could not roll;  
Nor, by the force of prejudice or pride,  
Be bent his kindness to forego or bide,  
But still in equal temper, still the same,  
Esteeming good men, and esteemed by them;  
A rare example and encouragement  
Of virtue with an aged life, all spent  
Without a stain, still flourishing and green,  
In pious acts, more to be felt than seen."

HOLYBUSH, JOHN, a celebrated mathematician and astronomer, better known by the Latin terms, *de Sacrobosco*, or *de Sacrobusto*, occasionally also receiving the vernacular appellations of Holywood and Hallifax, and by one writer barbarously named *Sacerbuschius*. The period when this eminent man flourished is not known with any thing approaching even to the usual certainty in such cases, and it is matter of doubt whether he existed in the 13th or 14th century. Nor is his birth-place less dubious; as in many other instances during the same period, England, Scotland, and Ireland have contended for the honour—the two former with almost equal success, the last with apparently no more claim than the absence of certain evidence of his belonging to any other particular nation. When a man has acquired a fame apart from his own country, and in any pursuit not particularly characteristic of, or connected with his native land, the establishment of a certainty of the exact spot of his birth is of little consequence, and when easily ascertained, the fact is only useful for the purpose of pointing out the particular branch of biography (as that subject is generally divided) to which the individual belongs, and thus preventing omission and confusion. Entertain-

<sup>2</sup> Memoir prefixed to his Decisions.

<sup>3</sup> Laing's Hist. of Scot. iv. 123.



ing such an opinion, we shall just glance at the arguments adduced by the writers of the two nations in defence of their respective claims, and not pretending to decide a matter of such obscurity, consider it a sufficient reason why he should be a fit subject for commemoration in this work, that no decision can be come to betwixt the claimants. It will be very clear, where there are doubts as to the century in which he lived, that he is not mentioned by any authors who did not exist at least a century or two later. In an edition of one of his works, published at Lyons in 1606, it is said, "*Patria fuit quæ nunc Anglia Insula, olim Albion et Brettania appellata.*" Although the apparent meaning of this sentence inclines towards an opinion that our author was an Englishman, the sentence has an aspect of considerable ignorance of the divisions of Britain, and confounds the England of later times, with the Albion or Britannia of the Romans, which included England and Scotland. Leland and Camden vindicate his English birth, on the ground that John of Halifax in Yorkshire forms a translation (though it must be admitted not a very apt one) of Joannes de Sacrobosco. On the other hand Dempster scouts the theory of Leland with considerable indignation, maintaining that Halifax is a name of late invention, and that the mathematician derived his designation from the monastery of Holywood in Nithsdale, an establishment of sufficient antiquity to have admitted him within its walls. M'Kenzie repeats the assertions of Dempster with a few additions, stating that after having remained for some years in the monastery, he went to Paris, and was admitted a member of the university there. "Upon the 5th of June, in the year 1221," Sibbald in his manuscript *History of Scottish Literature*<sup>1</sup> asserts, that besides residing in the monastery of Holywood, he was for some time a fellow student of the monks in Dryburgh, and likewise mentions, what M'Kenzie has not had the candour to allude to, and Dempster has sternly denied, that he studied the higher branches of philosophy and mathematics at the university of Oxford. Presuming Holybush to have been a Scotsman, it is not improbable that such a circumstance as his having studied at Oxford might have induced his continental commentators to denominate him an Englishman. M'Kenzie tells us that he entered the university of Paris "under the syndic of the Scots nation;" for this he gives us no authority, and we are inclined not only to doubt the assertion, but even the circumstance that at that early period the Scottish nation had a vote in the university of Paris, disconnected with that of England—at all events, the historians of literature during that period are not in the habit of mentioning a Scottish nation or syndic, and instead of the faculty of arts being divided, as M'Kenzie will have it, "into four nations, France, *Scotland*, Picardy, and Normandy," it is usually mentioned as divided into France, *Britain*, Picardy, and Normandy. That Holybush was admitted under a Scottish syndic, was not a circumstance to be omitted by Bulaeus, from his elaborate and minute *History of the University of Paris*, where the mathematician is unequivocally described as having been an Englishman. There cannot be any doubt that Holybush became celebrated at the university for his mathematical labours; that he was constituted professor of, or lecturer on that science; that many of the first scholars of France came to his school for instruction; and that if he was not the first professor of the mathematics in Paris, he was at least the earliest person to introduce a desire for following that branch of science. M'Kenzie states that he died in the year 1256, as appears from his tombstone. The author of the *History of the University of Paris*, referring with better means of knowledge to the same tombstone, which he says was to be seen at the period when he writes, places the date of his death at the year 1340. The same well informed author mentions that the high respect paid to his abilities and integrity, prompted the

<sup>1</sup> Hist. Lit. Gentis Scot. MS. Adv. Lib., p. 161.



university to honour him with a public funeral, and many demonstrations of grief. On the tombstone already referred to, was engraved an astrolabe, surrounded by the following inscription:—

“ De Sacrobosco qui computista Joannes,  
Tempora diserevit, jacet hic a tempore raptus.  
Tempora qui sequeris, memor esto quod morieris;  
Si miseres, plora, miserans pro me precor ora.”

The most celebrated work of Holywood was a treatise on the Sphere, discussing in the first part the form, motion, and surface of the earth—in the second those of the heavenly bodies, and, as was customary before the more full revival of philosophy, mingling his mathematics and astronomy with metaphysics and magic. Although the discoveries displayed in this work must be of great importance, it is impossible to give any account of their extent, as the manuscripts of the author seem to have lain dormant till the end of the 15th or beginning of the 16th century, when they were repeatedly published, with the comments and additions of able mathematicians, who mingled the discoveries of Holybush with those which had been made since his death. The earliest edition of this work appears to have been that published at Padua in 1475, entitled “Francisci Capuani expositio Sphæræ Joannis a Sacrobosco.” In 1485 appeared “Sphæra cum Theoricis Purbachii et Disputationibus Johannis Regiomontani contra Cremonensium Deliramenta in Planetarum Theoricis,” being a mixture of the discoveries of Holywood, with those of George Purbach, (so called from the name of a town in Germany, in which he was born,) and Regiomontanus, whose real name was Muller, two celebrated astronomers and mathematicians of the 15th century. During the same year there appears to have been published a commentary on Holywood by Cichus Ascolanus. In 1507, appeared an edition for the use of the university of Paris, with a commentary, by John Bonatus. In 1547, an edition was published at Antwerp, with figures very respectably executed, and without the name of any commentator. Among his other commentators, were Morisanus, Clavius, Vinetus, and many others of high name, whom it were useless here to enumerate. Some late authors have said that Melancthon edited his *Computus Ecclesiasticus*; of this edition we have not observed a copy in any library or bibliography, but that great man wrote a preface to the *Sphæra*, prefixed to an edition published at Paris in 1550. Besides these two works, Holybush wrote *De Algorismo*, and *De Ratione Anni*. Dempster also mentions a *Breviarium Juris*, which either has never existed, or is now lost. M’Kenzie mentions a *Treatise de Algorismo*, and on Ptolemy’s *Astrolabe*, fragments of which existed in MS. in the Bodleian library. In the catalogue of that institution the former is mentioned, but not the latter.

HOME, HENRY, (LORD KAMES,) a lawyer and metaphysician, son of George Home of Kames, was born at his father’s house in the county of Berwick, in the year 1696. The paternal estate of the family, which had once been considerable, was, at the period of the birth of the subject of this memoir, considerably burdened and reduced by the extravagance of his father, who appears to have pursued an easy hospitable system of living, unfortunately not compatible with a small income and a large family. With the means of acquiring a liberal education, good connexions, and the expectation of no permanent provision but the fruit of his own labours, the son was thrown upon the world, and the history of all ages has taught us, that among individuals so circumstanced, science has chosen her brightest ornaments, and nations have found their most industrious and powerful benefactors. In the earlier part of the last century, few of the country gentlemen of Scotland could afford to bestow on their children the ex-



pensive education of an English university, and an intuitive horror at a contact with the lower ranks, frequently induced them to reject the more simple system of education provided by the universities of Scotland. Whether from this or some other cause, young Home was denied a public education, and received instructions from a private tutor of the name of Wingate, of whose talents and temper he appears to have retained no happy recollection.<sup>1</sup> The classical education which he received from this man appears to have been of a very imperfect description, and although on entering the study of his profession, he turned his attention for some length of time to that branch of study, he never acquired a knowledge of ancient languages sufficiently minute to balance his other varied and extensive acquirements. Mr Home was destined by his family to follow the profession of the law, the branch first assigned him being that of an agent. He was in consequence apprenticed to a writer to the signet in the year 1712, and he continued for several years to perform the usual routine of drudgery, unpleasant to a cultivated and thinking mind, but one of the best introductions to the accurate practice of the more formal part of the duties of the bar. The ample biographer of Home has detailed in very pleasing terms the accident to which he dates his ambition to pursue a higher branch of the profession than that to which he was originally destined. The scene of action is represented as being the drawing room of Sir Hew Dalrymple, lord president of the court of session, where Home, on a message from his master, finds the veteran judge in the full enjoyment of elegant ease, with his daughter, a young beauty, performing some favourite tunes on the harpsichord. "Happy the man," the sentimental youth is made to say to himself, "whose old age, crowned with honour and dignity, can thus repose itself after the useful labours of the day, in the bosom of his family, amidst all the elegant enjoyments which affluence, justly earned, can command! such are the fruits of eminence in the profession of the law!" If Home ever dated his final choice of a profession from the occurrence of this incident, certain praises which the president chose to bestow on his acuteness and knowledge of Scottish law, may have been the part of the interview which chiefly influenced his determination.

Having settled the important matter of his future profession, Mr Home applied himself to the study of the laws, not through the lectureship which had just been established in Edinburgh for that purpose, but by means of private reading, and attendance at the courts. He seems indeed to have entertained an early objection to the discipline of a class-room, and to have shown an independence of thought, and repugnance to direction in his mental pursuits, which have been by some of his admirers laid down as the germs of that originality which his works have exhibited. Perhaps the same feeling of self-assurance prompted him in the year 1723, to address a long epistle to Dr Samuel Clarke, "from a young philosopher," debating some of that learned divine's opinions on the necessity, omnipotence, and omniscience of the Deity. A very concise and

<sup>1</sup> Tytler, in his life of Kames, mentions an amusing scene which took place betwixt the scholar and master some time after their separation. When Home was at the height of his celebrity as a barrister, the pedagogue had contrived to amass a sum of money, which he cautiously secured on land. Anxious about the security of his titles, he stalked one morning into the study of his former pupil, requesting an opinion of their validity. The lawyer having carefully examined the several steps of the investment, assumed an aspect of concern, and hoped Mr Wingate had not concluded the bargain; but Mr Wingate *had* concluded the bargain, and so he had the pleasure to listen to a long summary of objections, with which the technical knowledge of his former pupil enabled him to pose the uninitiated. When the lawyer was satisfied with the effect of his art, the poor man was relieved from the torture, with an admonition, which it were to be wished all followers of "the delightful task" would hold in mind: "You may remember, sir, how you made me smart in days of yore for very small offences—now I think our accounts are closed. Take up your papers, man, and go home with an easy mind; your titles are excellent."



polite answer was returned, for the brevity of which the writer excuses himself, "as it is according to his custom, and the time allowed him for such matters." No encouragement was given to continue the correspondence, and the application was not repeated. He appears at the same time to have maintained a conference with Mr Andrew Baxter, on certain points of natural philosophy; but that gentleman finding it impossible to bend the young philosopher's mind to the conviction, that motion was not the effect of repeated impulses, but of one impulse, the effect of which continues till counteracted, (the doctrine generally received by the learned world,) seems to have lost all proper philosophical patience, and given up the controversy in a fit of anger.

Mr Home put on the gown of an advocate in the year 1723, when there were, as there ever will be in such institutions, many eminent men at the Scottish bar; but although many were respectable both for their talents and integrity, it could not be said that more than one revered individual, Forbes of Culloden, was justly illustrious, for a distinguished display of the former, or an uncompromising and undeviating maintenance of the latter quality. The baneful corruptions of family and ministerial influence, which had long affected the court, ceased to characterize it: but their shadows still hovered around their former dwelling-place, and many curious little private documents on which the world has accidentally stumbled, have shown that the most respectable guardians of justice, have not administered the law uninfluenced by some of those little worldly motives which affect a man in the management of his own affairs. From the period when Mr Home commenced his practice at the bar, he seems to have for a time forgot his metaphysics, and turned the whole of his discriminating and naturally vigorous intellect to the study of the law; in 1728 he published the first of his numerous works, a collection of the "Remarkable Decisions of the Court of Session," from 1716 to 1728, a work purely professional, which from the species of technical study being seldom embodied by an author so comparatively youthful, seems to have attracted much attention from the court and the leading lawyers of the time. It is probable that the hue and arrangement given to the pleadings, now the chief defect of that compilation, may have rendered it at the time it was published attractive from the originality of the method. A small volume of essays "upon several subjects in Scots Law," which he published four years afterwards, afforded more scope for ingenuity and refinement of reasoning than could possibly be infused into other men's arguments; and in the choice of the subjects, and the method of treating them, full advantage has been taken of the license. Such of the arguments and observations as stood the test of more mature consideration, were afterwards embodied by the author in one of his more extensive popular law books. Mr Home seems to have been one of those gifted individuals who could enjoy hilarity without dissipation, and gayety without frivolity. In early life he gathered round him a knot of familiar and congenial spirits, with whom he enjoyed the fashionable and literary society of Edinburgh, then by no means despicable as a school of politeness, and just dawning into a high literary celebrity. Hamilton of Bangour, Oswald, and lord Binning, were among his early and familiar friends, and though he soon extended to more gifted minds the circle of his philosophical correspondence, an early intercourse with men so refined and learned must have left a lasting impression on his susceptible intellect.

In 1741, at the prudent age of forty-seven, Mr Home married Miss Agatha Drummond, a younger daughter of Mr Drummond of Blair, in Perthshire, a lady of whom we hear little, except that she had a turn for quiet humour, and that she perplexed her husband's economical principles by an inordinate affection for old china, being in other respects generally reported to have been a prudent and



docile wife. In 1741, Mr Home published the well known Dictionary of the Decisions of the Court of Session, afterwards continued and perfected by his friend and biographer, lord Woodhouselee; a very laborious work, and of great practical utility, though now superseded by the gigantic compilation of Morison, and the elaborate digest of the late Mr Brown. During the rebellion of 1745, the business of the court of session was suspended for eleven months, and those lawyers whose minds were not engaged in the feverish struggles of the times, had to seek some occupation in their retirement. Mr Home seems at no time to have busied himself in active politics, excepting such as came within the range of his judicial duties—and the early predilection of his family to the support of the Stuart dynasty, may have been an additional motive for his preserving a strict neutrality during that disorderly period. In the midst of his retirement, he gathered into a few short treatises, which, in 1747, he published under the title of “*Essays upon several subjects concerning British Antiquities*,” some facts and observations intended to allay the unhappy differences of the period, although it is rather doubtful whether the Highlanders or their intelligent chiefs found any solace for their defeat and subjection to the laws, in discussions on the authority of the *Regiam Majestatem*, or nice theories of descent. The subjects discussed are of a highly useful and curious nature; and had the author brought to the work an extensive collection of facts, and a disposition to launch into no theories but such as his own good sense dictated to be applicable and sound, the country might have had to thank him for a just and satisfactory account of her ancient laws and customs, and the rise of the constitution, which the talent of her bar has not yet produced. But these essays are brief and desultory, the facts are few and paltry, and the reasoning fanciful and unsatisfactory. The arguments against “the Hereditary and Indefeasible right of Kings,” if they ever produced any good effect, would certainly constitute a proof that the human mind, as exhibited in any arguments which might be used by his opponents, was then more perverted by prejudice, than it is generally believed to have been in any civilized country. To the truisms contained in that essay, the refinements on hereditary descent form a curious converse; where the feudal system has its origin from the tendency of bodies in motion to continue in a straight line, and the consequent tendency of the mind to pursue its objects in a course equally direct, which proves that, “as in tracing out a family, the mind descends by degrees from the father first to the eldest son, and so downwards in the order of age, the eldest son, where but one can take, is the first who presents himself.”

The next production of Mr Home's pen, was one of a nature more congenial to his habits of thought:—in 1751, he published “*Essays on the Principles of Morality and Natural Religion*.” One of the grand leading aims of this work, is the maintenance of innate ideas, or principles of right and wrong, in opposition to the opinions of Locke and Hume. After the clear logical deductions of these great men, the duty of an opponent was a task of difficulty; while it is at the same time generally allowed by both parties in this grand question, that the view adopted by lord Kames, while it agrees more happily with the general feelings of the world, cannot bear the application of the same chain of clear and subtle reasoning which distinguishes the position of his antagonists. Like too many of the best works on metaphysics, the *Essays on Morality* give more instruction from the ingenuity of the arguments, and the aspects of the human mind brought before the reader in the course of deducing them, than in the abstract truths presumed to be demonstrated. It has been frequently noticed, to the prejudice of most of the works of the same author, that, instead of arranging his arguments for the support of some general principle, he has subdivided his principles, and so



failed to bring his arguments to a common point. The failing, if characteristic of lord Kames, was not unusual at the period, and is one which time, and the advantage of the labours of previous thinkers, tend to modify;—in the work we are just considering, the line of argument maintained bids defiance to the adoption of any one general principle, while much confusion is prevented, by the author having given a definition of what he understands those laws of nature to which he refers our consciousness of good and evil to consist of. Although the author in the advertisement avows the purpose of his work to be “to prepare the way for a proof of the existence of the Deity,” and terminates the whole with a very pious and orthodox prayer, he had the fortune to bring the church of Scotland like a hornet’s nest about him, on the ground of certain principles tending to infidelity, which some of its active adherents had scented out in his arguments. A zealous clergyman of the name of Anderson published, in 1753, “An Estimate of the Profit and Loss of Religion, personally and publicly stated; illustrated with references to Essays on Morality and Natural Religion;” in which the unfortunate philosopher is treated with no more politeness than the opponent of any given polemical disputant deserves. This blast of the trumpet was followed up by an “Analysis” of the same subject, “addressed to the consideration of the church of Scotland;” and the parties rousing themselves for battle, the hand of the respected Dr Blair, stretched forth in moderation of party rancour, and defence of his esteemed friend, protracted but did not prevent the issue. A motion was made in the committee for overtures of the General Assembly, “How far it was proper for them to call before them, and censure the authors of infidel books.” After a stormy debate the motion was lost, but the indefatigable Mr Anderson presented in name of himself and those who adhered to his opinions, a petition and complaint to the presbytery of Edinburgh, praying that the author of the *Essays on Morality, &c.* might be censured “according to the law of the gospel, and the practice of this and all other well governed churches.” Defences were given in, and the petitioner obtained leave to reply, but before the matter came to a conclusion he had breathed his last, and the soul of the controversy perishing along with him, lord Kames was left to pursue his philosophical studies unmolested. The chief subject of this controversy, may be discovered in the curious and original views maintained by the author of the essays, on the subject of liberty and necessity. Full freedom to the will of mankind he maintains to be in opposition to the existence and operation of a Deity, who pre-judges all his actions, and has given him certain motives which he cannot avoid following; while, to preserve common uniformity with the doctrine of an innate sense of right and wrong previously maintained, the author is obliged to admit that man must have a consciousness of free-will, to enable him to act according to that innate sense: he therefore arrives at a sort of intermediate doctrine, which may be said to maintain, that while the will is not in reality free, it is the essence of our nature that it should appear to us to be so. “Let us fairly own,” says the author, “that the truth of things is on the side of necessity; but that it was necessary for man to be formed with such feelings and notions of contingency, as would fit him for the part he has to act.” “It is true that a man of this belief, when he is seeking to make his mind easy after some bad action, may reason upon the principles of necessity, that, according to the constitution of his nature, it was impossible for him to have acted any other part. But this will give him little relief. In spite of all reasonings his remorse will subsist. Nature never intended us to act upon this plan: and our natural principles are too deeply rooted to give way to philosophy.” \*\*\* “These discoveries are also of excellent use, as they furnish us with one of the strongest arguments for the existence of the Deity, and as they set the wisdom and goodness of his



providence in the most striking light. Nothing carries in it more express characters of design; nothing can be conceived more opposite to chance, than a plan so artfully contrived for adjusting our impressions and feelings to the purposes of life." The doctrine may appear at first sight anomalous; but it displays equal ingenuity in its discovery, and acuteness in its support, and is well worthy of the deepest attention. A certain clergyman of the church of Scotland is said to have seen in this theory an admirable exposition of the doctrine of predestination, and to have hailed the author as a brother; and certainly a little comparison will show no slight analogy betwixt the two systems; but other persons thought differently, and the reverend gentleman was superseded. These fiery controversies have carried us beyond an event which served to mitigate their rancour—the elevation of Mr Home to the bench of the court of session, where he took his seat in February, 1752, by the title of lord Kames; an appointment which, as it could not be but agreeable and satisfactory to the learned and ingenious, seems to have met the general concurrence and approbation of the common people of the country. Arguing from the productions of his pen, no one would hesitate to attribute to lord Kames those qualities of acuteness, ingenuity, and plausible interpretation, necessary for the acquirement of distinction and success at the bar—but that he was characterized by the unprejudiced and unwavering uprightness of the judge, whose conclusions are formed less on finely spun theories and sophisms than on those firm doctrines of right and wrong which can form a guide alike to the ignorant and the learned, would seem questionable, had we not the best authority to believe, that his strong good sense, and knowledge of justice, taught him as a judge to desert, on most occasions, the pleasing speculations which occupied his mind as a lawyer. "He rarely," says Tytler, "entered into any elaborate argument in support of his opinions; it was enough that he had formed them with deliberation, and that they were the result of a conscientious persuasion of their being founded on justice, and on a fair interpretation of the laws." Unfortunately there are some exceptions to this general characteristic; refined speculation seldom entirely deserts its favourite abode, and in some few instances lord Kames was a special pleader on the bench.

In 1755, lord Kames was appointed a member of the board of trustees, for the encouragement of the fisheries, arts, and manufactures of Scotland, and likewise one of the commissioners for the management of the annexed estates, on both of which important duties it would appear he bestowed the attention his ever active mind enabled him to direct to many different subjects. In the midst of his varied judicial and ministerial labours, two legal works appeared from the pen of lord Kames. "The Statute Law of Scotland abridged, with Historical Notes," published in 1759, was never known beyond the library of the Scots lawyer, and has now almost fallen into disuse even there. "Historical Law Tracts," published in 1757, was of a more ambitious sort, and acquired something beyond professional celebrity. The matters discussed in this volume are exceedingly miscellaneous, and present a singular mixture of "first principles" of morality, metaphysics, &c., and Scots law. The author has here displayed, in the strongest light, his usual propensity for hunting all principles so far back into the misty periods of their origin, that, attempting to find the lost traces of the peculiar idea he is following, he pursues some fanciful train of thought, which has just as much chance of being wrong as of being right. "I have often amused myself," says the author, "with a fanciful resemblance of law to the river Nile. When we enter upon the municipal law of any country in its present state, we resemble a traveller, who, crossing the Delta, loses his way among the numberless branches of the Egyptian river. But when we begin at the source, and follow the current of law, it is in that case no less easy and agreeable; and



all its relations and dependencies are traced with no greater difficulty than are the many streams into which that magnificent river is divided before it is lost in the sea." If the philosopher meant to compare his searches after first principles to the investigation of the source of the Nile, the simile was rather unfortunate, and tempts one by a parody to compare his speculations to those of one who will discover the navigability or fertilizing power of a river, by a confused and endless range among its various sources, when he has the grand main body of the river open to his investigations, from which he may find his way, by a sure and undoubted course, to its principal sources, should he deem it worth his while to penetrate them. This work exhibits in singularly strong colours the merits and defects of its author. While his ingenuity has led him into fanciful theories, and prompted him to attribute to the actions of barbarous governments subtle intentions of policy, of which the actors never dreamed, it has enabled him to point out connexions in the history of our law, and to explain the natural causes of anomalies, for which the practical juriconsult might have long looked in vain. The history of criminal jurisprudence is a prominent part of this work. The author attempts to confute the well founded theories of Voltaire, Montesquieu, and many others, tracing the origin of punishment, and consequently the true principles of criminal jurisprudence, from the feelings of vindictiveness and indignation inherent in human nature when injured,—a principle we fear too often followed to require a particular vindication or approval. We cannot pass from this subject without attracting attention to the enlightened views thrown out by lord Kames on the subject of entails, views which he has seen the importance of frequently repeating and inculcating, though with many others he spoke to the deaf adder, who heeded not the wisdom of his words. He proposed the entire repeal of the statute of 1685, which, by an invention of the celebrated Sir Thomas Hope, had been prepared for the purpose of clenching the fetters of Scots entails, in a manner which might put at defiance such efforts as had enabled the lawyers of England to release property from its chains. But the equity of the plan was shown in the manner in which the author proposed to settle the nice point of the adjustment of the claims on estates previously entailed. The regulations enforced by these he proposed should continue in force in as far as respected the interests of persons existing, but should neither benefit nor bind persons unborn at the time of the passing of the act proposed. Such an adjustment, though perhaps the best that could possibly be supposed, can only be put in practice with great difficulty; the circumstance of an heir being expected to be born, nearer than any heir alive, and numberless others of a similar nature, would render the application of the principle a series of difficulties. Lord Kames communicated his views on this subject to lord Hardwick and lord Mansfield, and these great judges admitted their propriety; it had been well had the warning voice been heeded—but at that period the allegiance of Scotland might have been endangered by such a measure. The duke of Argyle was then the only Scotsman not a lawyer, who could look without horror on an attempt to infringe on the divine right of the lairds.

In 1760, appeared another philosophically legal work from our author's prolific pen, entitled "*Principles of Equity*," composed with the ambitious view of reconciling the distinct systems of jurisprudence of the two nations—a book which might be of great use in a country where there is no law, and which, though it may now be applied to but little practical advantage in Scotland, it is rather humiliating to think, should have ever been considered requisite as a guide to our civil judges. But the opinions of this volume, which referred to the equity courts of England, received a kindly correction from a masterly hand. In tracing the jurisdiction of the court of chancery, lord Kames pre-



sumed it to be possessed of perfectly arbitrary powers, (something resembling those at one time enjoyed by the court of session,) enabling it to do justice according to the merits, in every case which the common law courts did not reach; and with great consideration laid down rules for the regulation of its decisions, forgetting that, if such rules could be applied to any court so purely arguing from circumstances and conscience, the rules of an act of parliament might have been as well chosen, and rather more strictly followed, than those of the Scottish judge. But it appears that lord Kames had formed erroneous ideas of the powers of the English equity courts; and in a portion of Sir William Blackstone's Commentary, attributed to the pen of lord Mansfield, he is thus corrected: "on the contrary, the system of our courts of equity is a laboured, connected system, governed by established rules, and bound down by precedents, from which they do not depart, although the reason of some of them may perhaps be liable to objection." Tytler, on all occasions the vindicator of his friend, has attempted to support the theory of lord Kames, by making Blackstone contradict himself: he has discovered the following passage in the Introduction to that author's works,—“Equity depending essentially upon the particular circumstances of each individual case, there can be no established rules and fixed precepts of equity laid down, without destroying its very essence, and reducing it to a positive law.” But in this passage, be it recollected, the author speaks of courts of pure equity like the Prætorian tribunals of the Romans, untrammelled by act or precedent, and left entirely to judicial discretion, a species of institution of which he does not admit the existence in England. But let us not relinquish this subject, without bestowing our meed of approbation on the noble efforts which the learned author has made in this, and more effectually in others of his works, to reconcile the two countries to an assimilation in laws. There is no more common prejudice, than the feeling, that the approach of one country to the laws and customs of another, is not an act of expediency, but an acknowledgment of inferiority, and it generally requires a harsher struggle on the part of the weaker, than on that of the stronger people. It is frequently maintained that a love for ancient institutions, and a wish to continue them, however cumbersome, is the characteristic safeguard of freedom; but might it not be said, that the firmness of a nation consists in the obedience it pays to the laws while they exist, paying them not the less respect in their execution, that they look upon them as systems which should be altered by the legislative authority. “Our law,” says lord Kames, “will admit of many improvements from that of England; and if the author be not in a mistake, through partiality to his native country, we are rich enough to repay with interest all we have occasion to borrow;” a reflection which might produce good seed, if it would teach some narrow intellects to examine the merits of some petty deformities of Scottish law, for which antiquity has given them an affection. And if the proud legislators of a neighbouring country would desert for a moment the stale jest which forced itself into the words “*nolumus leges Angliæ mutari*,” and admit the possibility that the mighty engine of English jurisprudence might admit some improvement from the working of a more simple and in many things very efficacious machine, the high benefits of a participation in the excellencies of their own system, which they show so much anxiety to extend across the border, would be received with less jealousy and suspicion.

Passing over the introduction to the *Art of Thinking*, published in 1761, we turn with much pleasure to the contemplation of another of the philosophical productions of this eminent writer, the work on which his reputation chiefly depends. In 1762 was published, in three octavo volumes, “*The Elements of Criticism*.” The correspondence and previous



studies of the author show the elaborate and diversified matter of these volumes to have been long the favourite subject of his reflections. It had in view the aim of tracing the progress of taste as it is variously exhibited and acknowledged to exist, to the organic principles of the mind on which in its various departments it is originally founded, displaying the art of what his biographer justly calls "Philosophical Criticism," in opposition to that which is merely practical, or applicable to objects of taste as they appear, without any reference to the causes why the particular feelings are exhibited. But that lord Kames was in this "the inventor of a science," as his biographer has termed him, is a statement which may admit of some doubt.

The doctrine of reflex senses propounded by Hutchinson, the father of the Scottish System of Philosophy, had many years previously laid a firm foundation for the system, afterwards so ably erected. Some years previously to the publication of the *Elements of Criticism*, Hume and Gerard had drawn largely from the same inexhaustible source, and, if with less variety, certainly with more correctness and logical accuracy of deduction; and Burke, though he checked the principle of the sensations he has so vividly illustrated by arbitrary feelings assigned as their source, contributed much to the advancement of that high study. Nor is it to be denied, that the ancients at least knew the existence of this untried tract, if they did not venture far within its precincts, for few can read Cicero de Oratore, Longinus, or the *Institutions of Quintilian*, without perceiving that these men were well acquainted with the fundamental principles of the rules of criticism. But relinquishing the discussion of its originality, the *Elements of Criticism* is a book no man can read without acquiring many new ideas, and few without being acquainted with many new facts: it is full of useful information, just criticism, and ingenious reasoning, laying down rules of composition and thought, which have become classical regulations for elegant writers. The author is, however, a serious transgressor of his own excellent rules; his mind seems to have been so perpetually filled with ideas, that the obstruction occasioned by the arrangement of a sentence would cause a considerable interruption in their flow; hence he is at all times a brief, unmelodious composer, and the broken form of his sentences frequently renders their meaning doubtful. The following specimen, chosen by chance, is an example of a good rule ill observed by its maker: "In arranging a period, it is of importance to determine in what part of it a word makes the greatest figure, whether at the beginning, during the course, or at the close. The breaking silence rouses the attention, and prepares for a deep impression at the beginning; the beginning, however, must yield to the close: which, being succeeded by a pause, affords time for a word to make its deepest impression. Hence the following rule, that to give the utmost force to a period, it ought, if possible, to be closed with that word which makes the greatest figure. The opportunity of a pause should not be thrown away upon accessories, but reserved for the principal object, in order that it may make a full impression: which is an additional reason against closing a period with a circumstance. There are, however, periods that admit not such a structure, and, in that case, the capital word ought, if possible, to be placed in the front, which next to the close, is the most advantageous for making an impression" (v. ii. p. 72). But were we to scrutinize with malicious accuracy, we might find sentences like the following, bidding defiance to form and sense. "Benevolence and kindly affection are too refined for savages, unless of the simplest kind, such as the ties of blood," (*Sketches of Hist. of Man*, v. i. p. 270 :) or, "Here it is taken for granted, that we see external objects, and that we see them with both eyes in the same place; inadvertently, it must be acknowledged, as it flatly contradicts what he had been all along inculcating,



that external objects are not visible, otherwise than in imagination," (*Essays on Morals*, p. 276). It has been said, and not without reason, that the critical principles of lord Kames are more artificial than natural, more the produce of refined reasoning than of feeling or sentiment. The whole of his deductions are, indeed, founded on the doctrine of taste being increased and improved, and almost formed by art, and his personal character seems not to have suggested any other medium for his own acquisition of it. He joined the vulgar cry of the period on the barbarism of the Gothic architecture, probably because the general disrespect in which it was held prevented him from being anxious to discover any "first principles" on which to erect for it a character of propriety and elegance. In his plans for the improvement of his grounds, we find him falling into practical abortions of taste, of which, had they been presented to him as speculative questions, he might have seen the deformity. In a letter to the accomplished Mrs Montague, he says, "a rill of water runs neglected through the fields, obscured by pretty high banks. It is proposed that the water be raised in different places by stone buildings imitating natural rocks, which will make some beautiful cascades. The banks to be planted with flowering shrubs, and access to the whole by gravel paths. The group will produce a mixture of sweetness and liveliness, which makes fine harmony in gardening as well as in life;" and farther on, "But amongst my other plans, I have not forgot the spot pitched upon by you for a seat; and because every thing belonging to you should have something peculiar, the bottom, to be free from wet, is contrived to fold up, and to have for its ornament a plate of brass with this inscription, 'rest, and contemplate the beauties of art and nature.'" The *Elements of Criticism* had the good fortune to call forth a little of the virulence of Warburton, who seems to have complacently presumed that lord Kames composed his three thick volumes with the sole and atrocious aim of opposing some of the theories of the learned divine; and Voltaire, celstifying the author by the anomalous name of "Makains," has bestowed on him a few sneers, sparingly sprinkled with praise, provoked by the unfortunate Scotsman having spoken of the *Henriade* in slighting terms, and having lauded Shakspeare to the prejudice of the French drama.

In April, 1763, lord Kames was appointed a lord of justiciary, in the criminal court of Scotland. Some have accused him of severity as a judge; but in the character of the man who can stretch the law against the criminal, there is something so repugnant, and—acting in a court where judges decide very much from discretion, and from which the accused enjoys no appeal—something so truly abhorrent, that we would require much and strong evidence indeed, before we could attribute to a man of great benevolence, of much and tried philanthropy, and of general virtue, the characteristic of a cruel judge. Surrounded by judicial duties and immersed in professional and literary studies, he was still an active supporter of the useful institutions which he had some time previously joined, investigating along with the celebrated Dr Walker, the proper grounds for improving the cultivation and manufactures of the Western Isles, and the more remote parts of Scotland. In 1766, a new field was opened for his exertions, by his succession, through the death of his wife's brother, to the extensive estate of Blair Drummond, which made him a richer, but not a more illustrious man. The chief circumstance which renders this accession to his fortune interesting to the world, is the commencement of a vast system of improvement, by floating into the Firth of Forth the surface of a moss, extending over portions of his own, and many contiguous estates, and shrouding what cultivation has made and is still making the finest land in Scotland. The next issue from the pen of lord Kames, were, a small pamphlet on the Progress of Flax Husbandry in Scotland, published in the year 1765, and in the ensuing year, a



continuation of his Remarkable Decisions from 1730 to 1752. He now began to approach that age which has been marked out as a period reached by a small proportion of the human race, but though stricken in years, and pressed upon by official duties, he did not flinch from a new and elaborate undertaking on a subject of many diversified branches, some of which were totally disconnected with his previous literary labours. Lord Kames appears to have had his mind perpetually filled with the matter he was preparing to discuss, and to have constantly kept open to the world the engrossing matter of his thoughts; it is thus that, for some time previously to the publication of his "Sketches of the History of Man," (which appeared in 1774,) we find an ample correspondence with his literary friends,—with Dr Walker, Sir James Nasmith, Dr Reid, and Dr Black, affording some most interesting speculations on the gradations of the human race, and the analogy between plants and animal subjects—which had long been speculated upon by our author. On these branches of philosophy, he has bestowed considerable attention in the Sketches of the History of Man, to little satisfaction. In reasoning *a priori* from the history of man in the world, and the various aspects of his tribe, the author erects a system in opposition to that of revelation, to which however he afterwards yields, as to the authority of the court, allowing it to be true, not by any means from the superiority of the system to his own, but because holy writ has told it. But if the work be hereafter perused, to gratify an idle hour with its amusing details, few will search in it for much information on a subject which has received so much better illustration from Blumenbach, Pritchard, and Lawrence. But the subjects of these sketches are multifarious; Ossian's poems are ingeniously introduced as part of the history of man, constituting a sort of barbaro-civilized period, when probably the same amount of polish and of rudeness which still exists, held sway, though without neutralizing each other, and both displayed in the extreme; government is also discussed, and finances. The political economy is old and narrow, looking upon national means too much in the light of an engine to be wielded, rather than as a self-acting power, which only requires freedom and room to enable it to act; nevertheless it is sprinkled with enlightened views such as the following: "It appears to be the intention of Providence, that all nations should benefit by commerce, as by sunshine; and it is so ordered, that an unequal balance is prejudicial to the gainers, as well as to the losers: the latter are immediate sufferers; but not less so ultimately are the former."

In his latter days, the subject of our memoir produced four more extensive works, of which we shall only mention the names and dates: "The Gentleman Farmer," in 1776,—"*Elucidations respecting the Common Law of Scotland*," in 1777,—"*Select Decisions of the Court of Session from 1752 to 1768*," published in 1780,—"*Loose Hints on Education*." The last of his works, was published in 1781, in the 85th year of the author's age, a period when the weakness of the body cannot fail to communicate itself to the thoughts. The green old age of lord Kames seems to have been imbittered by no disease but that of general decay. He continued his usual attention to the agricultural and manufacturing projects of the country; gratified his few leisure hours in the society of his select literary friends, attended the court of session, and even performed the arduous duty of travelling on the circuits: he was indeed a singular specimen of a mind whose activity age could not impede. His correspondence continues till within a short time of his death, and before leaving the world, he could spare some consideration for assisting in the establishment of an institution, the pleasures and profits of which could not be reaped by him, The Royal Society of Scotland. During his short and last illness, he expressed no dread except that he might outlive the faculties of his mind; to the usual solicitations, which



friends can never avoid making on such occasions, that he would submit himself to the care of a physician—"Don't talk of my disease," he answered, "I have no disease but old age. I know that Mrs Drummond and my son are of a different opinion; but why should I distress them sooner than is necessary. I know well that no physician on earth can do me the smallest service: for I feel that I am dying; and I thank God that my mind is prepared for that event. I leave this world in peace and good-will to all mankind. You know the dread I have had of outliving my faculties; of that I trust there is now no great probability, as my body decays so fast. My life has been a long one, and prosperous, on the whole, beyond my deserts: but I would fain indulge the hope that it has not been useless to my fellow creatures."

A week before he died, lord Kames took a final farewell of his old friends and professional companions, on that bench to which he had been so long an ornament. He parted from each as a private friend, and on finally retiring from the room, is said to have turned round on the sorrowful group and bid his adieu in an old favourite epithet, more expressive of jovial freedom than of refinement. He died on the 27th of December, 1782, in the 87th year of his age. We have narrated the events of his life with so much detail, that a summary of his character is unnecessary; he is said to have been parsimonious, but if the epithet be applicable, the private defect will be forgotten in the midst of his public virtues. He possessed the dangerous and powerful engine of sarcasm; but he used it to heal, not to wound. The following instance of his reluctance to give pain, to be found in a letter to Mr Creech, is so characteristic of a truly worthy man, that we cannot abstain from quoting it. "In the fifth volume of Dodsley's collection of poems, there is one by T— D— at page 226, which will make a good illustration of a new Rule of Criticism that is to go into the new edition of the Elements; but, as it is unfavourable to the author of that poem, I wish to know whether he is alive; for I would not willingly give pain."

HOME, JOHN, an eminent dramatic poet, was born at Leith on the 22d of September, (O.S.) 1722. He was the son of Mr Alexander Home, town-clerk of Leith, whose father was the son of Mr Home of Flass, in Berwickshire, a lineal descendant of Sir John Home of Cowdenknowes, from whom the present earl of Home is descended. John Home, who during his whole life retained a proud recollection of his honourable ancestry, was educated, first at the grammar school of his native town, and then at the university of Edinburgh. In both of these seminaries, he prosecuted his studies with remarkable diligence and success. While he attended the university, his talents, his progress in literature, and his peculiarly agreeable manners, soon excited the attention, and procured in no small degree the favour, both of the professors and of his fellow students. He here formed an acquaintance which lasted through life, with many of those eminent men, who elevated the literary character of Scotland so highly during the eighteenth century. After qualifying himself by the ordinary course of studies, to undertake the duties of a clergyman in the Scottish church, he was licensed to preach on the 4th of April, 1745.

The natural character of Home was ardent and aspiring. Under the meek garb of a Scottish licentiate, he bore a heart which throbbed eagerly at the idea of military fame, and the whole cast of his mind was romantic and chivalrous. It might have been expected that, in the celebrated quarrel which divided the national mind in 1745, such a person would have been unable to resist the temptation of joining prince Charles. It happened, however, that the chivalry of Home was of a whiggish cast, and that his heart burned for civil freedom as well as for military glory. He therefore became a volunteer in a royal corps which was raised at Edinburgh to repel the attack of the Chevalier. This corps,



when the danger approached in all its reality, melted almost into thin air : yet Home was one of a very small number who protested against the pusillanimous behaviour of the rest. Having reluctantly laid down his arms, he employed himself next day in taking observations of the strength of the Highland forces, which he appears to have communicated to Sir John Cope : while thus engaged, he was near enough to the prince to measure his stature against his own. In the early part of the succeeding year, he reappeared in arms as a volunteer, and was present at the disgraceful affair of Falkirk, where he was taken prisoner. Being conveyed to Doune castle, then under the keeping of a nephew of Rob Roy, he was confined for some days, along with several companions in misfortune ; but the whole party at length escaped, by cutting their blankets into shreds, and letting themselves down upon the ground. He now took up his residence at Leith, and for some time prosecuted his professional studies, mixed, however, with a kind of reading to which his inclination led, that of the historians and classics of Greece and Rome.

"His temper," says his friendly biographer Mackenzie, "was of that warm susceptible kind, which is caught by the heroic and the tender, and which is more fitted to delight in the world of sentiment than to succeed in the bustle of ordinary life. His own favourite model of a character, and that on which his own was formed, was the ideal being *Young Norval* in his own play of Douglas, one endowed with chivalrous valour and romantic generosity, eager for glory beyond any other object, and, in the contemplation of future fame, entirely regardless of the present objects of interest and ambition. The same glowing complexion of mind, which gave birth to this creature of fancy, coloured the sentiments and descriptions of his ordinary discourse ; he had a very retentive memory, and was fond of recalling the incidents of past times, and of dramatizing his stories by introducing the names and characters of the persons concerned in them. The same turn of mind threw a certain degree of elevation into his language, and heightened the narrative in which that language was employed ; he spoke of himself with a frankness which a man of that disposition is apt to indulge, but with which he sometimes forgot that his audience was not always inclined to sympathize, and thence he was accused of more vanity than in truth belonged to his character. The same warm colouring was employed in the delineation of his friends, to whom he assigned a rank which others would not always allow. So far did he carry this propensity, that, as Dr Robertson used jokingly to say, he invested them with a sort of supernatural privilege above the ordinary humiliating circumstances of mortality. 'He never,' said the Doctor, 'could allow that a friend was sick till he heard of his death.' To the same source was to be traced the warm eulogia which he was accustomed to bestow upon them. 'He delighted in bestowing as well as in receiving flattery,' said another of his intimates ; 'but with him it had all the openness and warmth of truth. He flattered all of us, from whom his flattery could gain no favour, fully as much, or, indeed, more willingly, than he did those men of the first consequence and rank, with whom the circumstances of his future life associated him ; and he received any praise from us with the same genuine feelings of friendship and attachment.' There was no false coinage in this currency which he used in his friendly intercourse ; whether given or received, it had with him the stamp of perfect candour and sincerity."

Such was the enthusiastic young man who was destined for the strange glory of producing, in Scotland, a tragedy upon a Scottish story. In 1746, he was presented by Sir David Kinloch of Gilmerton, to the church and parish of Athelstaneford in East Lothian, then vacant by the death of the Rev. Robert Blair, the author of the *Grave*. Previous to this period, his passionate fondness



for Plutarch, had led him to commence a tragedy upon one of his heroes—Agis—which he finished soon after he was settled in Athelstaneford. In 1749, he went to London, and offered his work to Garrick, for representation at Drury Lane, of which that great actor had recently become manager. But the English Roscius did not think it well adapted to the stage, and declined bringing it on, much to the mortification of the author, who, with the feeling natural to such a situation, wrote the following verses on the tomb of Shakspeare, in Westminster Abbey :

Image of Shakspeare! to this place I come,  
To ease my bursting bosom at thy tomb;  
For neither Greek nor Roman poet fired  
My fancy first—thee chiefly I admired;  
And, day and night revolving still thy page,  
I hoped, like thee, to shake the British stage;  
But cold neglect is now my only need,  
And heavy falls it on so proud a head.  
If powers above now listen to my lyre,  
Charm them to grant, indulgent, my desire;  
Let petrification stop this falling tear,  
And fix my form for ever marble here.

After this unsuccessful journey to London, he turned his mind to the composition of the tragedy of Douglas, which was founded upon the beautiful old ballad of Gil Morris. Having finished this in the intervals of his professional labours, he set out upon another expedition to the metropolis, February, 1755, with the favourable hopes of a circle of most intelligent friends, to whom he had intrusted it for perusal. It was, however, as ill received as Agis: Mr Garrick returned it with the declaration that it was totally unfit for the stage. With this opinion, which many excellent English critics still maintain, neither the poet nor his friends were at all satisfied. Those friends, looking upon it with the eyes of Scotsmen, beheld in it something quite superior to the ordinary run of English tragedies; and accordingly they recommended that it should be presented upon the Edinburgh stage, which was then conducted by a gentleman named Digges, whom Mr Mackenzie describes as possessed of great powers, (though with many defects,) and of great popularity in Scotland. The recommendation was carried into effect; and all Edinburgh was presently in a state of wild excitement, from the circumstance of a play being in preparation by a minister of the established church.<sup>1</sup> The actors at the Edinburgh theatre hap-

<sup>1</sup> If we are to believe an authority good in theatrical matters—the *Edinburgh Weekly Chronicle* newspaper, while under the management of Mr Edward Hislop,—Dr Carlyle, and others of his brethren, not only attended the rehearsals of *Douglas*, but themselves performed in the first of them: “It may not be generally known,” says the authority just referred to, “that the first rehearsal took place in the lodgings in the Canonate occupied by Mrs Sarah Warde, one of Digges’s company; and that it was rehearsed by, and in presence of, the most distinguished literary characters Scotland ever could boast of. The following was the cast of the piece on the occasion:—

*Dramatis Personæ.*

Lord Randolph,	Dr Robertson, principal, Edinburgh.
Glenalvon,	David Home, historian.
Old Norval,	Dr Carlyle, minister of Musselburgh.
Douglas,	John Home, the author.
Lady Randolph,	Dr Ferguson, professor.
Anna (the Maid),	Dr Blair, minister, High Church.

The audience that day, besides Mr Digges and Mrs Warde, were the right honourable Patrick lord Elibank, lord Milton, lord Kames, lord Monboddo, (the two last were then only lawyers,) the Rev. John Steele and William Home, ministers. The company, all but Mrs Warde, dined afterwards at the Griskin Club, in the Abbey. The above is a signal proof of the strong passion for the drama which then obtained among the *literati* of this capital, since



pened to be, in general, men of some ability in their profession, and the play was thus cast : Digges, *Young Norval* ; Hayman, *Old Norval* ; Love, *Glenalvon* ; Mrs Warde, *Lady Randolph*. But the name Barnet was at this time used for Randolph, and Norval was called Norman. The first representation, which took place December 14, 1756, was honoured by the presence of a large audience, comprising many friends of the author, clerical as well as otherwise. It was received with enthusiastic applause, and, in the conclusion, drew forth many tears, which were, perhaps, a more unequivocal testimony to its merits. The town was in an uproar of exultation, that a Scotsman should write a tragedy of the first rate, and that its merits were first submitted to them.

But the most remarkable circumstance attending its representation was the clerical contest which it excited, and the proceedings of the church of Scotland regarding it. Owing to certain circumstances,—among which was reckoned the publication of lord Kames's "Essays on Natural and Revealed Religion," which were suspected of a tendency to infidelity, besides the issue of a work in England, entitled "England's Alarm," in which Scotland was accused of cherishing great corruptions in religion,—there obtained in the church a more zealous disposition than usual to lop off heresies, and chastise peccant brethren. Hence the prosecution raised against Mr Home, which at any rate must have taken place, was characterized by an appearance of rancour which has often since been the subject of ridicule.

The presbytery of Edinburgh commenced the proceedings by publishing a solemn admonition ; in which they expressed deep regret at the growing irreligion of the times, and warned all persons within their bounds, especially the young, against the danger of frequenting stage-plays. This document only provoked the mirth of the public ; it was replied to by a perfect torrent of *jeu d'esprit*. The church, however, though unable to inflict any punishment upon the people at large for their admiration of the play, had the author and all his

then, unfortunately, much abated. The rehearsal must have been conducted with very great secrecy ; for what would the kirk, which took such deep offence at the composition of the piece by one of its ministers, have said to the fact of no fewer than four of these being engaged in rehearsing it, and two others attending the exhibition ? The circumstance of the gentle Anna having been personated by 'Dr Blair, minister of the High Church,' is a very droll one."—*Edinburgh Weekly Chronicle*, January 21, 1829.

This statement may not be accurate—it is only a quotation from a newspaper ; but assuming that it has some truth in it, we hesitate not to say that it is far from being either "droll" or creditable to the eminent persons to whom it refers : "Sir," said Dr Johnson, upon one occasion, "this merriment of parsons is very offensive."

As to Dr Robertson's share in these transactions, it is only fair to quote what is said by his biographer. Mr Stewart's words are as follows : "The extraordinary merits of Mr Home's performance, which is now become to Scotsmen a subject of national pride, were not sufficient to atone for so bold a departure from the austerity expected in a presbyterian divine ; and the offence was not a little exasperated by the conduct of some of Mr Home's brethren, who, partly from curiosity, and partly from a friendly wish to share in the censure bestowed on the author, were led to witness the first representation of the piece on the Edinburgh stage. In the whole course of the ecclesiastical proceedings connected with these incidents, Dr Robertson distinguished himself by the ablest and most animated exertions in defence of his friends ; and contributed greatly, by his persuasive eloquence, to the mildness of that sentence in which the prosecution at last terminated. His arguments, on this occasion, had, it may be presumed, the greater weight, that he had never himself entered within the walls of a playhouse ; a remarkable proof, among numberless others which the history of his life affords, of that scrupulous circumspection in his private conduct, which, while it added so much to his usefulness as a clergyman, was essential to his influence as the leader of a party ; and which so often enabled him to recommend successfully to others the same candid and indulgent spirit that was congenial to his own mind."—*Account of the Life and Writings of Dr Robertson*, by Dugald Stewart, Esq., p. 12.

In this passage Mr Stewart disavows, in general terms, the belief that the Principal gave the tragedy of *Douglas* any active patronage, by attending the representations or otherwise ; but the statement that Dr Robertson "had never himself entered within the walls of a playhouse," cannot be considered as an absolute contradiction of his having been present at the rehearsal "in the lodgings in the Canongate occupied by Mrs Sarah Warde."



clerical abettors completely in their power. Mr Home only escaped degradation by abdicating his pulpit, which he did in June, 1757. His friends who had been present at the representation, were censured or punished according to the degree of their supposed misconduct. Mr White, the minister of Libberton, was suspended for a month, a mitigated sentence in consideration of his apology, which was—that he had attended the representation only once, when he endeavoured to conceal himself in a corner, to avoid giving offence.

The misfortune of the Scottish church, on this occasion, consisted only in a little want of discrimination. They certainly did not err in characterizing the stage as immoral; for the stage, both then and since, and in almost all periods of its existence, has condescended to represent scenes, and give currency to language, which, in the general society of the period, could not be tolerated. But though the stage seems thus to claim a privilege of lagging behind the moral standard of every age, and in general calculates itself for the gratification of only a secondary order of tastes, there was surely something to be said in favour of a man who, having devoted his leisure to the cultivation of an elegant branch of the belles lettres, had produced a work not calculated to encourage the immoral system complained of, but to correct it by introducing a purer taste, or which could at least not be played, without for that night preventing the representation of something more fatal to good manners. The church ought rather to have been rejoiced than saddened, at finding a stream of pure feeling disposed to turn itself into the Augean stable of the theatre; because they might have calculated, since men cannot be withheld from that place of amusement, the next best course is to make the entertainment as innocent as possible.

Mr Home had been introduced some years before, by Sir David Kinloch, the patron of his parish, to lord justice clerk Milton, who then acted as *Sous Ministre* for Scotland, under Archibald duke of Argyle. Being introduced by lord Milton to the duke, his grace said that, being now too old to be of any material service in improving his prospects, he would commit him to his nephew, the earl of Bute, who was succeeding to that nameless situation of trust and patronage which had been so long held by himself. Accordingly, on Mr Home's going to London in 1757, he was kindly received by lord Bute, who, having that influence with Garrick which had been found wanting in the merit of the play itself, soon caused it to be brought out at Drury Lane. Notwithstanding Garrick's unchanged opinion of its merit, it met with distinguished success.

Lord Bute, besides procuring Mr Home this highest gratification which he was capable of receiving, provided for his personal wants by obtaining for him the sinecure situation of conservator of Scots privileges at Campvere. Thus secure as to the means of subsistence, the poet reposed with tranquillity upon his prospects of dramatic fame. His tragedy of Agis, which had been written before Douglas, but rejected, was brought forward, and met with success, Garrick and Mrs Cibber palying the principal characters. The *Siege of Aquileia* was represented in 1750, but, owing to a want of interest in the action, did not secure the favour of the audience. In 1760, he printed his three tragedies in one volume, and dedicated them to the prince of Wales, whose society he had enjoyed through the favour of the earl of Bute, preceptor to the prince. When this royal personage became king, he signified his favour for Mr Home by granting him a pension of £300 a-year from his privy purse—which, in addition to an equal sum from his office of conservator, rendered him what in Scotland might be considered affluent. About this period, he spent the greater part of his time in London, but occasionally came to Scotland, to attend his duties as an elder in the General Assembly, being appointed to that trust by the ecclesiastical establishment at Campvere, which then enjoyed a representation in the great clerical council of the nation. In 1767, he forsook almost



entirely the company of the earl of Bute and his other distinguished friends at London, and planted himself down in a villa, which he built near his former residence in East Lothian, and where he continued to reside for the next twelve years. To increase the felicity of a settled home, he married a lady of his own name in 1770, by whom he never had any children.

Three tragedies, the *Fatal Discovery*, *Alonzo*, and *Alfred*, successively appeared in 1769, 1773, and 1778; but, though received at first with considerable applause, they took no permanent hold of the stage; and thus seemed to confirm the opinion which many English critics had avowed in regard to the success of *Douglas*—that it was owing to no peculiar powers of dramatic composition in the author, but simply to the national character of the piece, with a slight aid from its exhibition of two very popular passions, maternal and filial tenderness.<sup>2</sup> The reception of the last mentioned play was so cool, that he ceased from that time to write for the stage.

<sup>2</sup> "As we sat over our tea," says Boswell on this subject, "Mr Home's tragedy of *Douglas* was mentioned. I put Dr Johnson in mind that once, in a Coffee-house at Oxford, he called to old Mr Sheridan, 'How came you, sir, to give Home a gold medal \* for writing that foolish play?' and defied Mr Sheridan to show ten good lines in it. He did not insist that they should be together; but that there were not ten good lines in the whole play. He now persisted in this. I endeavoured to defend that pathetic and beautiful tragedy, and repeated the following passage:

Sincerity,  
Thou first of virtues, let no mortal leave  
Thy onward path, altho' the earth should gape,  
And from the gulph of hell destruction cry,  
To take dissimulation's winding way.

Johnson. 'That will not do, sir. Nothing is good but what is consistent with truth or probability, which this is not. Juvenal indeed gives us a noble picture of inflexible virtue:

Esto bonus miles, tutor bonus, arbiter idem  
Integer: ambigua si quando citabere testis  
Incertaque rei, Phalaris licet imperet, ut sis  
Falsus, et admoto dictet perjuriam tauro,  
Summum crede nefas, animam præferre pudori,  
Et, propter vitam, vitæ perdere causas.'

He repeated the lines with great force and dignity; then added, 'And after this comes Johnny Home, with his *earth gaping* and his *destruction crying*!—Pooh!'—*Boswell's Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides*.

It must be acknowledged Boswell was not fortunate in the specimen he produced, and that the passage quoted by Johnson from Juvenal is infinitely superior. The circumstances attending the representation of *Douglas* were not such as to dispose an English critic to allow its merit. In the first place, the national taste was in some degree committed in the judgment passed upon the play by the favourite actor and manager; and it was not only galling to himself, but to all who relied upon his taste, that he should have been mistaken. In the next place, the Scots did not use their triumph with discretion; they talked of the merits of *Douglas* in a strain quite preposterous, and of which no unfair specimen is to be found in the anecdote of a Caledonian who, being present in the pit of Drury Lane one night of its performance, is said to have exclaimed, in the insolence of his exultation, "Whar's your Wully Shakspeare nou?" Such ridiculous pretensions are now forgotten; but they were advanced at the time, and, from their extreme arrogance and absurdity, could not fail to exasperate a mind so ready to repel insult as Johnson's, and so keenly alive as his was to the honour of the national literature of England. The natural consequence followed: he decried *Douglas* perhaps as much as it was overvalued by its admirers; and his acquaintance with far superior compositions, must have enabled him, as in the instance above quoted, to pour derision upon it with an effect which the more judicious part of its admirers could not contend with, the more especially as the noise of indiscriminating applause with which it was hailed, had induced them to assume higher ground than their sober judgment would have led them to fix upon. And indeed, it may be a question whether the same cause that contributed to the first popularity of *Douglas* does not still continue to operate, preserving to our only tragedy a higher rank than it really is entitled to occupy: it is rare that the parents of an only child do not love and admire him for virtues which all the world else fails to discover that he is possessed of.

\* "The elder Sheridan, then manager of the theatre at Dublin, sent Mr Home a gold medal in testimony of his admiration of *Douglas*; and his wife, a woman not less respectable for her virtues than for genius and accomplishments, drew the idea of her admired novel of *Sydney Biddulph*, as her introduction bears, from the genuine moral effect of that excellent tragedy."—*Mackenzie's Life of Home*, p. 47.



Mr Home, as already mentioned, lived in terms of the greatest intimacy with all the literary men of his time : he seems, however, to have cherished no friendship with so much ardour as that which he entertained for his philosophical namesake David Hume. During the course of a lengthened period of friendly intercourse with this individual, only two trifling differences had ever risen between them. One referred to the orthography of their name, which the dramatic poet spelt after the old and constant fashion of his family, while the philosopher had early in life assumed the spelling indicated by the pronunciation. David Hume, at one time, jocularly proposed that they should determine this controversy by casting lots ; but the poet answered, "Nay, that is a most extraordinary proposal, indeed, Mr Philosopher, for, if you lose, you take your own name, whereas, if I lose, I take another man's name.

The other controversy referred merely to their taste in wine. Mr John Home had the old Scottish prepossession in favour of claret, and utterly detested port. When the former drink was expelled from the market by high duties, he wrote the following epigram, as it has been called, though we confess we are at a loss to observe anything in it but a narrative of supposed facts :—

" Firm and erect the Caledonian stood,  
Old was his mutton, and his claret good ;  
' Let him drink port,' an English statesman cried—  
He drank the poison, and his spirit died."

David Hume, who to his latest breath continued the same playful being he had ever been, made the following allusion to the two controversies, in a codicil to his will, dated only eighteen days before his death. " I leave to my friend Mr John Home of Kilduff, ten dozen of my old claret at his choice ; and one other bottle of that other liquor called port. I also leave him six dozen of port, provided that he attests, under his hand, signed *John Hume*, that he has himself alone finished that bottle at two sittings. By this concession he will at once terminate the only two differences that ever arose between us concerning temporal matters."

When this eccentric philosopher was recommended for his health to pay a visit to Bath, his faithful friend Home accompanied him, and was of great service, by his lively conversation and kind attentions, in supporting him against the attacks of a virulent disease. The journey took place in April, 1776, and Mr Mackenzie has preserved a curious diary by Mr Home, detailing the principal matters which passed between him and his fellow traveller in conversation. Many of the anecdotes told by the philosopher are exceedingly valuable as snatches of what is styled secret history.

Mr Home spent the latter moiety of his long life in a state little removed from indolence. He removed to Edinburgh in 1779, and thenceforward lived in the enjoyment of that high literary society which the character of his mind fitted him to enjoy, and in which his income fortunately permitted him to indulge. Careless of money in the highest degree, he delighted in entertaining large companies of friends, and often had his house filled to a degree which would now be considered intolerable, with permanent guests.

The only production of his later years was a History of the Rebellion of 1745 ; a transaction of which he was entitled to say, *pars fui*. He had projected something of the kind soon after the event, but did not proceed with it till after he had given up dramatic writing. If there was any literary man of the day from whom, rather than from any other, a good work upon this subject might have been confidently expected, it was Mr Home, who had not only taken a strong personal interest in the affair, but possessed that generous and chival-



rous colour of mind which was most apt to do it justice in narration. Unfortunately, before setting about this work, he had met with an accident by a fall from his horse, in consequence of which his intellect was permanently affected. As a pensioner of king George III., he was also prevented from giving that full expression to his sentiments which was so necessary in the historian of such an event. This work, therefore, when it appeared in 1802, was found to be a miserable sketchy outline of the transaction, rather than a complete narrative—here and there, indeed, as copious as was to be wished, and also showing occasional glimpses of the poetical genius of the author, but in general “stale, fiat, and unprofitable.” The imperfections of the work have been partly accounted for, without contradiction, by the circumstance of its having been submitted to the inspection of the reigning family, with the understanding that they were at liberty to erase such passages as they did not wish to be made public.

Mr Home died on the 5th of September, 1808, when he was just on the point of completing his eighty-sixth year. As a man, he was gentle and amiable, a very warm friend, and incapable of an ungenerous feeling. As a poet, he deserves the credit of having written with more fervid feeling, and less of stiffness and artificiality, than the other poets of his time; his genius in this respect approaching to that of his friend Collins. The present age, however, has, by its growing indifference to even his sole successful play, pronounced that his reputation on account of that exertion, was in a great measure the result of temporary and local circumstances, and that, being ill based, it cannot last.

HOPE, (SIR) JOHN, latterly earl of Hopetoun, a celebrated military commander, was son to John, second earl of Hopetoun, by his second marriage with Jane, daughter of Robert Oliphant of Rossie, in the county of Perth. He was born at Hopetoun in the county of Linlithgow, on the 17th of August, 1766. After finishing his education at home, he travelled on the continent, where he had the advantage of the superintendence of Dr Gillies, author of the *History of Greece*, now historiographer to the king. Mr Hope entered the army as a volunteer at a period so early as his 15th year, and on the 28th of May, 1784, received a cornetcy in the 10th regiment of light dragoons. We shall briefly note his gradual rise as an officer until he reached that rank, in which he could appropriate opportunities of distinguishing himself. On the 24th of December, 1785, he was appointed to a lieutenantancy in the 100th foot; on the 31st October, 1789, to a company in the 17th dragoons; on the 25th of April, 1792, to a majority in the 2nd foot; and on the 26th of April, 1793, to a lieutenant-colonelcy in the 25th foot. It was the period when the claims of rank began to meet with less observance in the British army, and severer duties called for the assistance of active and persevering men; and these had before them a sure road to honour. So early as 1794, lieutenant-colonel Hope was appointed to the arduous situation of adjutant-general to Sir Ralph Abercromby when serving in the Leeward islands; during the three ensuing years he was actively employed in the campaigns in the West Indies, where he held the rank of brigadier-general; during this service he is characterized in the despatches of the commander-in-chief, as one who “on all occasions most willingly came forward and exerted himself in times of danger, to which he was not called, from his situation as adjutant-general.”

In the parliament of 1796, Mr Hope was returned as member for Linlithgowshire: as a legislator he has been very little known, and he soon relinquished a duty not probably according with his taste and talents. As a deputy adjutant-general he attended the expedition to Holland, in August, 1799, having, in the interval betwixt his services abroad, performed the duty of a colonelcy in the north Lowland fencibles. In the sharp fighting at the landing at the Helder,



with which the proceedings of the secret expedition to Holland commenced, colonel Hope had the misfortune to be so severely wounded as to render his farther attendance on the expedition impracticable. From the effects of his wound he recovered during the ensuing October, when he was appointed adjutant-general to the duke of York, lieutenant-colonel Alexander Hope, his brother by his father's third marriage, being appointed his successor as deputy adjutant-general. In 1800, colonel Hope joined the expedition to Egypt under Sir Ralph Abercromby, who had been his commanding officer at the attack on the Helder. He still acted as adjutant-general, and on the 13th of May he was appointed brigadier-general in the Mediterranean. Were we to follow this active officer's footsteps through the progress of the Egyptian war, we should merely repeat what the best pens in Europe have been engaged in discussing for thirty years, and what generally is known; suffice it to say, that he was engaged in the actions of 8th and 13th March, 1801, and that he received a wound on the hand at the battle of Alexandria. In June he was able to proceed with the army to Cairo, where he has received credit as an able negotiator, for the manner in which he settled the convention for the surrender of that place with the French commander, general Belliard. On the 11th of May, 1802, he was promoted to the rank of a major-general. On the 30th of June, 1805, he was appointed deputy governor of Portsmouth: an office he resigned the same year, on being nominated to a command with the troops sent to the continent under lord Cathcart. On the 3rd of October, 1805, he was made colonel of the 2nd battalion of the 60th foot, and on the 3rd of January, 1806, colonel of the 92nd foot. On the 25th of April, 1808, he was made a lieutenant-general.<sup>1</sup>

Lieutenant-general Hope was among the most eminent and persevering partakers in that exterminating war in the Peninsula, where, as in the conflicts of ancient nations, every thing gained was the price of blood. On the 8th of August he landed with the British forces in Portugal;—during the ensuing month he was appointed British commandant at Lisbon; and on the French gradually evacuating the town, in terms of their convention, he took possession of the castle of Belem on the 10th, and of the citadel on the 12th. The restless spirit of the Portuguese, on the knowledge that the French were to leave the country, caused their long-smothered indignation to appear in insults, threats, and even attempts on the lives of the general officers; to depart in safety was the object of the French, and general Hope had the difficult task of preventing the oppressed people from making dangerous displays of public feeling, a duty he performed with moderation and energy, and which he was enabled finally to complete.

Sir John Moore divided his forces into two columns, one of which under his own command, marched by Almeida and Ciudad Rodrigo, while the other proceeded to the Tagus under the command of general Hope. While thus separated from his celebrated commander, both experienced the full danger and doubt which so amply characterized the disastrous campaign. The few Spanish troops who had struck a blow for their country, fleeing towards the Tagus, brought to general Hope the traces of the approach of the victorious French. His column, consisting of three thousand infantry and nine hundred cavalry, were in want and difficulty. The inhospitable country afforded insufficient supplies of provision, they were destitute of money, and of many necessary articles

<sup>1</sup> These dry details of military advancement, which we would willingly spare our readers, were they not necessary for the completeness of a biography, we have copied from the Annual Biography and Obituary for 1824, a source from which we derive all the dates in this memoir, judging it one likely to be depended on.



of military store. To enable his troops in some measure to obtain supplies, he separated his whole column into six divisions, each a day's march distant from the others, and thus passing through an uncultivated country destitute of roads, whose few inhabitants could give no assistance and could not be trusted, and harassed by the neighbourhood of a powerful enemy, he had to drag his artillery and a large park of ammunition to join the commander-in-chief, whose safety depended on his speedy approach. At Almaraz he endeavoured to discover some path which might guide him through the hills to Ciudad Rodrigo, but not finding one easily accessible, the jaded state of his few remaining horses compelled him to relinquish the attempt to cross these regions. On reaching Talavera, to the other evils with which he had to contend was added the folly or perfidy of the Spanish functionaries: the secretary at war recommended to him a method of passing through Madrid, which on consideration he found would have been the most likely of all methods to throw him into the hands of the French army. Resolving to make a last effort to obtain assistance from the nation for which the British troops were wasting their blood, he proceeded in person to Madrid; but the uncontrolled confusion of the Spanish government threw additional clouds on his prospects, and he found that the safety of his men must depend on their own efforts. Avoiding the path so heedlessly proposed, he passed Naval Carnero, and reached Escorial, where he halted to bring up his rear, and to obtain bullocks for dragging his artillery and ammunition. Having crossed the mountains on the sixth day after leaving Madrid, his situation became more melancholy, and he fell into deeper difficulties. He received the intelligence of additional disasters among the Spaniards; and his scouts traced the vicinity of parties of the enemy. "The general's situation," says colonel Napier in his *History of the Peninsular War*, "was now truly embarrassing. If he fell back to the Guadarama, the army at Salamanca would be without ammunition or artillery. If he advanced, it must be by a flank march of three days, with a heavy convoy, over a flat country, and within a few hours' march of a very superior cavalry. If he delayed where he was, even for a few hours, the French on the side of Segovia might get between him and the pass of Guadarama, and then, attacked in front, flank, and rear, he would be reduced to the shameful necessity of abandoning his convoy and guns, to save his men in the mountains of Avila. A man of less intrepidity and calmness would have been ruined; but Hope, as enterprising as he was prudent, without any hesitation ordered the cavalry to throw out parties cautiously towards the French, and to maintain a confident front if the latter approached; then moving the infantry and guns from Villacastin, and the convoy from Espinosa, by cross roads to Avila, he continued his march day and night until they reached Peneranda: the cavalry covering this movement closed gradually to the left, and finally occupied Fontiveros on the 2nd of December."<sup>2</sup> Not without additional dangers from the vicinity of the enemy, to the number of ten thousand infantry, and two thousand cavalry, with forty guns, he at length reached Salamanca, and joined the commander-in-chief. He partook in the measures which the army thus recruited endeavoured to pursue, as a last effort of active hostility, passing with his division the Douro at Tordesillas, and directing his march upon Villepando. In the memorable retreat which followed these proceedings, he had a laborious and perilous duty to perform. He commanded the left wing at the battle of Corunna;—of his share in an event so frequently and minutely recorded it is scarcely necessary to give a detailed account. After the death of the commander-in-chief, and the wound which compelled Sir David Baird to retire from the field, general Hope was left with the honour and responsibility of the supreme

<sup>2</sup> Vol. i. p. 437.



command, and in the language of the despatches, to his "abilities and exertions, in the direction of the ardent zeal and unconquerable valour of his majesty's troops, is to be attributed, under providence, the success of the day, which terminated in the complete and entire repulse and defeat of the enemy."

It was the immediate decision of Sir John Hope, not to follow up a victory over so powerful an enemy, but taking advantage of the confusion of the French, to proceed with the original design of embarking the troops, a measure performed with true military alacrity and good order, not without the strenuous exertions of the general, who, after the fatigues of the day, personally searched till a late hour the purlieus of the town, to prevent stragglers from falling into the hands of the enemy. General Hope wrote to Sir David Baird a succinct and clear account of the battle, in which his own name seldom occurs. As exhibiting the subdued opinion he expressed of the advantage gained, and as what is very probably a specimen of his style of composition, we quote the following passage from this excellent document: "Circumstances forbid us to indulge the hope, that the victory with which it has pleased Providence to crown the efforts of the army, can be attended with any very brilliant consequences to Great Britain. It is clouded by the loss of one of her best soldiers. It has been achieved at the termination of a long and harassing service. The superior numbers and advantageous position of the enemy, not less than the actual situation of this army, did not admit of any advantage being reaped from success. It must be, however, to you, to the army, and to our country, the sweetest reflection that the lustre of the British arms has been maintained, amidst many disadvantageous circumstances. The army which had entered Spain amidst the fairest prospects, had no sooner completed its junction, than, owing to the multiplied disasters that dispersed the native armies around us, it was left to its own resources. The advance of the British corps from Douro afforded the best hope that the south of Spain might be relieved, but this generous effort to save the unfortunate people, also afforded the enemy the opportunity of directing every effort of his numerous troops, and concentrating all his principal resources, for the destruction of the only regular force in the north of Spain."

The thanks of his country crowded thickly on general Hope, after the arrival of the despatches in England; a vote of thanks to him and to the officers under his command was unanimously passed in the House of Lords, on the motion of the earl of Liverpool; in the House of Commons, on that of lord Castlereagh. As a reward for *his* services, his *brother* (the earl of Hopetoun) was created a baron of the united kingdom, by the title of baron Hopetoun of Hopetoun in the county of Linlithgow, and himself received the order of the bath, in which he was installed two years afterwards, along with twenty-two other knights. Soon after his return to Britain, Sir John was appointed to superintend the military department of the unsatisfactory expedition to the Scheldt. It was the intention of the planners of the expedition, that by landing on the north side of South Beveland, and taking possession of the island, Sir John might incommode the French fleet while it remained near Flushing, and render its retreat more difficult, while it might be subject to the attacks of the British ships. Sir John's division landed near Ter-Goes, took possession of the important post of Baltz, and removed all impediments to the progress of the British vessels in the West Scheldt. For nine days Sir John occupied his post, waiting impatiently for the concerted arrival of the gun-boats under the command of Sir Home Popham, harassed by frequent attacks from the enemy, in one of which they brought down about twenty-eight gun-vessels, and kept up a cannonade for several hours, but were, after much exertion on the part of the general, com-



pelled to retreat. The termination and effect of the expedition are well known, and need not be here repeated. At the termination of the expedition Sir John Hope was appointed commander-in-chief of the forces in Ireland, but he soon left this unpleasing sphere of duty, to return in 1813, to the scene of his former exertions in the Peninsula. At the battle of Nivelle he commanded the left wing, and driving in the enemy's out-posts in front of their entrenchments on the Lower Nivelle, carried the redoubt above Orogue, and established himself on the heights immediately opposite Sibour, in readiness to take advantage of any movement made by the enemy's right. On the 10th of December, nearly the whole army of the enemy left their entrenchments, and having drawn in the piquets, advanced upon Sir John Hope's posts on the high road from Bayonne to St Jean de Luz. At the first onset, Sir John took 500 prisoners, and repulsed the enemy, while he received in the course of the action a severe contusion on the head. The same movement was repeated by the enemy, and they were in a similar manner repulsed. The conduct of Sir John on this occasion has received the approbation of military men, as being cool, judicious, and soldierly; and he received the praises of the duke of Wellington in his despatches.

In this campaign, which began on the frontiers of Portugal, the enemy's line of defence on the Douro had been turned, and after defeat at Vittoria, Soult had been repulsed in his efforts to relieve St Sebastian and Pamplona, and the army of France had retreated behind the Pyrenees. After the fall of the latter place, the army entered France, after many harassing operations, in which the progress of the allies was stoutly impeded by the indomitable Soult. In the middle of February, 1814, the passage of the Adour was accomplished. While the main body of the army under the duke of Wellington, prosecuted the campaign in other quarters, Sir John Hope was left with a division to invest the citadel and town of Bayonne on both banks of the river. Soon after these operations commenced, Sir John received information from two deserters, that the garrison was under arms, and prepared for a sortie before day-light next morning. By means of a feint attack at the moment they were so expected, and by the silent and stealthy movements of some of their men through the rough ground, many of the centinels were killed, and several lines of piquets broken. The nature of the spot, with a hollow way, steep banks, and intercepting walls, deprived those so attacked of the power of retreating, and the whole vicinity was a series of scattered battles, fought hand to hand, with deadly bitterness. The chief defence of the besiegers lay in the fortified convent of St Bernard, and in some buildings in the village of St Etienne; to the latter post Sir John Hope proceeded with his staff, at the commencement of the attack. Through one of the inequalities of the ground already mentioned, which formed a sort of hollow way, Sir John expected to find the nearest path to the village. When almost too late, he discovered that the banks had concealed from him the situation of the enemy, whose line he was just approaching, and gave orders to retreat; before, however, being extricated from the hollow way, the enemy approached within twelve yards' distance, and began firing: Sir John Hope's horse received three balls, and falling, entangled its rider. While the staff attempted to extricate him, the close firing of the enemy continued, and several British officers were wounded, among whom was Sir John himself, and the French soldiers pouring in, made them all prisoners. The French with difficulty extricated him from the fallen horse, and while they were conveying him to the citadel, he was severely wounded in the foot by a ball supposed to have come from the British piquets. From the effects of this encounter he suffered for a considerable period.

On the 3rd of May, Sir John was created a British peer by the title of baron



Niddry of Niddry, county of Linlithgow. He declined being a partaker in the pecuniary grant, which, on the 9th of June ensuing, was moved by the chancellor of the exchequer, as a reward for the services of him and other distinguished generals. On the death of his brother by his father's prior marriage, he succeeded to the family title of earl of Hopetoun, and in August, 1819, he attained to the rank of general. He died at Paris, on the 27th August, 1823, in the 58th year of his age. From the Edinburgh Annual Register for 1823, we extract a character of this excellent and able man, which, if it have a small degree too much of the beau ideal in its composition, seems to be better fitted to the person to whom it is applied, than it might be to many equally celebrated.

"As the friend and companion of Moore," says this chronicle, "and as acting under Wellington in the Pyrenean campaign, he had rendered himself conspicuous. But it was when, by succession to the earldom, he became the head of one of the most ancient houses in Scotland, and the possessor of one of its most extensive properties, that his character shone in its fullest lustre. He exhibited then a model, as perfect seemingly as human nature could admit, of the manner in which this eminent and useful station ought to be filled. An open and magnificent hospitality, suited to his place and rank, without extravagance or idle parade, a full and public tribute to the obligations of religion and private morality, without ostentation or austerity; a warm interest in the improvement and welfare of those extensive districts with which his possessions brought him into contact—a kind and generous concern in the welfare of the humblest of his dependents,—these qualities made him beloved and respected in an extraordinary degree, and will cause him to be long remembered."<sup>3</sup>

HOPE, (SIR) THOMAS, an eminent lawyer and statesman of the fifteenth century, and the founder of a family distinguished for its public services, was the son of Henry Hope, a considerable Scottish merchant, whose grandfather, John de Hope, was one of the gentlemen attending Magdalene de Valois, first consort of James V., at her coming into this country in 1537.

Henry Hope, a younger brother of the subject of this memoir, following the profession of his father, was the progenitor of the great and opulent branch of the Hopes of Amsterdam; a house, for extent of commerce and solidity of credit, long considered superior, without exception, to any private mercantile company in the world.

Thomas Hope, after having distinguished himself at school in no small degree, entered upon the study of the law, and made so rapid a progress in juridical knowledge, that he was at a very early age called to the bar. However, like the generality of young lawyers, he enjoyed at first a very limited practice; in 1606, he burst at once upon the world on the following occasion.

Six ministers of the church of Scotland having thought proper to deny that the king and his council possessed any authority in ecclesiastical affairs, were on that account imprisoned for some months in Blackness castle, indicted for high treason, and on the 10th of January, 1606, put upon trial at Linlithgow, before a jury consisting chiefly of landed gentlemen of the three Lothians. As it was carefully promulgated that the king and court had openly expressed the highest displeasure against the ministers, and had declared that they would show no favour

<sup>3</sup> The esteem and affection in which the earl was held in the scenes of private life, and in his character as a landlord, has, since his death, been testified in a remarkable manner by the erection of no fewer than three monuments to his memory, on the tops of as many hills—one in Fife, on the mount of Sir David Lindsay, another in Linlithgowshire, near Hopetoun House, and the third in the neighbourhood of Haddington. It is also intended to erect an equestrian statue of his lordship in some conspicuous part of the New Town of Edinburgh. A correct and masterly engraving of Lord Hopetoun, representing him standing beside his horse, has been published.



to any person that should appear in their behalf, none of the great lawyers chose to undertake their cause ; even Sir Thomas Craig, although he was procurator for the church, refused to be concerned in this affair, and Sir William Oliphant, who had at first promised to plead for them, sent word, the day before, that he must decline appearing. The ministers, thus abandoned, applied to Mr Hope, who, pitying their case, with the greatest cheerfulness and resolution undertook their defence ; and, notwithstanding the reiterated endeavours of the court to perplex and browbeat him, contradicted it in so skilful and masterly a manner, that he made a deep impression on the jury. However, by an unlawful tampering with the jurors (some of the lords of council having procured admittance to them after they were locked up,) and assurance that no harm was intended against the persons or goods of the accused, nine of the fifteen jurymen were induced to bring in a verdict of guilty, and the ministers were sentenced to banishment forth of the kingdom, which was accordingly executed.

By the commendable intrepidity, knowledge of the law, and singular abilities, manifested by Mr Hope at this important trial, he became so greatly the favourite of the presbyterians, that they never afterwards undertook any important business without consulting him ; and he was retained in almost every cause brought by that party into the courts of justice, so that he instantly came into the first practice of any lawyer at that period. By this, in a few years he acquired one of the most considerable fortunes ever made at the Scottish bar ; which enabled him to purchase, between 1613 and 1642, the lands of Grantoun, Edmonstoun, and Cauldcots in Mid Lothian, Prestongrange in East Lothian, Kerse in Stirlingshire, Mertoun in the Merse, Kinninmonth, Arnydie, Craighall, Ceres, Hiltarvet, and others in Fife.

It was the policy of king Charles I. to bestow honours and emoluments upon those who had most power to obstruct his designs, and hence, in 1626, the great presbyterian barrister was made king's advocate, with permission, revived in his favour, to sit in the bar, and be privy to the hearing and determining of all causes, except those in which he was retained by any of the parties. He was also in 1628 created a baronet of Nova Scotia. If the king expected by these means to gain him over from the presbyterians, he was grievously disappointed, for although Sir Thomas discharged the duties of his high office with attention and propriety, his gratitude, principles, and inclination, were all too powerfully engaged to his first friends and benefactors to admit of his deserting them : it was, on the contrary, with pleasure that he beheld that party increasing every day in numbers and consequence. It would draw out this account to too great a length, to enumerate all the various steps taken by them in pursuance of his advice ; it is enough to say that he acted as their confidant throughout the whole affair of the resistance of the Liturgy in 1637, and that he was intimately concerned in framing the bond of resistance, entitled the National Covenant, which was subscribed by nearly the whole population of Scotland in the succeeding year. The king, with fatal weakness, nevertheless retained him in an office, which, of all others in the state, implied and required a hearty service of the royal cause. In 1643, when a parliament was required to meet in order to settle the Solemn League and Covenant with the English parliament, Sir Thomas, to get over the dilemma of illegality which must have characterized such a meeting, as it could not legally take place till the next year, recommended a convention of estates upon the precedent of some such transaction in the reign of James V. ; and thus was achieved a measure which, more than any other, perhaps, was fatal to the royal cause : the army voted in this irregular meeting being of great avail in the decisive battle of Longmarston-moor, which was fought soon after.

Charles, nevertheless, still persisting in his unfortunate policy, appointed Sir



Thomas Hope to be his commissioner to the General Assembly, which met in August, 1643; an honour never before or since bestowed upon a commoner. The royalists were so much incensed at the appointment of an enemy instead of a friend, that they very generally absented themselves from the assembly, and the field was therefore left in a great measure clear to the covenanters, who carried all before them. As the sanction of this body was necessary to the transaction above alluded to, the credit of the whole, direct or indirect, lies with Sir Thomas Hope.

In 1645, Sir Thomas Hope was appointed one of the commissioners for managing the exchequer, but did not long enjoy that office, dying the next year, 1646. He had the singular happiness of seeing, before his death, two of his sons seated on the bench while he was lord advocate; and it being judged by the Court of Session unbecoming that a father should plead uncovered before his children, the privilege of wearing his hat, while pleading, was granted to him. This privilege his successors in the office of king's advocate have ever since enjoyed, though it is now in danger of being lost through desuetude.

The professional excellencies of Sir Thomas Hope are thus discriminated by Sir George Mackenzie, in his *Characteres Advocatorum*. "Hopius mira inventione pollebat, totque illi fundebat argumenta ut amplificatione tempus deesset; non ornabat, sed arguebat, modo uniformi, sed sibi proprio. Nam cum argumentum vel exceptionem protulisset, rationem addebat; et ubi dubia videbatur, rationis rationem. Ita rhetorica non illi defuit, sed inutilis apparuit."

The following are the written or published works of Sir Thomas Hope.—1, *Carmen Seculare in serenissimum Carolum I. Britanniarum Monarcham*, Edin. 1626.—2, *Psalmi Davidis et Canticum Solomonis Latino carmine redditum*, MS.—3, *Major Practicks*.—4, *Minor Practicks*, (a very well known work), —5, *Paratitillo in universo Juris Corpore*.—and 6, *A Genealogie of the Earls of Mar*, MS.

In Wood's *Ancient and Modern account of the Parish of Cramond*, from which the above facts are chiefly taken, is given a very perfect account of the numerous descendants of Sir Thomas Hope, including the noble race of Hope-toun, and many other races distinguished in the two past centuries, by official eminence and public service.

HORNER, FRANCIS, whose virtues, talents, and eloquence, raised him to an eminent rank in public life, while yet a young man, was born at Edinburgh on the 12th of August, 1778. His father, a native of England, but at that time an eminent linen merchant in Edinburgh, took delight in cultivating the excellent talents which his son early displayed, and doubtless contributed much to the formation of those intellectual habits, and sound and liberal principles, which marked the boy as well as the full-grown man. Francis was sent to the High school, where he soon became a favourite with the late Dr Adam, who then presided over that eminent seminary as rector, and who was accustomed to say of his distinguished pupil, that "Francis Horner was the only boy he ever knew who had an old head upon young shoulders." Nor was this remark dictated by undue partiality, although some of the most eminent men of the present day were among young Horner's class-fellows: for he was never known to join in the field-sports or recreations of any of the boys, and he kept the rank of dux at school by his own industry and talents alone, having no private tutor to direct his studies. Francis indeed needed no adventitious aid; but it has been thought by some of his medical friends that these early propensities to retirement and constant study contributed to sow the seeds of that pulmonary disease which assailed his youth, and finally led to an untimely grave.

When removed to the university he enjoyed the instructions of several eminent



professors, and, in particular, attracted the notice of Dugald Stewart: but the theatre, perhaps, which tended more than any other to unfold his talents and views was the Speculative Society, an institution for improvement in public speaking, and in science in general, without peculiar reference to any of the learned professions, the members of which met weekly during the sitting of the college. There are few associations of this kind which have numbered so many young men of splendid talents on their roll of members. Lord Henry Petty, the second son of the first marquis of Lansdown, and Messrs Brougham and Jeffrey were amongst Mr Horner's associates in the arena of debate, and contributed by their mutual influence on each other's minds to invigorate and sharpen those intellectual powers which were afterwards to raise them to stations of the highest eminence and widest influence in society. Mr Horner first directed his attention to the Scottish bar, but like his two last-mentioned friends with very limited success. The attainment of sufficient practice before the Scottish court can only be the result of undismayed perseverance and great industry; real talent will ultimately reach its object there, but the necessary probation is apt to dishearten conscious merit. There was something also in the political character of the times inauspicious to young men of independent principles, who sought to make their way without friends or interest by dint of talent alone; the aristocracy possessed overwhelming influence, and a considerable amount of prejudice existed in the midst of the commonalty against the first manifestations of that more liberal spirit which now began to show itself in various quarters, and more especially characterized the debates of the Speculative Society. The intervention of a jury was also unknown in civil causes, and thus the principal field for forensic eloquence was denied to the youthful aspirant. These considerations appear to have so far weighed with Mr Horner as to induce him, though already admitted a member of faculty, to direct his attention to the English bar; and with this view he left his associates, now busily engaged with the early numbers of the *Edinburgh Review*, and repaired to London, where he commenced the study of English jurisprudence.

In the meantime his friend lord H. Petty, after having taken his degree at Cambridge, and visited the continent, returned to England, and was immediately elected one of the two representatives of Calne. In the new parliament just then convoked, this young nobleman soon began to be considered a very able and formidable ally of the opposition; and upon the final success of Mr Fox's party, lord Henry Petty found himself, at the very early age of twenty-one, chancellor of the exchequer, a member of the privy council, and M. P. for the university of Cambridge. In this commanding situation he strongly recommended his young Scottish friend to the notice of his coadjutor, as a gentleman whose principles, character, and talents eminently fitted him for supporting the new ministry. Mr Horner was accordingly brought into parliament for the borough of St Ives in 1806. By the dismissal of the Foxo-Grenville administration, Mr Horner was for a time deprived of his parliamentary seat; but the talents and integrity which he had exhibited while in office, pointed him out to the friends of liberal principles as an ally too important to be consigned to oblivion. Accordingly, on the retirement of viscount Mahon from the representation of Wendover, Mr Horner was immediately nominated for that place, and soon afterwards was appointed one of the commissioners for investigating the claims on the late Nabob of Arcot, whose debts had been guaranteed by the East India Company,—an office of considerable emolument but proportionate labour. This situation, however, he afterwards resigned, though receiving little or no emolument from professional business, which indeed he did not aim at acquiring. Once established, however, in parliament, Mr Horner continued gradually to ac-



quire the confidence of the house, and that hold upon public opinion, without which no member of the British senate can be an efficient statesman. His speeches were little remarkable for ornament, or in a high degree for what is generally called eloquence; but he brought to the examination of every subject the power of a clear and matured understanding; and as he made it a point never to address the house upon any subject of which he had not made himself fully master, he never failed to command attention and respect. The excellence of the speaker consisted in accurate reasoning, logical arrangement of the facts, and clear and forcible illustration.

On the 1st of February, 1810, Mr Horner entered upon that part of his parliamentary career in which he reaped his most brilliant reputation. The extraordinary depreciation of the paper-currency, and the unfavourable state of the exchanges for the last two years had attracted the attention of the best economists of the day, and engaged Messrs Mushet, Ricardo, and Huskisson, and many others, in the investigation of the general principles of circulation, and of the various results which are occasioned in different countries by the variations in their respective currencies. This was a subject upon which Mr Horner felt himself at full liberty to enter. He had early turned his attention to economical subjects, and had given the result of his inquiries to the public in various articles which he contributed to the *Edinburgh Review*, which had attracted very considerable notice from their first appearance. Accordingly, pursuant to notice, he moved for a variety of accounts and returns, and during the spring of that year, called the attention of the house at different times to the important subject of the circulating medium and bullion trade. At the same time that Mr Horner was establishing his reputation as an economist, he neglected not the other duties of a statesman. On the 10th of May, 1810, when Alderman Combe made a motion censuring the ministers for obstructing the address of the Livery of London to his majesty in person, we find Mr Horner supporting it in the following constitutional terms: "He considered it as a question of vital importance, respecting which ministers had attempted to defend themselves by drawing the veil from the infirmities of their sovereign. It was the right of the Livery of London, as it was of other subjects, to have access to his majesty's person in the worst times,—even in those of Charles II. these had not been refused. The most corrupt ministers indeed, had no idea it would ever be refused. How complete would have been their triumph if they had discovered the practice which of late had prevailed! The obstruction of petitions was a subversion of the fundamental law of the land." Towards the conclusion of the same session, the house marked its sense of Mr Horner's superior information by placing his name at the head of "the bullion committee." Mr Horner presided for some time as chairman of that committee during the examination of the evidence, and drew up the first part of the report; the second was penned by Mr Huskisson; and the third by Mr Henry Thornton. They reported "that there was an excess in the paper circulation, of which the most unequivocal symptoms were the high price of bullion,<sup>1</sup> and next to that the low state of the continental exchange;<sup>2</sup> that the cause of this excess was to be found in the suspension of cash-payments, there being no adequate provision against such an excess, except in the convertibility of paper into specie; and that the unfavourable state of the exchange originated in the same cause, and was farther increased by the anti-commercial measures of the enemy." They added "that they could see no sufficient remedy for the present, or security for the future, except the repeal of the law suspending the

<sup>1</sup> Gold had attained a maximum of 15½ per cent. above the mint price.

<sup>2</sup> The exchanges on Hamburg and Amsterdam had been depressed towards the latter end of 1809, from 16 to 20 per cent. below par; while the exchange on Paris was still lower.



cash payments of the bank ; this, they thought, could not be safely done at an earlier period than two years from the time of their report ; but they recommended that early provision should be made by parliament for this purpose." This report excited much discussion both within and without the walls of the house. The press swarmed with pamphlets on the present state of the currency, and the remedies proposed ;—the journals teemed with dissertations on the same subject ;—the comparative merits of a metallic and a paper currency formed the topic of discussion in every company ;—ministers opposed the committee's proposition ;—and finally, Mr Vansittart, at the head of the anti-bullionists or *practical men*, as they called themselves, got a series of counter-resolutions passed after four nights' keen discussion, in which the speeches of Mr Horner and several other members extended to three hours' length.

Although defeated in their struggle, the appearance which Mr Horner made in it, was so highly respectable as to deepen the impression which his talents and knowledge had already made on the house ; and from this period he appears to have exercised very considerable influence with all parties. Indeed, the urbanity of his manners, and the moderation with which he pressed his own views, were such as secured for him the respect, at least, of those from whom he differed in opinion ; and while steadily and consistently supporting the party to which he belonged, he displayed a spirit of tolerance towards his opponents which totally subdued any thing like personal animosity on their part. His efforts were then often more successful than those of more gifted men, who, with greater talents, have nevertheless greater prejudice, frequently amounting to personal dislike, to struggle against. It has been supposed that had Mr Horner been in parliament after the death of Mr Ponsonby, he would have become the leader of the opposition. But for an honour so great as this, providence had not destined him. Constant application to business and the increasing weight and multiplicity of his engagements, at last overpowered a constitution which never was very strong. Indications of pulmonary consumption soon appeared, and immediate removal to a warmer climate was deemed necessary by his physicians. Crossing, therefore, to the continent, he passed through France and entered Italy ; but the seeds of mortal disease had begun to spring before he took farewell of his own country, and he expired at Pisa, on the 8th of February, 1817, in the 38th year of his age. His remains were interred in the Protestant burying-ground at Leghorn, which also contains the ashes of Smollett.

On the occasion of a new writ being moved for the borough of St Mawes, which Mr Horner had represented, the character of the deceased member was elegantly sketched by lord Morpeth, and eloquent and affecting tributes of respect paid to his memory by several of the most distinguished members of the house.

A contemporary, who was acquainted with Mr Horner, both at school and at the university, thus expresses his opinion of him : " The characteristics of Mr Horner's mind, if I apprehend them rightly, were clearness of perception, calmness of judgment, and patience of investigation : producing as their consequences, firmness of conduct and independence of principles. Carrying these qualities into public life, he evinced greater moderation and forbearance than are often found in the narrow and comparatively unambitious strifes of a less extended scene. He entered parliament at rather an early age, and soon became not only a useful and conspicuous man of business, but drew more respect to his personal character, and was regarded by both orders of the House of Commons with greater confidence and interest, than any young member had attracted, perhaps, since the early days of Mr Pitt. This will appear higher praise when it is added, with truth, that no man coming into that house under the patronage of a whig nobleman could have acted with greater liberality



towards extended ideas of popular right,—with more fairness and firmness to the persons of his opponents,—or with more apparent latitude of individual judgment, on some of the most trying occasions, in all those scenes that have occurred in our recent parliamentary history. As a public speaker, he was not remarkable for the popular graces and attractions. If eloquence consists in rousing the passions by strong metaphors,—in awakening the sympathies by studied allusions,—or in arresting attention by the sallies of a mind rich in peculiar associations, Mr Horner was not eloquent. But if eloquence be the art of persuading by accurate reasoning, and a right adjustment of all the parts of a discourse, by the powers of a tact which is rather intellectually right than practically fine, Mr Horner was eloquent. He spoke with the steady calmness of one who saw his way on principle, while he felt it simply and immediately, through sobriety of judgment and good conduct; and never seemed to be more excited by his subject, or more carried away in the vehemence of debate, than to make such exertions as left one uniform impression on the minds of his hearers that he spoke from an honest internal conviction and from a real desire to be useful. In private life, he was distinguished by an impressive graveness which would have appeared heavy, had it not been observed in permanent conjunction with an easy steadiness of conversation, and a simplicity of manners very far from any thing cold, affected, or inelegant. His sense of honour was high and decided. His taste for literature, like his taste for conduct, was correct. As his acts of friendship or of duty were done without effort or finesse, so did he enjoy with quietness and relish those tender and deeply felt domestic affections which can sweeten or even adorn almost any condition of life. He was not fitted to win popularity, but his habitual moderation,—his unaffected respect for every thing respectable that was opposed to him,—and the successful pains which he took to inform himself well on the grounds and nature of every business in which he bore a part, gained him an influence more valuable to a man of judgment, than popularity.”

Mr Horner sat to the celebrated Raeburn for his picture some years before his demise. The painter has produced a faithful likeness, but no engraving of it has yet been executed.

HORSLEY, JOHN, an eminent antiquary, historian, and divine, was born at Pinkie House in Mid-Lothian, in the year 1685. His parents were English non-conformists, who are supposed to have fled into Scotland on account of the persecution in the reign of Charles II. How it happened that they resided at Pinkie House, then the property of the earl of Dunfermline, as successor to the estates of the abbey of Dunfermline, is not known. It is clearly ascertained that his progenitors belonged to Northumberland, and were of no mean standing. His parents returned to Northumberland immediately after the Revolution, and it is understood that the subject of this notice received the initiatory part of his education at the Newcastle grammar school. He was thereafter sent to pursue his academical studies at Edinburgh; and it would appear, that at a very early age, as we find by the laureation book of the college, he was admitted master of arts in 1701, being then just sixteen years of age. After finishing his theological course, he returned to England, and preached for several years merely as a licentiate; but in 1721, he was ordained minister of a congregation of Protestant dissenters at Morpeth. His mind, however, was directed to other pursuits besides his profession, and his great attainments in geology, mathematics, and most of the other abstruse sciences, of which he gave unquestionable proofs, would probably have gained him a wider and more permanent fame in the present day, than at a time when their principles were in general little understood, and less attended to. In 1722, he invented a simple and ingenious mode of



determining the average quantity of rain which fell, by means of a funnel, the wider cylinder of which was thirty inches in diameter, and terminated in a pipe three inches in diameter, and ten in length; the latter being graduated in inches and tenths. Ten measures of the pipe being equal to one inch of the cylinder, one measure to one-tenth of an inch, one inch of the measure to one-hundred, and one-tenth to one-thousand part,—the depth of any particular quantity of rain which fell might be set down in decimals with ease and exactness; and the whole, at the end of each month or year, summed up without any trouble. Shortly after, and probably in consequence of this invention, he was elected a fellow of the Royal Society, and commenced giving public lectures on hydrostatics, mechanics, and various branches of natural philosophy, at Morpeth, Alnwick, and Newcastle. His valuable apparatus for illustrating and explaining his lectures, after passing through various hands after his death, were, in 1821, deposited in the library belonging to the dissenters in Red Cross Street, London, being bequeathed to the public by Dr Daniel Williams. By manuscripts afterwards found among Mr Horsley's papers, it appears that about the year 1728, he conceived the idea of writing a history of Northumberland, and from the extensive design of the work which he had sketched out, embracing its antiquities, traditions, geological structure, &c., and his ability for the task, it is much to be regretted that he did not live to complete it. A map of the same county, commenced by him, was afterwards completed by Mr Mark, the surveyor employed by him, and published at Edinburgh in 1753. Mr Horsley also published a small book on experimental philosophy, in connexion with the course of lectures above noticed. His great work, however, by which his name will most probably be transmitted to posterity, and to which he dedicated the greater part of his short but busy career, is his "*Britannia Romana*," or the Roman affairs of Britain, in three books. This work is in folio, and consists of five hundred and twenty pages, with plates exhibiting maps of the Roman positions, copies of ancient coins, sculptures, inscriptions, &c. It is dedicated to Sir Richard Ellys, Bart., contains a lengthy preface, a chronological table of occurrences during the Roman domination, a copious index of the Roman names of people and places in Britain, &c. It was printed at London for John Osborne and Thomas Longman, &c., in 1732; but Mr Horsley lived not to see the fate of a work which had unceasingly engrossed his time, thoughts, and means for several years. His death took place at Morpeth, on the 15th January, 1732, exactly thirteen days after the date of his dedication to Sir Richard Ellys, and while yet in his 46th year. The enthusiastic ardour with which he devoted himself to this work, may be gleaned from the following passage in the preface:—"It is now four years since I was prevailed with to complete this work, for which time I have pursued it with the greatest care and application. Several thousand miles were travelled to visit ancient monuments, and re-examine them where there was any doubt or difficulty." He also went to London to superintend the progress of his work through the press, and engaged in an extensive correspondence on the subject with many of the most learned writers and antiquaries of the day. The "*Britannia*" is now a very rare work, and it would appear that the plates engraved for it are entirely lost. Mr Horsley was married early in life to a daughter of a professor Hamilton, who, according to Wood, in his *Ancient and Modern State of Cramond*, was at one time minister of that parish. By her he had two daughters, one of whom was married to a Mr Randall, clerk in the Old South Sea House, London; the other to Samuel Halliday, esq., an eminent surgeon at Newcastle. From a passage in his manuscript history of Northumberland, it would also appear that he had a son, but we find no other mention made of him, either in his own writings or elsewhere.



The greater part of Mr Horsley's various unfinished works, correspondence, and other manuscripts, fell after his death into the hands of the late John Cay, Esq. of Edinburgh, great-grandson of Mr Robert Cay, an eminent printer and publisher at Newcastle, to whose judgment in the compiling, correcting, and getting up of the *Britannia Romana*, Mr Horsley appears to have been much indebted. From these papers, as printed in a small biographical work by the Rev. John Hodgson, vicar of Whelpington in Northumberland, published at Newcastle in 1831, the most of the facts contained in this brief memoir were taken.

HUME, ALEXANDER, a vernacular poet of the reign of James VI., was the second son of Patrick Hume, fifth baron of Polwarth. Until revived by the tasteful researches of Dr Leyden, the works of this, one of the most elegant of our early poets, lay neglected, and his name was unknown except to the antiquary. He had the merit of superseding those "godlie and spiritual sangis and ballatis," which, however sacred they may have once been held, are pronounced by the present age to be ludicrous and blasphemous, for strains where piety and taste combine, and in which the feelings of those who wish to peruse writings on sacred subjects, are not outraged. The neglect which has long obscured the works of this poet, has impeded inquiries as to his life and character. He is supposed to have been born in the year 1560, or within a year or two prior to that date. Late investigators have found that he studied at St Andrews, and that he may be identified with an Alexander Hume, who took the degree of Bachelor of Arts at St Leonard's college of that university in the year 1574. The outline of his farther passage through life is expressed in his own words, in his epistle to Mr Gilbert Moncrieff, the king's physician. He there mentions, that, after spending four years in France, he was seized with a desire to become a lawyer in his own country, and he there draws a pathetic picture of the miseries of a briefless barrister, sufficient to extract tears from half the faculty.

"To that effect, three years or near that space,  
I haunted maist our highest pleading place  
And senate, where great causes reason'd war;  
My breast was bruisit with leaning on the bar;  
My buttocks brist, I partly spitted blood,  
My gown was trail'd and trampid quhair I stood;  
My ears were deif'd with maissirs cries and din  
Quhilk procuratoris and parties callit in."

Nor did the moral aspect of the spot convey a more soothing feeling than the physical. He found

"The puir abusit ane hundredth divers wayes;  
Postpon'd, defter'd with shifts and mere delays,  
Consumit in gudes, ourset with grief and paine."

From the corrupt atmosphere of the law, he turned towards the pure precincts of the court; but here he finds that

"From the rocks of Cyclades fra hand,  
I struck into Charybdis sinking sand."

He proceeds to say that, "for reverence of kings he will not slander courts," yet he has barely maintained his politeness to royal ears, in his somewhat vivid description of all that the calm poet experienced during his apprenticeship at court.

"In courts, Moncrieff, is pride, envie, contention,  
Dissimulance, despite, disceat, dissention,  
Fear, whisperings, reports, and new suspicion,  
Fraud, treason, lies, dread, guile, and sedition ;



Great greediness, and prodigality;  
Lusts sensual, and partialitie."

with a continued list of similar qualifications, whose applicability is likely to be perceived only by a disappointed courtier, or a statesman out of place. During the days of his following the bar and the court, it is supposed that Hume joined in one of those elegant poetical amusements called "Flytings," and that he is the person who, under the designation of "Polwart," answered in fitting style to the abuse of Montgomery. That Alexander Hume was the person who so officiated, is, however, matter of great doubt: Dempster, a contemporary, mentions that the person who answered Montgomery was *Patrick* Hume, a name which answers to that of the elder brother; and though Leyden and Sibbald justly pay little attention to such authority, knowing that Dempster is, in general, as likely to be wrong as to be right, every-Scotsman knows that the patrimonial designation "Polwart" is more appropriately the title of the elder than of the younger brother; while Patrick Hume of Polwarth, a more fortunate courtier, and less seriously disposed than his brother, has left behind him no mean specimen of his genius, in a poem addressed to James VI., entitled "The Promise." Whichever of the brothers has assumed Polwart's share in the controversy, it is among the most curious specimens of the employments of the elegant minds of the age.

If the sacred poet, Alexander Hume, was really the person who so spent his youthful genius, as life advanced he turned his attention to more serious matters; that his youth was spent more unprofitably than his riper years approved, is displayed in some of his writings, in terms more bitter than those which are generally used by persons to whom expressions of repentance seem a becoming language. He entered into holy orders, and at some period was appointed minister of Logie, a pastoral charge of which he performed with vigour the humble duties, until his death in 1609.

Before entering on the works which he produced in his clerical retirement, it may be right to observe that much obscurity involves his literary career, from the circumstance that three other individuals of the same name, existing at the same period, passed lives extremely similar, both in their education, and in their subsequent progress. Three out of the four attended St Mary's college at St Andrews in company;—presuming that the subject of our memoir took his degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1574, one of his companions must have passed in 1571, the other in 1572. It is supposed that one of these was minister of Dunbar in 1582; the other is known to have been appointed master of the High school of Edinburgh in 1596, and to have been author of a few theological tracts, and of a Latin grammar, appointed by act of parliament, and by the privy council, to be used in all grammar schools in the kingdom: this individual has been discovered by Dr M'Crie, to have afterwards successively officiated as rector of the grammar schools of Salt-Preston and of Dunbar. The fourth Alexander Hume, was a student at St Leonard's college, St Andrews, where he entered in 1578: he too was a poet, but the only existing specimen of his composition is the following simple tribute to the labours of Bellenden, inscribed on a blank leaf of the manuscript of the translation of Livy,

" Fyve buikes ar here by Ballantyne translated,  
Restis yet ane hundred threttie fyve behind;  
Quilkis if the samyn war als weill compleated,  
Wuld be ane volume of ane monstrous kind."

<sup>1</sup> The ingenious poet probably overlooks the fact of so many of Livy's books being lost, with the deliberate purpose of increasing the effect of his verses.



Ilk man perfytes not quhat they once intend,  
 So frail and brittle ar our wretched dayes;  
 Let sume man then begine quhair he doeth end,  
 Give him the first, tak thame the second praise:  
 No, no! to Titus Livius give all,  
 That peerles prince for feattis historicall."

*M. A. Home, St Leonardes.*

A small manuscript volume bearing the name of Alexander Hume, and entitled "Rerum Scotticarum Compendium," is probably from the pen of one of these four, but of which, it may now be impossible to determine.

Alexander Hume, minister of Logie, is, however, the undoubted author of "Hymnes or Sacred Songs, wherein the right use of poesie may be espied: whereunto are added, the experience of the author's youth, and certain precepts serving to the practice of sanctification." This volume, printed by Waldegrave in 1599, was dedicated to Elizabeth Melvill, by courtesy styled lady Culross, a woman of talent and literary habits, the authoress of "Ane godlie dream, compylit in Scottish meter," printed at Aberdeen in 1644. The Hymns and Sacred Songs have been several times partially reprinted, and the original having fallen into extreme rarity, the whole has lately been reprinted by the Bannatyne club. In the prose introduction, the author addressing the youth of Scotland, exhorts them to avoid "profane sonnets and vain ballads of love, the fabulous feats of Palmerine, and such like reveries."—"Some time," he adds, "I delighted in such fantasies myself, after the manner of riotous young men: and had not the Lord in his mercy pulled me aback, and wrought a great repentance in me, I had doubtless run forward and employed my time and study in that profane and unprofitable exercise, to my own perdition." The first of his hymns he styles his "Recantation:" it commences in the following solemn terms:

Alace, how long have I delayed  
 To leave the laits<sup>2</sup> of youth!  
 Alace how oft have I essayed  
 To daunt my lascive mouth,  
 And make my vayne polluted thought,  
 My pen and speech prophaine,  
 Extoll the Lord quhilk made of nocht  
 The heaven, the earth, and maine.

Skarce nature yet my face about,  
 Hir virile net had spun,  
 Quhen als oft as Phœbea stout  
 Was set agains the Sun:  
 Yea, als oft as the fierie flames  
 Arise and shine abroad,  
 I minded was with sangs and psalms  
 To glorifie my God.

But ay the canered carnall kind,  
 Quhilk lurked me within,  
 Seduced my heart, withdrew my mind,  
 And made me slave to sin.  
 My senses and my saull I saw  
 Debait a deadlie strife,  
 Into my flesh I felt a law  
 Gainstand the Law of life.

<sup>2</sup> Habits or manners.



Even as the falcon high, and hait  
 Furth fleeing in the skye,  
 With wanton wing hir game to gaif,  
 Disdaines her caller's cry ;  
 So led away with liberty,  
 And drowned in delight,  
 I wandred after vanitie—  
 My vice I give the wight.

But by far the most beautiful composition in the collection, is that entitled the "Day Estival," the one which Leyden has thought worthy of revival. This poem presents a description of the progress and effects of a summer day in Scotland, accompanied by the reflections of a mind full of natural piety, and a delicate perception of the beauties of the physical world. The easy flow of the numbers, distinguishing it from the harsher productions of the same age, and the arrangement of the terms and ideas, prove an acquaintance with English poetry ; but the subject and the poetical thoughts are entirely the author's own. They speak strongly of the elegant and fastidious mind, tired of the bar, and disgusted with the court, finding a balm to the wounded spirit, in being alone with nature, and watching her progress. The style has an unrestrained freedom which may please the present age, and the contemplative feeling thrown over the whole, mingled with the artless vividness of the descriptions, bringing the objects immediately before the eye, belong to a species of poetry at which some of the highest minds have lately made it their study to aim. We shall quote the commencing stanza, and a few others scattered in different parts of the Poem :

"O perfect light ! which shed away  
 The darkness from the light,  
 And left one ruler o'er the day,  
 Another o'er the night.

Thy glory, when the day forth flies,  
 More vively does appear  
 Nor at mid-day unto our eyes  
 The shining sun is clear.

The shadow of the earth anone  
 Removes and drawis by ;  
 Syne in the east, when it is gone,  
 Appears a clearer sky :  
 Which soon perceives the little larks,  
 The lapwing, and the snipe ;  
 And tunes their songs, like nature's clerks,  
 Our meadow, moor, and stripe.

\* \* \* \*

The time so tranquil is and still,  
 That no where shall ye find,  
 Save on a high and barren hill,  
 An air of passing wind.  
 All trees and simples, great and small,  
 That balmy leaf do bear,  
 Nor they were painted on a wall  
 No more they move or stir.  
 Calm is the deep and purpour sea,  
 Yea smother nor the sand :



The wallis that weltering want to be  
Are stable like the laud.

\* \* \* \*

What pleasure 'twere to walk and see,  
Endlong a river clear,  
The perfect form of every tree  
Within the deep appear;  
The salmon out of crooves and creels  
Up hauled into skouts,  
The bells and circles on the wells  
Through louping of the trouts.  
O then it were a seemly thing,  
While all is still and calme,  
The praise of God to play and sing  
With cornet and with shalme.

Rowe, in his manuscript History of the Church of Scotland, has told us that Hume "was one of those godlie and faithfull servants, who had witnessed against the hierarchy of prelates in this kirk." He proceeds to remark, "as to Mr Alexander Hooime, minister at Logie beside Stirlin, I nixt mention him: he has left ane admonition behind him in write to the kirk of Scotland, wherein he affirms that the bishops, who were then fast rising up, had left the sincere ministers, who wold gladlie have kept still the good old government of the kirk, if these corrupt ministers had not left them and it; earnestlie entreating the bishops to leave and forsake that course wherin they were, els their defection from their honest brethren, (with whom they had taken the covenant,) and from the cause of God, would be registrate afterwards to their eternale shame." The person who has reprinted Hume's Hymns and Sacred Songs for the Bannatyne club, has discovered among the elaborate collections of Wodrow, in the Advocate's Library, a small tract entitled, "Ane afold Admonition to the Ministerie of Scotland, be ane deing brother," which he, not without reason, presumes to be that mentioned by Rowe; founding the supposition on the similarity of the title, the applicability of the matter, and a minute circumstance of internal evidence, which shows that the admonition was written very soon after the year 1607, and very probably at such a period as might have enabled Hume (who died in 1609) to have denominated himself "ane deing brother." The whole of this curious production is conceived in a style of assumption, which cannot have been very acceptable to the spiritual pride of the Scottish clergy. It commences in the following terms of apostolical reprimand:—"Grace, mercy, and peace from God the Father, through our Lord Jesus Christ. It is certainlie knawin, bretheren, to the greiff of monie godlie heartes and slander of the Gospell, that thair ar dissentionis among you: not concerning the covenant of God, or the scales of the covenant, but chieflie concerning twa poyntis of discipline or kirk government, wharanent you are divydit in twa factionis or opinionis." From this assumed superiority, the admonitionist stalks forth, bearing himself in lofty terms, never condescending to argue, but directing like a superior spirit; and under the Christian term of humility, "bretheren," concealing an assumption of spiritual superiority, which the word "sons" would hardly have sufficiently expressed.

HUME, DAVID, of Godscroft. The scantiness of the materials for lives of literary Scotsmen has, with us, often been a subject of remark and regret; and we are sure that every one who has had occasion to make investigations into this department of our national history will at once acquiesce in its truth. Our statesmen have been applauded or condemned—at all events they have been immortalized—by contemporary writers; the deeds of our soldiers have been celebrated



in works relative to our martial achievements ; and our divines have always, and more especially in the darker ages, preserved a knowledge of themselves and their transactions,—but literary men are nearly forgotten, and for what is known of them we are principally indebted to the labours of continental biographers. It would be difficult to point out a more striking illustration of this than the well known individual whose name appears at the head of this article. His name is familiar to every one who is in the least degree conversant with Scottish history or poetry ;—he was descended from an honourable family—he acted a prominent part in some of the earlier transactions of his own time, and still almost nothing is known of his history. The indefatigable Wodrow has preserved many scattered hints regarding him in his Biographical Collections in the library of Glasgow college, and except this we are not aware of any attempt at a lengthened biographical sketch of him. In drawing up the following, we shall take many of our facts from that biography, referring also to the excellent works of Dr M'Crie, and occasionally supplying deficiencies from the few incidental notices of himself in Hume's works.

David Hume, it is probable, was born about, or a few years prior to, the period of the Reformation. His father was Sir David Hume, or Home, of Wedderburn, the representative of an old and distinguished family in the south of Scotland. His mother was Mary Johnston, a daughter of Johnston of Elphinstone. This lady died early, and her husband, after having married a second wife, who seems to have treated his family in a harsh and ungenerous manner, died of consumption while the subject of this memoir was a very young man. The family thus left consisted of four sons—George, David, James, and John ; and four daughters—Isabell, Margaret, Julian, and Joan.

Of the early education of David Hume, we have not been able to learn almost any thing. His elder brother and he were sent to the public school of Dunbar, then conducted by Mr Andrew Simson, and there is abundant evidence that he made very considerable progress in the acquisition of classical knowledge. He has left a poem, entitled *Daphn-Amarylhis*, written at the age of fourteen, and he incidentally mentions the expectations George Buchanan formed of his future eminence from his early productions. After receiving, it may be conjectured, the best education that a Scottish university then afforded, Hume set out for France, accompanied by his relation, John Haldane of Gleneagles. His intention was to have also made the tour of Italy, and for that purpose he had gone to Geneva, when his brother's health became so bad as to make his return desirable. On receiving the letters containing this information, he returned to Scotland without delay, "and arrived," to use his own words in his *History of the Family of Wedderburn*, "much about the time that Esme, lord Aubigny, (who was afterwards made duke of Lennox,) was brought into Scotland—and that Morton began to decline in his credit, he being soon after first imprisoned, and then put to death ;" that is about the beginning of 1581.

Sir George Home seems to have recovered his health soon afterwards, and David was generally left at his castle to manage his affairs, while he was engaged in transactions of a more difficult or hazardous nature. This probably did not continue long, for the earliest public transaction in which we have found him engaged took place in 1583. When king James VI. withdrew from the party commonly known by the name of the Ruthven lords, and re-admitted the earl of Arran to his councils, Archibald, "the good earl" of Angus, a relation of Hume's family, was ordered to confine himself to the north of Scotland, and accordingly resided for some time at the castle of Brechin, the property of his brother-in-law the earl of Mar. At this period Hume seems to have lived in Angus's house, in the capacity of a "familiar servitour," or confidential secretary.



When the Ruthven party were driven into England, Hume accompanied his master and relation; and while the lords remained inactive at Newcastle, requested leave to go to London, where he intended pursuing his studies. To this Angus consented, with the ultimate intention of employing him as his agent at the English court. During the whole period of his residence at the English capital, he maintained a regular correspondence with the earl, but only two of his letters (which he has printed in the History of the Houses of Douglas and Angus) have come down to us.

The Ruthven lords returned to Scotland in 1585, but soon offended the clergy by their want of zeal in providing for the security of the church. Their wrath was still farther kindled, by a sermon preached at this time before the king at Linlithgow, by John Craig, in which the offensive doctrine of obedience to princes was enforced. A letter was accordingly prepared, insisting upon the claims of the church, and transmitted to Mr Hume, to be presented to Angus. A very long conference took place betwixt the earl and Hume, which he has set down at great length in the above-mentioned work. He begins his own discourse by refuting the arguments of Craig, and shows, that although it is said in his text, "I said ye are gods," it is also said, "Nevertheless ye shall die;" "which two," Hume continues, "being put together, the one shows princes their duty—*Do justice as God doth*; the other threateneth punishment—*Ye shall die if you do it not*." He then proceeds to show, that the opinions of Bodinus in his work *De Republica*, and of his own countryman Blackwood [see Blackwood], are absurd; and having established the doctrine that tyrants may be resisted, he applies it to the case of the Ruthven lords, and justifies the conduct of Angus as one of that party. He then concludes in the following strain of remonstrance:—"Your declaration which ye published speaks much of the public cause and common weal, but you may perceive what men think your actions since they do not answer thereto by this letter, for they are begun to think that howsoever you pretend to the public, yet your intention was fixed only on your own particular, because you have done nothing for the church or country, and have settled your own particular. And it is observed, that of all the parliaments that were ever held in this country, this last, held since you came home, is it in which alone there is no mention of the church, either in the beginning thereof, (as in all others there is,) or elsewhere throughout. This neglect of the state of the church and country, as it is a blemish of your fact obscuring the lustre of it, so is it accounted an error in policy by so doing, to separate your particular from the common cause of the church and country, which, as it hath been the mean of your particular restitution, so is it the only mean to maintain you in this estate, and to make it sure and firm."

During the subsequent short period of this earl's life, Hume seems to have retained his confidence, and to have acted the part of a faithful and judicious adviser. After Angus's death, which took place in 1588, it is probable that he lived in retirement. Accordingly, we do not find any further notice of him till he appeared as an author in 1605.

One of king James's most favourite projects was the union of the kingdoms of England and Scotland, and soon after his accession to the English throne, commissioners were appointed to consider the grounds upon which this object could be safely and advantageously attained. It would altogether exceed our limits were we to give even a faint outline of the proceedings of these commissioners, and it is the less necessary as their deliberations did not lead to the desired result. The subject, however, met with the attention of the most learned of our countrymen. The first work written on this subject was from the pen of Robert Pont, one of the most respectable clergymen of his day, and a senator of the col-



lege of justice, while ecclesiastics were permitted to hold that office. His work, which was published in 1604, is in the form of a dialogue between three imaginary personages—Irenæus, Polyhistor, and Hospes, and is now chiefly interesting as containing some striking remarks on the state of the country, and the obstacles to the administration of justice. Pont was followed by David Hume, our author, who published next year his treatise, *De Unione Insulæ Britannicæ*, of which bishop Nicholson only says that “it is written in a clear Latin style, such as the author was eminent for, and is dedicated to the king: it shows how great an advantage such a union would bring to the island in general, and in particular to the several nations and people of England and Scotland, and answers the objections against the change of the two names into that of Britain—the alteration of the regal style in writs and processes of law—the removal of the parliament and other courts into England,” &c. The first part only of this work of Hume’s was published. Bishop Nicholson mentions that a MS. of the second part was in Sir Robert Sibbald’s collection, and Wodrow also possessed what he considered a very valuable copy of it. It would be improper to pass from this part of our subject, without referring to Sir Thomas Craig’s work on the same subject, which still remains unprinted; although in the opinion of his accomplished biographer, Mr Tytler, “in point of matter and style, in the importance of the subject to which it relates, the variety of historical illustrations, the sagacity of the political remarks, and the insight into the mutual interests of the two countries which it exhibits, it deserves to rank the highest of all his works.”

In the year 1608, Hume commenced a correspondence on the subject of episcopacy and presbytery with James Law, then bishop of Orkney, and afterwards promoted to the archiepiscopal see of Glasgow. This epistolary warfare took its rise in a private conversation between Mr Hume and the bishop, when he came to visit the presbytery of Jedburgh in that year. The subject presented by much too large a field to be exhausted at a private meeting, and accordingly supplied materials for their communications for about three years. But here again we are left to lament that so little of it has been preserved. Calderwood has collected a few of the letters, but the gaps are so frequent, and consequently so little connexion is kept up, that they would be entirely uninteresting to a general reader. In 1613, Hume began a correspondence of the same nature with bishop Cowper on his accepting the diocese of Galloway. The bishop set forth an apology for himself, and to this Hume wrote a reply, which, however, was not printed, as it was unfavourable to the views of the court. Cowper answered his statements in his *Dicaiology*, but printed only such parts of Hume’s argument as could be most easily refuted. To this Hume once more replied at great length.

Shortly before this period he undertook the “History of the House of Wedderburn, (written) by a son of the family, in the year 1611,”—a work which has hitherto remained in manuscript. “It has sometimes grieved me,” he remarks, in a dedication to the earl of Home, and to his own brother, “when I have been glancing over the histories of our country, to have mention made so seldom of our ancestors,—scarce above once or twice,—and that too very shortly and superficially; whereas they were always remarkable for bravery, magnanimity, clemency, liberality, munificence, hospitality, fidelity, piety in religion, and obedience to their prince; and, indeed, there never was a family who had a greater love and regard for their country, or more earnestly devoted themselves to, or more frequently risked their lives for, its service. It ought, in a more particular manner, to grieve you that they have been so long buried in oblivion, and do you take care that they be so no more. I give you, as it were, the prelude, or lay the ground-work of the history; perhaps a pen more equal to the task, or at least, who can do it with more decency, will give it the finishing stroke.”



He does not enter into a minute inquiry into the origin of the family, a species of antiquarianism of which it must be confessed our Scottish historians are sufficiently fond:—"My intention," he says, "does not extend farther than to write those things that are peculiar to the House of Wedderburn." The work begins with "David, first laird of Wedderburn," who appears to have lived about the end of the fourteenth century, and concludes with an account of the earlier part of his brother's life.

During the latter period of his life, Hume appears to have devoted himself almost entirely to literary pursuits. He had appeared before the world as a poet in his "*Lusus Poetici*," published in 1695, and afterwards incorporated into the excellent collection entitled "*Deliciæ Poetarum Scotorum*," edited by Dr Arthur Johnston. He seems to have added to his poetical works when years and habits of study might be supposed to have cooled his imaginative powers. When prince Henry died, he gave vent to his grief in a poem entitled "*Henrici Principis Justa*," which, Wodrow conjectures, was probably sent to Sir James Semple of Beltrees, then a favourite at court, and by whom it is not improbable that it was shown to his majesty. A few years afterwards (1617) he wrote his "*Regi Suo Gratiulatio*,"—a congratulatory poem on the king's revisiting his native country. In the same year he prepared (but did not publish) a prose work under the following title, "*Camdenia; id est, Examen nonnullorum a Gulielmo Cambdeno in 'Britannia' sua positorum, præcipue quæ ad irrisiorem Scoticæ gentis, et eorum et Pictorum falsam originem.*" "In a very short preface to his readers," says Wodrow, "Mr Hume observes that nothing more useful to this island was ever proposed, than the union of the two islands, and scarce ever any proposal was more opposed; witness the insults in the House of Commons, and Paget's fury, rather than speech, against it, for which he was very justly fined. After some other things to the same purpose, he adds, that Mr Camden hath now in his *Britannia* appeared on the same side, and is at no small labour to extol to the skies England and his Britons, and to depress and expose Scotland,—how unjustly he does so is Mr Hume's design in this work." Camden's assertions were also noticed by William Drummond in his *Nuntius Scoto-Britannus*, and in another of his works more professedly levelled against him, entitled "*A Pair of Spectacles for Camden.*"

The last work in which we are aware of Hume's having been engaged, is his largest, and that by which he is best known. The *History of the House and Race of Douglas and Angus*, seems to have been first printed at Edinburgh, by Evan Tyler, in 1644, but this edition has several discrepancies in the title-page. Some copies bear the date 1648, "to be sold by T. W. in London," and others have a title altogether different, "*A Generall History of Scotland, together with a particular history of the houses of Douglas and Angus*," but are without date. After mentioning in the preface that, in writing such a work it is impossible to please all parties,—that some may say that it is an unnecessary work—others, that it is merely a party-statement,—and a third complain of "the style, the phrase, the periods, the diction, and the language," Hume goes on to say, "in all these particulars, to satisfy all men is more than we can hope for; yet thus much shortly of each of them to such as will give ear to reason: that I write, and of this subject, I am constrained to do it, not by any violence or compulsion, but by the force of duty, as I take it: for being desired to do it by those I would not refuse, I thought myself bound to honour that name, and in it and by it, our king and country. . . . Touching partiality, I deny it not, but am content to acknowledge my interest. Neither do I think that ever any man did set pen to paper without some particular relation of kindred, country, or such like. The Romans in writing the *Romane*, the Grecians in writing their *Greek histories*;



friends writing to, of, or for friends, may be thought partiall, as countrey men and friends. The vertuous may be deemed to be partiall towards the vertuous, and the godly towards the godly and religious: all writers have some such respect, which is a kind of partiality. I do not refuse to be thought to have some, or all of these respects, and I hope none will think I do amisse in having them. Pleasing of men, I am so farre from shunning of it, that it is my chief end and scope: but let it please them to be pleased with vertue, otherwise they shal find nothing here to please them. If thou findest any thing here besides, blame me boldly; and why should any be displeased that will be pleased with it? would to God I could so please the world, I should never displease any. But if either of these (partiality or desire to please) carry me besides the truth, then shal I confesse my self guilty, and esteem these as great faults, as it is faultie and blame-worthy to forsake the truth. But, otherwise, so the truth be stuck unto, there is no hurt in partiality and labouring to please. And as for truth, clip not, nor champ not my words (as some have done elsewhere), and I beleieve the worst affected will not charge mee with lying. I have ever sought the truth in all things carefully, and even here also, and that painfully in every point: where I find it assured, I have set it down confidently; where I thought there was some reason to doubt, I tell my authour: so that if I deceive, it is my self I deceive, and not thee; for I hide nothing from thee that I myself know, and as I know it, leaving place to thee, if thou knowest more or better, which, if thou doest, impart and communicate it; for so thou shouldst do, and so is truth brought to light, which else would lye hid and buried. My paines and travel in it have been greater than every one would think, in correcting my errours; thine will not bee so much, and both of us may furnish matter for a third man to finde out the truth more exactly, than either of us hath yet done. Help, therefore, but carp not . . . . . For the language, it is my mother-tongue, that is, Scottish: and why not, to Scottish men? why should I contemne it? I never thought the difference so great, as that by seeking to speak English, I would hazard the imputation of affectation. Every tongue hath its own vertue and grace. Some are more substantiall, others more ornate and succinct. They have also their own defects and faultinesses, some are harsh, some are effeminate, some are rude, some affectate and swelling. The Romanes spake from their heart, the Grecians with their lips only, and their ordinary speech was complements; especially the Asiatick Greeks did use a loose and blown kind of phrase. And who is there that keeps that golden mean? For my own part, I like our own, and he that writes well in it, writes well enough to me. Yet I have yeelded somewhat to the tyrannie of custome and the times, not seeking curiously for words, but taking them as they come to hand. I acknowledge also my fault (if it be a fault), that I ever accounted it a mean study, and of no great commendation to learn to write, or to speak English, and have loved better to bestow my pains and time on forreign languages, esteeming it but a dialect of our own, and that, (perhaps) more corrupt." The work commences with a preface concerning "the Douglasses in general, that is, their antiquity, to which is joined their original, nobility and descent, greatness and valour of the family of the name of Douglas." The history begins with Sholto Douglas, the first that bore the name, and the vanquisher of Donald Bane, in the reign of king Salvathius,—and concludes with the death of Archibald, ninth earl of Angus, who has been already noticed in the course of this memoir. With this work closes every trace of David Hume. It is supposed to have been written about 1625, or between that period and 1630, and it is not probable that he survived that period long. Supposing him to have been born about 1560, he must then have attained to the age of three score years and ten.



Respecting Hume's merits as a poet, different opinions exist. While in the opinion of Dr Irving he never rises above mediocrity, Dr M'Crie places him in a somewhat higher rank: "The easy structure of his verse reminds us continually of the ancient models on which it has been formed; and if deficient in vigour his fancy has a liveliness and buoyancy which prevents the reader from wearying of his longest descriptions." These opinions are, after all, not irreconcilable; the poetry of Hume possesses little originality, but the reader is charmed with the readiness and the frequency of his imitations of the Roman poets.

As an historian, Hume can never become popular. He is by much too prolix,—nor will this be wondered at when we consider the age at which he wrote his principal historical work. To the reader, however, who is disposed to follow him through his windings, he will be a most valuable, and in many cases, a most amusing author. As the kinsman of the earls of Angus, he had access to many important family papers, from which he has compiled the history prior to his own time. But when he writes of transactions within his own recollection, and more especially those in which he was personally engaged, there is so much judicious remark and honesty of intention, that it cannot fail to interest even a careless reader.

Besides the works which we have mentioned, Hume wrote "*Apologia Basiliæ, Seu Machiavelli Ingenium Examinatum, in libro quem inscripsit Princeps, 4to, Paris, 1626.*" "*De Episcopatu, May 1, 1609, Patricio Simsono.*" "*A treatise on things indifferent.*" "*Of obedience to superiors.*" In the *Bio-graphie Universelle* there is a memoir of him, in which it is mentioned that "*Jaques I<sup>er</sup>. l'employé a concilier les differends qui s'estaient elevé entre Dumoulin et Tilenus au sujet de la justification,*" and he is also there mentioned as having written "*Le Contr' Assassin, ou Reponse a l'Apologie des Jesuites,*" Geneva, 1612, 8vo, and "*L'Assassinat du Roi, ou Maximes Pratiquées en la personne du defaut Henrie le Grand,*" 1617, 8vo.

HUME, David, the celebrated metaphysician, historian, and political economist, was the second son of Joseph Hume of Ninewells, near Dunse in the county of Berwick, and was born at Edinburgh on the 26th of April, 1711, O. S. His mother was daughter to Sir David Falconer, a judge of the court of session under the designation of lord Newton, and for some years president of the college of justice. The family of Hume of Ninewells was ancient and respectable, and the great philosopher has himself informed us, that on the side both of father and mother, he was the descendant of nobility, a circumstance from which he seems to have derived a quiet satisfaction, probably owing more to his respect for the manners and feelings of the country and age in which he lived, than to his conviction of the advantages of noble birth. It is to be regretted that little is known about the early life of Hume, and the habits of his boyish years. There are indeed very few instances, in which the information which can be derived about the early habits and inclinations of a man who has afterwards distinguished himself, repays the labour of research, or even that of reading the statements brought forward; while many who have busied themselves in such tasks have only shown that the objects of their attention were by no means distinguished from other men, in the manner in which they have spent their childhood; but it must be allowed that in the case of Hume, a narrative of the gradual rise and developement of that stoical contempt towards the objects which distract the minds of most men, that industry without enthusiasm, that independence without assumption, and strict morality founded only on reason, which distinguished his conduct through life, might have taught us a lesson of the world, and would at least have gratified a well grounded



curiosity. The absence of such information allows us, however, to make a general inference, that no part of the conduct of the schoolboy was sufficiently remarkable to be commemorated by his friends, and that, as he was in advanced life (independent of the celebrity produced by his works) a man of unobservable and unassuming conduct; he was as a boy docile, well behaved, and attentive, without being remarkable either for precocity of talent, or that carelessness and insubordination which some biographers have taken pains to bring home to the subjects of their memoirs. In early infancy Hume was deprived of his father, and left to the guidance of his mother and an elder brother and sister; with the brother who succeeded by birthright to the family property, he ever lived on terms of fraternal intimacy and affection, and towards his two female relatives he displayed, through all the stages of his life, an unvarying kindness and unremitted attention, which have gone far, along with his other social virtues, in causing him to be respected as a man, by those who were his most bitter opponents as a philosopher.

The property of the respectable family of Ninewells was not large, and the limited share which fell to the younger brother precluded the idea of his supporting himself without labour. Having finished the course of study which such an institution was capable of providing, he attended for some time the university of Edinburgh, then rising in reputation; of his progress in study he gives us the following account: "I passed through the ordinary course of education with success, and was seized very early with a passion for literature, which has been the ruling passion of my life, and the great source of my enjoyments; my studious disposition, my sobriety, and my industry, gave my family a notion that the law was a proper profession for me: but I found an insurmountable aversion to every thing but the pursuits of philosophy and general learning; and while they fancied I was poring upon Voet and Vinnius, Cicero and Virgil were the authors I was secretly devouring."<sup>1</sup> Of this aversion not only to the *practice*, but to the abstract *study* of the law, in a mind constituted like that of Hume, guided by reason, acute in the perception of differences and connexions, naturally prone to industry, and given up to the indulgence neither of passion nor sentiment, it is difficult to account. We are ignorant of the method by

<sup>1</sup> It is almost unnecessary to mention, that when we use the words of Hume about himself, we quote from that curious little memoir called "My Own Life," written by Hume on his death-bed, and published in 1777, by Mr Strahan, (to whom the manuscript was consigned) previously to its publication in the ensuing edition of the History of England. In a work which ought to contain a quantity of original matter proportioned to the importance of the subjects treated, some apology or explanation may be due, for quoting from a production which has been brought so frequently before the public; but in the life of a person so well known, and into whose conduct there has been so much investigation, while we try to bring together as much original matter as it is possible to obtain, we must frequently be contented with statements modeled according to our own views, and in our own language, of facts which have already been frequently recorded. Independent of this necessity, the memoir of the author written by himself, is so characteristic of his mind and feelings, both in the method of the narrative, and in the circumstances detailed, that any life of Hume which might neglect reference to it, must lose a very striking chain of connexion betwixt the mind of the author and the character of his works. Let us here remark, that while (in the words of Hume himself) "it is difficult for a man to speak long of himself without vanity." This little memoir seems to have defied criticism to discover anything injudicious or assuming, either in the details or reflections. It is true, he has been slightly accused of speaking with too much complacency of his own good qualities: but be it remarked, those qualities of disposition to study, sobriety, and industry, are such as a man of genius is seldom disposed to arrogate to himself, at least without some hints of the existence of others more brilliant and distinguishing. We cannot help being of opinion, that the author's philosophical command over his feelings has prompted him to avoid the extremes which the natural egotism and vanity of most men would have caused them to fall into on similar occasions, of either alluding to very high qualities which the suffrages of others had allowed that they possessed, or gaining credit for humility, by not recognizing the existence of qualities which they knew their partial friends would be ready to admit.



which he pursued his legal studies, and this early acquired disgust would at least hint, that like his friend lord Kames, he commenced his career with the repulsive drudgery of a writer's office, in which his natural taste for retirement and reflection was invaded by a vulgar routine of commercial business and petty squabbling, and his acuteness and good taste offended by the tiresome formalities with which it was necessary he should occupy much valuable time, previously to exercising his ingenuity in the higher walks of the profession. But to those who are acquainted with the philosophical, and more especially with the constitutional writings of Mr Hume, the contemptuous rejection of the works of the civilians, and the exorbitant preference for the Roman poets, will appear at least a singular confession. To him any poet offered a mere subject of criticism, to be tried by the standard of taste, and not to gratify his sentiment; while in the works of the civilians he would have found (and certainly did find) the acute philosophical disquisitions of minds which were kindred to his own, both in profundity and elegance, and in the clear and accurate Vinnius, whom he has sentenced with such unbrotherly contempt, he must have found much which as a philosopher he respected, whatever distaste arbitrary circumstances might have given him towards the subject which that great man treated.

In 1734, the persuasions of his friends induced Mr Hume to attempt the bettering of his income by entering into business, and he established himself in the office of a respectable merchant in Bristol; but the man who had rejected the study of the law, was not likely to be fascinated by the bustle of commerce, and probably in opposition to the best hopes and wishes of his friends, in a few months he relinquished his situation, and spent some years in literary retirement in France, living first at Rheims, and afterwards at La Fleche in Anjeau. "I there," he says, "laid that plan of life which I have steadily and successfully pursued. I resolved to make a very rigid frugality supply my deficiency of fortune, to maintain unimpaired my independency, and to regard every object as contemptible, except the improvement of my talents in literature;" and with the consistency of a calm and firm mind, he kept his resolution. For some time previous to this period, Hume must have been gradually collecting that vast mass of observation and reflection which he employed himself during his retirement in digesting into the celebrated Treatise on Human Nature. In 1737, he had finished the first two volumes of this work, and he then returned to London to superintend their publication. From this date commenced the earliest traces of that literary and social correspondence which furnishes many of the most characteristic commentaries on the mental habits of the philosopher. With Henry Home, afterwards lord Kames, a near neighbour of the family of Ninewells, and probably a connexion of the philosopher (for *he* was the first member of the family who adopted the name of *Hume*, in preference to the family name *Home*;) he contracted an early friendship, and a similarity of pursuits continued the intercourse. To that gentleman we find the subject of our memoir writing in the following terms, in December, 1737: "I have been here near three months, always within a week of agreeing with my printers: and you may imagine I did not forget the work itself during that time, when I began to feel some passages weaker for the style and diction than I could have wished. The nearness and greatness of the event roused up my attention, and made me more difficult to please than when I was alone in perfect tranquillity in France." The remaining portion of this communication, though given in the usual placid and playful manner of the author, tells a painful tale of the difficulties he had to encounter, and of hope deferred. "But here," he says, "I must tell you one of my foibles. I have a great inclination to go down to Scotland this spring to see my friends, and have your advice concerning my



*philosophical discoveries*: but cannot overcome a certain shame-facedness I have to appear among you at my years without having got a settlement, or so much as attempted any. How happens it, that we philosophers cannot as heartily despise the world as it despises us? I think in my conscience the contempt were as well founded on our side as on the other.” With this letter Mr Hume transmitted to his friend a manuscript of his Essay on Miracles, a work which he at that period declined publishing along with his other productions, looking on it as more likely to give offence, from the greater reference of its reasonings to revealed religion.

Towards the termination of the year 1738, Hume published his “Treatise of Human Nature; being an attempt to introduce the experimental method of reasoning into moral subjects.” The fundamental principles on which the whole philosophy of this work is reared, discover themselves on reading the first page, in the division of all perceptions—in other words, of all the materials of knowledge which come within the comprehension of the human mind,—into impressions and ideas. Differing from almost all men who, using other terms, had discussed the same subject, he considered these two methods of acquiring knowledge, to differ, not in quality, but merely in degree; because by an observation of the qualities of the mind, on the principle of granting nothing which could not be demonstrated, he could find no real ground of distinction, excepting that the one set of perceptions was always of a more vivid description than the other. The existence of *impressions* he looked on as prior in the mind to the existence of *ideas*, the latter being merely dependent on, or reflected from the former, which were the first inlets of all knowledge. Among *perceptions* he considered the various methods by which the senses make the mind acquainted with the external world, and along with these, by a classification which might have admitted a better arrangement, he ranked the *passions*, which he had afterwards to divide into those which were the direct consequents of the operations of the senses, as *pain* and *pleasure*, and those which the repetition of impressions, or some other means, had converted into concomitants, or qualifications of the mind, as *hatred*, *joy*, *pride*, &c. By *ideas*, Mr Hume understood these arrangements of the perceptions formed in the mind by *reasonings* or *imagination*; and although he has maintained the distinction between these and the *impressions* of the senses to be merely in degree, all that has been either blamed or praised in his philosophy is founded on the use he makes of this distinction. He has been accused, and not without justice, of confusion in his general arrangement, and disconnexion in the subjects he has discussed as allied to each other; but a careful peruser of his works will find the division of subject we have just attempted to explain, to pervade the whole of his extraordinary investigations, and never to be departed from, where language allows him to adhere to it. The *ideas*, or more faint *perceptions*, are made by the author to be completely dependent on the *impressions*, showing that there can be no given *idea* at any time in the mind, to which there has not been a corresponding *impression* conveyed through the organs of sense. These ideas once existing in the mind, are subjected to the operation of the memory, and form the substance of our thoughts, and a portion of the motives of our actions. Thus, at any given moment, there are in the mind two distinct sources of knowledge, (or of what is generally called knowledge,)—the impressions which the mind is receiving from surrounding objects through the senses, and the thoughts, which pass through the mind, modified and arranged from such impressions, previously experienced and stored up. Locke, in his arguments against the existence of innate ideas, and Dr Berkeley, when he tried to show that the mind could contain no abstract ideas, (or ideas



not connected with anything which the mind had experienced,) had formed the outline of a similar division of knowledge; but neither of them founded on such a distinction, a system of philosophy, nor were they, it may be well conceived, aware of the extent to which the principles they suggested might be logically carried. The division we have endeavoured to define, is the foundation of the sceptical philosophy. The knowledge immediately derived from *impressions* is that which truly admits the term "knowledge" to be strictly applied to it; that which is founded on *experience*, derived from *previous expressions*, is something which always admits of doubt. While the former are always certain, the mind being unable to conceive their uncertainty, the latter may not only be conceived to be false, but are so much the mere subjects of probability, that there are distinctions in the force which the mind attributes to them—sometimes admitting them to be doubtful, and making no more distinction, except in the greater amount of probabilities betwixt that which it pronounces doubtful, and that which it pronounces certain. As an instance—when a man looks upon another man, and hears him speak, he receives through the senses of hearing and sight, certain impressions, the existence of which he cannot doubt; on that man, however, being no longer the object of his senses, the impressions are arranged in his mind in a reflex form, constituting what Mr Hume has called ideas; and although he may at first be convinced in a manner sufficiently strong for all practical purposes, that he has actually seen and heard such a man, the knowledge he has is only a mass of probabilities, which not only admit him to conceive it a possibility that he may *not* have met such a man, but actually decay by degrees, so as probably after a considerable period to lapse into uncertainty, while no better line of distinction can be drawn betwixt the certainty and the uncertainty, than that the one is produced by a greater mass of probabilities than the other. The author would have been inconsistent, had he admitted the reception of knowledge of an external world, even through the medium of the senses: he maintained all that the mind had really cognizance of, to be the *perceptions* themselves; there was no method of ascertaining with certainty what caused them. The human mind, then, is thus discovered to be nothing but a series of perceptions, of which some sets have such a resemblance to each other, that we always naturally arrange them together in our thoughts. Our consciousness of the identity of any given individual, is merely a series of perceptions so similar, that the mind glides along them without observation. A man's consciousness of his own identity, is a similar series of impressions. "The mind," says the author, "is a kind of theatre, where several perceptions successively make their appearance—pass, repass, glide away, and mingle in an infinite variety of postures and situations. There is properly no *simplicity* in it at one time, nor *identity* in different, whatever natural propension we may have to imagine that simplicity and identity. The comparison of the theatre must not mislead us. They are the successive perceptions only that constitute the mind; nor have we the most distant notion of the place where these scenes are represented, or of the materials of which it is composed."<sup>1</sup> From such a conclusion, the passage to scepticism on the immateriality of the soul was a natural and easy step: but on such a subject we must be cautious as to the manner in which we make remarks on the observations made by Hume—we neither appear as among his vindicators, nor for the purpose of disputing his conclusions—our purpose is, as faithful biographers, to give, as far as our limits and our knowledge of the subject may admit, a sketch of his leading doctrines, and if we have any thing to vindicate, it will be the author's real meaning, which certain zealous defenders of Christianity, have shown an anxiety to turn as batteries against it. In his reasonings on the immateriality of the soul he is truly scepti-

<sup>1</sup> Works (1826), i. 322.



cal; that is, while he does not *deny* the immateriality of the soul, he endeavours to show that the mind can form no certain conception of the immaterial soul. Refining on the argument of a reasoning poet, who probably was not aware of the full meaning of his own words when he said—

— “Of God above, or man below,  
What can we reason, but from what we know.”

The author of the treatise on Human Nature maintained that the mere succession of impressions, of which the mind was composed, admitted of no such impression as that of the immateriality of the soul, and consequently did not admit of the mind comprehending in what that immateriality consisted. Let it be remembered, that this conclusion is come to in the same manner as that against the consciousness of the mind to the existence of matter; and that in neither case does the author maintain certain opinions which men believe to be *less certain* than they are generally conceived to be, but gives to them a name different from that which language generally bestows on them—that of *masses of probabilities*, instead of *certainities*,—the latter being a term he reserves solely for the impressions of the senses. “Should it here be asked me,” says the author, “whether I sincerely assent to this argument, which I seem to take such pains to inculcate, and whether I be really one of those sceptics, who hold that all is uncertain, and that our judgment is not in *any* thing, possessed of *any* measures of truth and falsehood; I should reply, that this question is entirely superfluous, and that neither I, nor any other person, was ever sincerely and constantly of that opinion. Nature, by an absolute and uncontrollable necessity, has determined us to judge as well as to breathe and feel; nor can we any more forbear viewing certain objects in a stronger and fuller light, upon account of their customary connexion with a present impression, than we can hinder ourselves from thinking, as long as we are awake, or seeing the surrounding bodies, when we turn our eyes towards them in broad sunshine. Whoever has taken the pains to refute the cavils of this *total* scepticism, has really disputed without an antagonist, and endeavoured by arguments to establish a faculty which nature has antecedently implanted in the mind, and rendered unavoidable.”<sup>2</sup> With this extremely clear statement, which shows us, that while Hume had a method of accounting for the sources of our knowledge differing from the theories of other philosophers, in the abstract certainty which he admitted to pertain to any knowledge beyond the existence of an impression, his belief in the ordinary admitted sources of human knowledge was not less practically strong than that of other people,—let us connect the concluding words on the chapter on the immortality of the soul: “There is no foundation for any conclusion *a priori*, either concerning the operations or duration of any object, of which 'tis possible for the human mind to form a conception. Any object may be imagined to become entirely inactive, or to be annihilated in a moment: and 'tis an evident principle, *that whatever we can imagine is possible*. Now this is no more true of matter than of spirit—of an extended compounded substance, than of a simple and unextended. In both cases the metaphysical arguments for the immortality of the soul are equally inconclusive; and in both cases the moral arguments, and those derived from the analogy of nature, are equally strong and convincing. If my philosophy, therefore, makes no addition to the arguments for religion, I have at least the satisfaction to think it takes nothing from them, but that every thing remains precisely as before.”<sup>3</sup> Without pretending to calculate the ultimate direction of the philosophy of Hume, as it regards revealed religion, let us repeat the remark, that many persons

<sup>2</sup> Works, vol. i. p. 240.

<sup>3</sup> Works i. p. 319.



busied themselves in increasing its terrors as an engine against the Christian faith, that they might have the merit of displaying a chivalrous resistance. The presumptions thus formed and fostered, caused a vigorous investigation into the grounds of all belief, and many good and able men were startled to find that it was necessary to admit many of the positions assumed by their subtle antagonist, and that they must employ the vigorous logic they had brought to the field, in stoutly fortifying a position he did not attack. They found "the metaphysical arguments inconclusive," and "the moral arguments, and those derived from the analogy of nature, equally strong and convincing:" and that useful and beautiful system of natural theology, which has been enriched by the investigations of Derham, Tucker,<sup>4</sup> and Paley, gave place to obscure investigations into first causes, and idle theories on the grounds of belief, which generally landed the philosophers in a circle of confusion, and amazed the reader with incomprehensibilities. One of the most clear and original of the chapters of the *Treatise on Human Nature*, has provided us with a curious practical instance of the pliability of the sceptical philosophy of Hume. In treating the subject of cause and effect, Mr Hume, with fidelity to his previous division of perceptions, found nothing in the effect produced on the mind by any two phenomena, of which the one received the name of cause, the other that of effect, but two *impressions*, and no connexion betwixt them, but the sequence of the latter to the former; attributing our natural belief that the one is a cause, and the other its effect, to the habit of the mind in running from the one impression to that which is its immediate sequent, or precedent; denying that we can have any conception of cause and effect beyond those instances of which the mind has had experience, and which habit has taught it; and, finally, denying that mankind can penetrate farther into the mystery, than the simple knowledge that the one phenomenon is experienced to follow the other. Men of undoubtedly pure religious faith have maintained the justness of this system as a metaphysical one, and it has found its way into physical science, as a check to vague theories, and the assumption of conjectural causes: in a memorable instance, it was however attacked as *metaphysically* subversive of a proper belief in the Deity as a first cause. The persons who maintained this argument, were answered, that an opposite supposition was *morally* subversive of a necessity for the constant existence and presence of the Deity; because, if "a cause had the innate power within it of producing its common effect, the whole fabric of the universe had an innate power of existence and progression in its various changes, which dispensed with the existence of a supreme regulator."

The second volume of the *Treatise on Human Nature*, discusses the passions on the principles laid down at the commencement of the previous volume. The subjects here treated, while they are not of so strikingly original a description as to prompt us to enlarge on their contents, may be a more acceptable morsel to most readers, and certainly may be perused with more of what is termed satisfaction, than the obscure and somewhat disheartening investigations of the pure metaphysician. Of the usual subtilty and acuteness of the author they are of course not destitute; but the theatre of investigation does not admit of much abstraction, and these qualities exercise themselves on subjects more tangible and comprehensible, than those of the author's prior labours.

The production of the *Treatise on Human Nature*, stands almost alone in the history of the human mind; let it be remembered that the author had just reached that period of existence when the animal spirits exercise their strongest

<sup>4</sup> Not Josiah, but Abraham Tucker, who, under the assumed name of "Search," wrote a book on the light of nature, in 9 vols., 8vo. An unobtrusive and profound work, not very inviting, and little read, which later philosophers have pillaged without compunction.



sway, and those whom nature has gifted with talents and observation, are exulting in a brilliant world before them, of which they are enjoying the prospective felicity, without tasting much of the bitterness; and that this extensive treatise, so varied in the subjects embraced, so patiently collected by a lengthened labour of investigation and reflection, and entering on views so adverse to all that reason had previously taught men to believe, and so repulsive to the common feelings of the world, was the first literary attempt which the author deigned to place before the public. Perhaps a very close examination of the early habits and conduct of the author, could the materials of such be obtained, would scarcely furnish us with a clue to so singular a riddle; but in a general sense, we may not diverge far from the truth in supposing, that the circumstances of his earlier intercourse with the world, had not prompted the author to entertain a very charitable view of mankind, and that the bitterness thus engendered coming under the cognizance of his reflective mind, instead of turning him into a stoic and practical enemy of his species, produced that singular system which, holding out nothing but doubt as the end of all mortal investigations, struck a silent blow at the dignity of human nature, and at much of its happiness. In a very singular passage, he thus speaks of his comfortless philosophy, and of the feelings it produces in the mind of its Cain-like fabricator. "I am first affrighted and confounded with that forlorn solitude in which I am placed in my philosophy, and fancy myself some strange uncouth monster, who, not being able to mingle and unite in society, has been expelled all human commerce, and left utterly abandoned and disconsolate. Fain would I run into the crowd for shelter and warmth, but cannot prevail with myself to mix with such deformity. I call upon others to join me, in order to make a company apart, but no one will hearken to me. Every one keeps at a distance, and dreads that storm which beats upon me from every side. I have exposed myself to the enmity of all metaphysicians, logicians, mathematicians, and even theologians; and can I wonder at the insults I must suffer? I have declared my disapprobation of their systems; and can I be surprised if they should express a hatred of mine and of my person? When I look abroad, I foresee on every side dispute, contradiction, anger, calumny, and detraction. When I turn my eye inward, I find nothing but doubt and ignorance. All the world conspires to oppose and contradict me: though such is my weakness, that I feel all my opinions loosen and fall of themselves, when unsupported by the approbation of others. Every step I take is with hesitation, and every new reflection makes me dread an error and absurdity in my reasoning."<sup>5</sup> In the same spirit he writes to his friend, Mr Henry Home, immediately after the publication of the treatise: "Those," he says, "who are accustomed to reflect on such abstract subjects, are commonly full of prejudices; and those who are unprejudiced, are unacquainted with metaphysical reasonings. My principles are also so remote from all the vulgar sentiments on the subject, that were they to take place, they would produce almost a total alteration in philosophy; and you know revolutions of this kind are not easily brought about."

Hume, when the reflection of more advanced life, and his habits of unceasing thought had made a more clear arrangement in his mind, of the principles of his philosophy, found many things to blame and alter in his treatise, not so much in the fundamental arguments, as in their want of arrangement, and the obscure garb of words in which he had clothed them. On the feelings he entertained on this subject, we find him afterwards writing to Dr John Stewart, and we shall here quote a rather mutilated fragment of this epistle, which has

<sup>5</sup> Works, i. p. 335.

<sup>6</sup> Tytler's Life of Kames.



hitherto been unprinted, and is interesting as containing an illustration of his arguments on belief:—"Allow me to tell you that I never asserted so absurd a proposition, as that any thing might arise without a cause. I only maintained that our certainty of the falsehood of that proposition proceeded neither from intuition nor demonstration, but from another source. That Cesar existed, that there is such an island as Sicily; for these propositions, I affirm, we have no demonstration nor intuitive proof. Would you infer that I deny their truth, or even their certainty? and some of them as satisfactory to the mind, though, perhaps, not so regular as the demonstrative kind. Where a man of sense mistakes my meaning, I own I am angry, but it is only with myself, for having expressed my meaning so ill as to have given occasion to the mistake. That you may see I would no way scruple of owning my mistakes in argument, I shall acknowledge (what is infinitely more material) a very great mistake in conduct; viz. my publishing at all the Treatise of Human Nature, a book which pretended to innovate in all the sublimest parts of philosophy, and which I composed before I was five and twenty. Above all, the positive air which pervades that book, and which may be imputed to the ardour of youth, so much displeases me, that I have not patience to review it. I am willing to be unheeded by the public, though human life is so short that I despair of ever seeing the decision. I wish I had always confined myself to the more easy paths of erudition; but you will excuse me from submitting to proverbial decision, let it even be in Greek."

The effect produced on the literary world by the appearance of the Treatise on Human Nature, was not flattering to a young author. "Never literary attempt," says Mr Hume, "was more unfortunate than my Treatise on Human Nature. It fell *dead-born from the press*, without reaching such distinction, as even to excite a murmur among the zealots. But being naturally of a cheerful and sanguine temper, I very soon recovered the blow, and prosecuted with great ardour my studies in the country." The equanimity, and contempt for public opinion which Hume has here arrogated to himself, seems to be considered as somewhat doubtful, by his principal biographer,<sup>7</sup> on the ground of the following curious statement in Dr Kenrick's London Review:—"His disappointment at the public reception of his Essay on Human Nature, had indeed a violent effect on his passions in a particular instance; it not having dropped so *dead-born* from the press, but that it was severely handled by the reviewers of those times, in a publication entitled, *The Works of the Learned*; a circumstance which so highly provoked our young philosopher, that he flew in a violent rage to demand satisfaction of Jacob Robinson, the publisher, whom he kept, during

<sup>7</sup> Ritchie's life of Hume, p. 29. It is not creditable to the literature of the country, that while the memoirs of Kames, Beattie, and others, have been written very elaborately, and published in a splendid manner, this life by Mr Ritchie is the only detailed memoir of Hume we possess: the fault, perhaps, lies chiefly with the family connexions of the philosopher, who, to all applications for the materials which they possess for an extended memoir, have invariably returned for answer, that, as their distinguished kinsman wrote his own life, and no doubt put into it all that he desired to be known respecting himself, they do not consider themselves at liberty to publish any more: an answer certainly, but one in which it might be difficult to discern a reason. Mr Ritchie, though a candid writer, is strikingly inferior to his task. As an instance of his inability even to understand the commonest propositions of Hume, we shall adduce the following:—"The philosopher commencing a train of argument with the word 'England,' maintains that, were all the gold of the country rendered as common as silver, and silver as common as copper, money would not be more plentiful, or interest lower; our shillings would then be yellow, and our halfpence white; and we should have no guineas. No other difference would ever be observed; no alteration on commerce, manufacture, navigation, or interest; unless that we imagine that the colour of the metal was of any consequence. Mr Ritchie summons great powers of argument against this heresy: 'If England,' he says, 'were the only inhabited country in the world, Mr Hume's inference would be just; but while the precious metals are in high and universal request among foreign nations, a superabundant quantity of them in this country must ever have an essential effect on our internal and external economy!'"



the paroxysm of his anger, at his sword's point, trembling behind the counter, lest a period should be put to the life of a sober critic by a raving philosopher." The degree of credit to be attributed to this anecdote, must just be measured by the amount to which we may choose to believe the anonymous contributor to a periodical not celebrated for its regard to truth, who writes just after the death of the person concerned, and forty years after the period of the event he narrates. We have perused with much interest the article in "The Works of the Learned" here alluded to, and it is certainly not likely to engender calm feelings in the mind of the author reviewed. It is of some length, attempting no philosophical confutation, but from the ingenuity with which the most objectionable passages of the Treatise are brought forward to stand in naked grotesqueness without connexion, it must have come from some one who has carefully perused the book, and from no ordinary writer. The vulgar rillery with which it is filled might point out Warburton, but then the critic does not call the author a liar, a knave, or a fool, and the following almost prophetic passage with which the critic concludes (differing considerably in tone from the other parts), could not possibly have emanated from the head and heart of the great defender of the church: "It bears, indeed, incontestible marks of a great capacity, of a soaring genius, but young, and not yet thoroughly practised. The subject is vast and noble, as any that can exercise the understanding; but it requires a very mature judgment to handle it as becomes its dignity and importance; the utmost prudence, tenderness, and delicacy, are requisite to this desirable issue. Time and use may ripen these qualities in our author; and we shall probably have reason to consider this, compared with his latter productions, in the same light as we view the *juvenile* works of *Milton* or the first manner of a *Raphael*."

The third part of Mr Hume's Treatise of Human Nature, was published in 1740: it treated the subject of morals, and was divided into two parts, the former discussing "Virtue and Vice in general," the second treating of "Justice and Injustice." The scope of this essay is to show that there is no abstract and certain distinction betwixt moral good and evil, and while it admits a sense of virtue to have a practical existence in the mind of every human being, (however it may have established itself,) it draws a distinction betwixt those virtues of which every man's sense of right is capable of taking cognizance; and justice, which it maintains to be an artificial virtue, erected certainly on the general wish of mankind to act rightly, but a virtue which men do not naturally follow, until a system is invented by human means, and based on reasonable principles of general utility to the species, which shows men what is just, and what is unjust, and can best be followed by the man, who has best studied its general artificial form, in conjunction with its application to utility, and who brings the most acute perception and judgment to assist him in the task.<sup>8</sup> The greater plainness of the subject, and its particular reference to the hourly duties of life, made this essay more interesting to moral philosophers, and laid it more widely open to criticism, than the Treatise on the Understanding, and even that on the Passions. The extensive reference to principles of utility, produced discussions to which it were an idle and endless work here to refer; but without any disrespect to those celebrated men who have directly combated the principles of this work, and supported totally different theories of the formation of morals, those

<sup>8</sup> Thus this portion of the system bore a considerable resemblance to the theory so elaborately expounded in the *Leviathan* of Hobbes, with this grand distinction, that Hume, while maintaining the necessity that a system of justice should be framed, does not maintain that it had its origin in the natural injustice of mankind, and their hatred of each other, nor does he attribute the formation of the system to a complicated social contract, like that which occurred to the mind of the Malmesbury philosopher.



who have twisted the principles of the author into excuses for vice and immorality, and the destruction of all inducements to the practice of virtue, deserve only the fame of being themselves the fabricators of the crooked morality of which they have endeavoured to cast the odium upon another. When Mr Hume says, "The necessity of justice to the support of society is the sole foundation of that virtue: and since no moral excellence is more highly esteemed, we may conclude, that this circumstance of usefulness has, in general, the strongest energy, and most entire command over our sentiments. It must, therefore, be the source of a considerable part of the merit ascribed to humanity, benevolence, friendship, public spirit, and other social virtues of that stamp; as it is the sole source of the moral approbation paid to fidelity, justice, veracity, integrity, and those other estimable and useful qualities and principles:"—it was not difficult for those benevolent guardians of the public mind, who sat in watch to intercept such declarations, to hold such an opinion up to public indignation, and to maintain that it admitted every man to examine his actions by his own sense of their utility, and to commit vice by the application of a theory of expediency appropriated to the act. It is not necessary to be either a vindicator or assailant of Mr Hume's theory, to perceive that what he has traced back to the original foundation of expediency, is not by him made different in its practice and effects, from those which good men of all persuasions in religion and philosophy admit. While he told men that he had traced the whole system of the morality they practiced, to certain principles different from those generally admitted, he did not tell men to alter their natural reverence for virtue or abhorrence towards vice; the division betwixt good and evil had been formed, and while giving his opinion *how* it had been formed, he did not dictate a new method of regulating human actions, and except in the hands of those who applied his theories of the origin of virtue and vice, to the totally different purpose of an application to their practice in individual cases, he did no more to break down the barriers of distinction betwixt them, than he who first suggested that the organs of sight merely presented to the mind the *reflections* of visible objects, may be supposed to have done to render the mind less certain of the existence of external objects. "There is no spectacle," says the author, "so fair and beautiful as a noble and generous action; nor any which gives us more abhorrence than one which is cruel and treacherous. No enjoyment equals the satisfaction we receive from the company of those we love and esteem; as the greatest of all punishments is to be obliged to pass our lives with those we hate or condemn. A very play or romance may afford us instances of this pleasure which virtue conveys to us, and the pain which arises from vice;"<sup>9</sup> and it would be difficult to find in this elaborate essay, any remark to contradict the impression of the author's views, which every candid mind must receive from such a declaration.

The neglect with which his first production was received by the public, while it did not abate the steady industry of its author, turned his attention for a time to subjects which might be more acceptable to general readers, and in the calm retirement of his brother's house at Ninewells, where he pursued his studies with solitary zeal, he prepared two volumes of unconnected dissertations, entitled "*Essays Moral and Philosophical*," which he published in 1742. These essays he had intended to have published in weekly papers, after the method pursued by the authors of the *Spectator*; "but," he observes, in an advertisement prefixed to the first edition, "having dropped that undertaking, partly from laziness, partly from want of leisure, and being willing to make trial of my talents for writing before I ventured upon any more serious compositions, I was induced to commit these trifles to the judgment of the public." A



few of the subjects of these essays are the following : "Of the Delicacy of Taste and Passion," "That Politics may be reduced to a Science," "Of the Independence of Parliament," "Of the Parties in Great Britain," "Of Superstition and Enthusiasm," "Of Liberty and Despotism," "Of Eloquence," "Of Simplicity and Refinement," "A character of Sir Robert Walpole," &c. Of these miscellaneous productions we cannot venture the most passing analysis, in a memoir which must necessarily be brief: of their general character it may be sufficient to say, that his style of writing, which in his Treatise was far from approaching the purity and elegance of composition which he afterwards displayed, had made a rapid advance to excellence, and that the reading world quickly discovered from the justness and accuracy of his views, the elegance of his sentiments, and the clear precision with which he stated his arguments, that the subtle calculator of the origin of all human knowledge could direct an acute eye to the proceedings of the world around him, and that he was capable of making less abstract calculations on the motives which affected mankind. A few of these essays, which he seems to have denounced as of too light a nature to accompany his other works, were not republished during his life; among the subjects of these are "Impudence and Modesty," "Love and Marriage," "Avarice," &c. Although these have been negatively stigmatized by their author, a general reader will find much gratification in their perusal: the subjects are handled with the careless touch of a satirist, and in drawing so lightly and almost playfully pictures of what is contemptible and ridiculous, one can scarcely avoid the conviction that such is the aspect in which the author wishes to appear; but on the other hand there is such a complete absence of all grotesqueness, of exaggeration, or attempt at ridicule, that it is apparent he is drawing a picture of what he knows to be unchangeably rooted in human nature, and that knowing raillery to be useless, he is content as a philosopher merely to depict the deformity which cannot be altered. Among the essays he did not re-publish, is the "Character of Sir Robert Walpole," a singular specimen of the author's ability to abstract himself from the political feelings of the time, calmly describing the character of a living statesman, whose conduct was perhaps more feverishly debated by his friends and enemies than that of almost any minister in any nation, as if he were a person of a distant age, with which the author had no sympathy, or of a land with which he was only acquainted through the pages of the traveller. It was after the publication of this work that Hume first enjoyed the gratification of something like public applause. "The work," he says "was favourably received, and soon made me entirely forget my former disappointment." He still rigidly adhered to his plans of economy and retirement, and continued to reside at Ninewells, applying himself to the study of Greek, which he had previously neglected. In 1745, he was invited to become tutor to the marquis of Annandale, a young nobleman whose state of mind at that period rendered a superintendent necessary; and though the situation must have been one not conducive to study, or pleasing to such a mind as that of Hume, he found that his circumstances would not justify a refusal of the invitation, and he continued for the period of a year in the family of the marquis.

During his residence in this family, the death of Mr Cleghorn, professor of moral philosophy in the university of Edinburgh, caused a vacancy, which Mr Hume very naturally considered he might be capable of filling. The patrons of the university, however, and their advisers, took a different view of the matter, and judged that they would be at least more safe, in considering a person of his reputed principles of philosophy, as by no means a proper instructor of youth: nor were virulence and party feeling unmingled with cool judgment in fixing their choice. "I am informed," says Hume, in one of his playful letters



addressed to his friend Mr Sharp of Hoddam, "that such a popular clamour has been raised against me in Edinburgh, on account of scepticism, heterodoxy, and other hard names which confound the ignorant, that my friends find some difficulty in working out the point of my professorship, which once appeared so easy. Did I need a testimonial for my orthodoxy, I should certainly appeal to you; for you know that I always imitated Job's friends, and defended the cause of providence when you attacked it, on account of the headaches you felt after a debauch, but as a more particular explication of that particular seems superfluous, I shall only apply to you for a renewal of your good offices, with your friend lord Tinwald, whose interest with Yetts and Allan may be of service to me. There is no time to lose; so that I must beg you to be speedy in writing to him, or speaking to him on that head." The successful candidate was Mr James Balfour, advocate, a gentleman who afterwards became slightly known to the literary world as the author of "A Delineation of the Nature and Obligations of Morality, with reflections on Mr Hume's Inquiry concerning the principles of Morals," a work which has died out of remembrance, but the candid spirit of which prompted Hume to write a complimentary letter to the (then) anonymous author. The disappointment of not being able to obtain a situation so desirable as affording a respectable and permanent salary, and so suited to his studies, seems to have preyed more heavily than any other event in his life, on the spirits of Mr Hume; and with the desire of being independent of the world, he seems for a short time to have hesitated whether he should continue his studies, or at once relinquish the pursuit of philosophical fame, by joining the army.

During the ensuing year, his desire to be placed in a situation of respectability was to a certain extent gratified, by his being appointed secretary to lieutenant-general St Clair, who had been chosen to command an expedition avowedly against Canada, but which terminated in a useless incursion on the coast of France. In the year 1747, general St Clair was appointed to superintend an embassy to the courts of Vienna and Turin, and declining to accept a secretary from government, Hume, for whom he seems to have entertained a partiality, accompanied him in his former capacity. He here enjoyed the society of Sir Henry Erskine and captain (afterwards general) Grant, and mixing a little with the world, and joining in the fashionable society of the places which he visited, he seems to have enjoyed a partial relaxation from his philosophical labours. Although he mentions that these two years were almost the only interruptions which his studies had received during the course of his life, he does not seem to have entirely neglected his pursuits as an author; in a letter to his friend Henry Home, he hints at the probability of his devoting his time to historical subjects, and continues, "I have here two things going on, a new edition of my *Essays*, all of which you have seen except *one* of the Protestant succession, where I treat that subject as coolly and indifferently as I would the dispute betwixt Cæsar and Pompey. The conclusion shows me a whig, but a very sceptical one."<sup>10</sup>

Lord Charlemont, who at this period met with Mr Hume at Turin, has given the following account of his habits and appearance, penned apparently with a greater aim at effect than at truth, yet somewhat characteristic of the philosopher: "Nature I believe never formed any man more unlike his real character than David Hume. The powers of physiognomy were baffled by his countenance; neither could the most skilful in that science pretend to discover the smallest trace of the faculties of his mind, in the unmeaning features of his visage. His face was broad and fat, his mouth wide, and without any other expression than that of imbecility. His eyes vacant and spiritless; and the corpulence of his whole person was far better fitted to communicate the idea of a

<sup>10</sup> Tytler's Life of Kames.



turtle-eating alderman than of a refined philosopher. His speech in English was rendered ridiculous by the broadest Scottish accent, and his French, was, if possible, still more laughable; so that wisdom, most certainly, never disguised herself before in so uncouth a garb. Though now near fifty years old,<sup>11</sup> he was healthy and strong; but his health and strength, far from being advantageous to his figure, instead of manly comeliness, had only the appearance of rusticity. His wearing a uniform added greatly to his natural awkwardness, for he wore it like a grocer of the train-bands. Sinclair was a lieutenant-general, and was sent to the courts of Vienna and Turin as a military envoy, to see that their quota of troops was furnished by the Austrians and Piedmontese. It was therefore thought necessary that his secretary should appear to be an officer; and Hume was accordingly disguised in scarlet."<sup>12</sup>

The letter to Mr Home we have quoted above, gives an idea of the literary employments of the author during the intervals of his official engagements at Turin, and on his return to Britain he exhibited the fruit of his labour in a second edition of his "Essays, Moral and Political," which was published in 1748, with four additional essays, and in a re-construction of the first part of his Treatise of Human Nature, which he published immediately after, under the title "Philosophical Essays concerning the Human Understanding," and formed the first part of the well-known corrected digest of the Treatise of Human Nature, into the "Inquiry concerning Human Nature." In the advertisement the author informs the public that "most of the principles and reasonings in this volume were published in a work in three volumes, called A Treatise of Human Nature, a work which the author had projected before he left college, and which he wrote and published not long after. The philosophy of this work is essentially the same as that of which he had previously sketched a more rude and complicated draught. The object, (or more properly speaking, the conclusion arrived at, for the person who sets out without admissions, and inquires whether any thing can be *ascertained* in philosophy, can scarcely be said to have an *object* in view,) is the same system of doubt which he previously expounded; a scepticism, not like that of Boyle and others, which merely went to show the uncertainty of the conclusions attending particular species of argument, but a sweeping argument to show that by the structure of the understanding, the result of all investigations, on all subjects, must ever be doubt." The Inquiry must be to every reader a work far more pleasing, and we may even say, instructive, than the Treatise. While many of the more startling arguments, assuming the appearance of paradoxes, sometimes indistinctly connected with the subject, are omitted, others are laid down in a clearer form; the whole is subjected to a more compact arrangement, and the early style of the writer, which to many natural beauties, united a considerable feebleness and occasional harshness, makes in this work a very near approach to the elegance and classic accuracy, which much perseverance, and a refined taste enabled the author to acquire in the more advanced period of his life. Passing over, as our limits must compel us, any attempt at an analytical comparison of the two works, and a narrative of the changes in the author's opinions, we must not omit the circumstance, that the Essay on Miracles, which it will be remembered the author withheld from his Treatise, was attached to the Inquiry, probably after a careful revision and correction. Locke had hinted in a few desultory observations the grounds of a disbelief in the miracles attributed to the early Christian church, and Dr Conyers Middleton, in his Free Inquiry into the miraculous powers supposed to have subsisted in the Christian church from the earliest ages,

<sup>11</sup> His lordship must have made a mis-calculation. Hume was then only in his 38th year.

<sup>12</sup> Hardy's Life of lord Charlemont, p. 8.



published very nearly at the same period with the Essay of Hume, struck a more decided blow at all supernatural agency beyond what was justified by the sacred Scriptures, and approached by his arguments a dangerous neighbourhood to an interference with what he did not avowedly attack. Hume considered the subject as a general point in the human understanding to which he admitted no exceptions. The argument of this remarkable essay is too well known to require an explanation; but the impartiality too often infringed when the works of this philosopher are the subject of consideration, requires that it should be kept in mind, that he treats the proof of miracles, as he does that of the existence of matter, in a manner purely sceptical, with this practical distinction,—that supposing a person is convinced of, or chooses to say he believes in the abstract existence of matter, independent of the mere impressions conveyed by the senses, there is still room to *doubt* that miracles have been worked. It would have been entirely at variance with the principles of scepticism to have maintained that miracles were not, and could not have been performed, according to the laws of nature; but the argument of Mr Hume certainly leans to the practical conclusion, that our uncertainty as to what we are said to have *experienced*, expands into a greater uncertainty of the existence of miracles, which are contrary to the course of our experience; because belief in evidence is founded entirely on our belief in experience, and on the circumstance, that what we hear from the testimony of others coincides with the current of that experience; and whenever testimony is contradictory to the current of our experience, the latter is the more probable, and should we be inclined to *believe* in it, we must at least *doubt* the former. Thus the author concludes “That no testimony is sufficient to establish a miracle, unless the testimony be of such a kind that its falsehood would be more miraculous than the fact which it endeavours to establish: and even in that case there is a mutual destruction of arguments, and the superior only gives us an assurance suitable to that degree of force which remains after deducting the inferior.” The application of his argument to the doctrines of Christianity he conceives to be, that “it may serve to confound those dangerous friends, or disguised enemies to the Christian religion, who have undertaken to defend it by the principles of human reason; our most holy religion is founded on *faith*, not on reason; and it is a sure method of exposing it to put it to such a trial as it is by no means fitted to endure.”<sup>13</sup> Considering the matter, apart from the reference it has been considered to have to holy writ, the Essay on Miracles is the most sound and conclusive exposition of the proper principles of ordinary belief which has ever been penned. The arguments cannot be too well considered by the historian or the reader of history; and were they better appreciated by men, and cautiously infused into the minds of the young, before slovenly habits of thought on such subjects have taken root in the mind, history might gradually be purged of its fable, the natural hankering after the marvellous might be checked, and when the false appetite for exaggeration had begun to decay, those who call themselves writers of history might cease in their attempts to gratify a craving no longer felt.

The work by Dr Campbell in confutation of this essay, at first concocted in the form of a sermon, and afterwards expanded into a treatise, which was published in 1762, is well known and appreciated; but it may not be useless to repeat the remark, that the excellent arguments of the author have had the more weight, because he treated the subject not like a petulant child, but like a philosopher. The work, in a state of manuscript, was shown to Hume by Dr Blair. Hume was much pleased with the candour of the transaction; he remarked a few passages hardly in accordance with the calm feelings of the other

<sup>13</sup> Works, iv. 155, 153.



portions of the work, which at his suggestion the author amended ; and he personally wrote to Dr Campbell, with his usual calm politeness, thanking him for treatment so unexpected from a clergyman of the church of Scotland ; and, with the statement that he had made an early resolution not to answer attacks on his opinions, acknowledged that he never felt so violent an inclination to defend himself. The respect which Campbell admitted himself to entertain for the sceptic is thus expressed :

“The Essay on Miracles deserves to be considered as one of the most dangerous attacks that have been made on our religion. The danger results not solely from the merit of *the piece* : it results much more from that of *the author*. The piece itself, like every other work of Mr Hume, is ingenious ; but its merit is more of the oratorical kind than of the philosophical. The merit of the *author*, I acknowledge, is great. The many useful volumes he has published of *history*, as well as an *criticism*, *politics*, and *trade*, have justly procured him, with all persons of taste and discernment, the highest reputation as a writer. \* \* In such *analysis* and *exposition*, which I own, I have attempted without ceremony or reserve, an air of *ridicule* is unavoidable ; but this *ridicule*, I am well aware, if founded on *misrepresentation*, will at last rebound upon myself.”<sup>11</sup>

Dr Campbell was a man of strong good sense, and knew well the description of argument which the world would best appreciate, approve, and comprehend, in answer to the perplexing subtleties of his opponent. He struck at the root of the system of perceptions merging into experience, and experience regulating the value of testimony, which had been erected by his adversary,—and appealing, not to the passions and feelings in favour of religion, but to the common convictions which we deem to be founded on reason, and cannot separate from our minds, maintained that “testimony has a natural and original influence on belief, antecedent to experience,” from which position he proceeded to show, that the miracles of the gospel had received attestation sufficient to satisfy the reason. With his usual soundness and good sense, though scarcely with the profundity which the subject required, Dr Paley joined the band of confutors, while he left Hume to triumph in the retention of the effects attributed to experience, maintaining that the principle so established was counteracted by our natural expectation that the Deity should manifest his existence, by doing such acts contrary to the established order of the universe, as would plainly show that order to be of his own fabrication, and at his own command.

Before leaving the subject of the Inquiry concerning Human Understanding, we may mention that Mr Coleridge in his *Biographia Literaria*, has accused Hume of plagiarizing the exposition of the Principles of Association in that work, from the unexpected source of the Commentary of St Thomas Aquinas, on the *Parva Naturalia* of Aristotle, and the charge, with however much futility it may be supported, demands, when coming from so celebrated a man, the consideration of the biographer. Mr Coleridge's words are, “In consulting the excellent Commentary of St Thomas Aquinas, on the *Parva Naturalia* of Aristotle, I was struck at once with its close resemblance to Hume's Essay on Association. The main thoughts were the same in both, the *order* of the thoughts was the same, and even the illustrations differed only by Hume's occasional substitution of modern examples. I mentioned the circumstance to several of my literary acquaintances, who admitted the closeness of the resemblance, and that it seemed too great to be explained by mere coincidence ; but they thought it improbable that Hume should have held the pages of the angelic doctor worth turning over. But some time after, Mr Payne, of the King's Mews, showed Sir

<sup>11</sup> Edit. 1797, Advert. p. viii.



James Mackintosh some odd volumes of St Thomas Aquinas, partly, perhaps, from having heard that Sir James (then Mr) Mackintosh, had, in his lectures, passed a high encomium on this canonized philosopher, but chiefly from the facts, that the volumes had belonged to Mr Hume, and had here and there marginal marks and notes of reference in his own hand-writing. Among these volumes was that which contains the *Parva Naturalia*, in the old Latin version, swathed and swaddled in the commentary afore mentioned." When a person has spent much time in the perusal of works so unlikely to be productive, as those of Aquinas, the discovery of any little coincidence, or of any idea that may attract attention, is a fortunate incident, of which the discoverer cannot avoid informing the world, that it may see what he has been doing, and the coincidence in question is such as might have excused an allusion to the subject, as a curiosity. But it was certainly a piece of (no doubt heedless) disingenuousness on the part of Mr Coleridge, to make so broad and conclusive a statement, without accompanying it with a comparison. "We have read," says a periodical paper alluding to this subject, "the whole commentary of St Thomas Aquinas, and we challenge Mr Coleridge to produce from it a single illustration, or expression of any kind, to be found in Hume's essay. The whole scope and end of Hume's essay is not only different from that of St Thomas Aquinas, but there is not in the commentary of the 'angelic doctor' one idea which in any way resembles, or can be made to resemble, the beautiful illustration of the prince of sceptics."<sup>15</sup> The theory of Hume on the subject as corrected in his Inquiry, is thus expressed: "To me, there appear to be only three principles of connexion among ideas, namely, *resemblance*, *contiguity*, in time or place, and *cause* or *effect*. That these principles serve to connect ideas, will not, I believe, be much doubted. A picture naturally leads our thoughts to the original. The mention of one apartment in a building naturally introduces an inquiry or discourse concerning the others; and if we think of a wound, we can scarcely forbear reflecting on the pain which follows it."<sup>16</sup> From a comparison of this, with what Mr Coleridge must have presumed to be the corresponding passage in Aquinas,<sup>17</sup> it will be perceived that a natural wish to make the most of his reading had prompted him to propound the discovery. Had no other person besides Aquinas endeavoured to point out the regulating principles of association, and had Hume with such a passage before him pretended to have been the first to have discovered them, there might have been grounds for the accusation; but the methods of connexion discovered by philosophers in different ages, have been numerous, and almost always correct, as *secondary* principles. It was the object of Hume to gather these into a thread, and going back to principles as limited and ultimate as he could reach, to state as nearly as possible, not all the methods by which ideas were associated, but to set bounds to the abstract principles under which these methods might be classed. Aquinas, on the other hand, by no means sets bounds to the principles of association; he gives three *methods* of association, and in the matter of *number* resembles Hume; but had he given *twenty* methods, he might have more nearly embraced what Hume has embraced within his three principles. The method of association by resemblance is the

<sup>15</sup> Blackwood's Magazine, v. iii. 656.

<sup>16</sup> Works, iv. p. 25.

<sup>17</sup> The passage is as follows: "similiter etiam quandoque reminiscitur aliquis incipiens ab aliqua re, cujus memoratur a qua procedit ad aliam *triplici ratione*. Quandoque quidem ratione *similitudinis*, sicut quando aliquis memoratur de Socrate, et per hoc occurrit ei Plato, qui est similis ei in sapientia: quandoque vero ratione *contrarietatis*, sicut si aliquis memoretur Hectoris, et per hoc occurrit ei Achilles. Quandoque vero ratione *propinquitatis* cujuscunque, sicut cum aliquis memor est patris, et per hoc occurrit ei filius. Et eadem ratio est de quacunque alia propinquitate vel societatis, vel loci, vel temporis, et propter hoc fit reminiscencia, quia motus horum se invicem consequuntur."



only one stated by both : with regard to the second principle by Aquinas, contrariety, from the illustration with which he has accompanied it, he appears to mean local or physical opposition, such as the opposition of two combatants in a battle, and not the interpretation now generally bestowed on the term by philosophers. But supposing him to have understood it in the latter sense, Hume has taken pains to show that contrariety cannot easily be admitted as a fourth ultimate principle : thus in a note he says, "For instance, contrast or contrariety is also a connexion among ideas, but it may perhaps be considered as a mixture of *causation* and *resemblance*. Where two objects are contrary, the one destroys the other; that is, is the cause of its annihilation, and the idea of the annihilation of an object, implies the idea of its former existence." Aquinas, it will be remarked, entirely omits "cause and effect," and his "contiguity" is of a totally different nature from that of Hume, since it embraces an illustration which Hume would have referred to the principle of "cause and effect."

"I had always," says Hume, in reference to the work we have just been noticing, "entertained a notion that my want of success in publishing the *Treatise of Human Nature*, had proceeded more from the manner than the matter, and that I had been guilty of a very usual indiscretion, in going to the press too early. I, therefore, cast the first part of the work anew, in the *Inquiry concerning Human Understanding*, which was published while I was at Turin. But this piece was at first little more successful than the *Treatise of Human Nature*. On my return from Italy, I had the mortification to find all England in a ferment, on account of Dr Middleton's *Free Inquiry*, while my performance was entirely overlooked and neglected."

About this period, Hume suffered the loss of a mother, who, according to his own account, when speaking of his earlier days, was "a woman of singular merit, who, though young and handsome, devoted herself entirely to the rearing of her children;" and the philosopher seems to have regarded her with a strong and devoted affection. He was a man whose disposition led him to unite himself to the world by few of the ordinary ties, but the few which imperceptibly held him, were not broken without pain; on these occasions the philosopher yielded to the man, and the cold sceptic discovered the feelings with which nature had gifted him, which at other moments lay chained by the bonds of his powerful reason. A very different account of the effect of this event, from what we have just now stated, is given in the passage we are about to quote (as copied in the *Quarterly Review*), from the travels of the American Silliman. Without arguing as to the probability or improbability of its containing a true statement, let us remark that it is destitute of *proof*, a quality it amply requires, being given by the traveller forty years after the death of the philosopher, from the report of an individual, while the circumstance is not one which would have probably escaped the religious zeal of some of Mr Hume's commentators.

"It seems that Hume received a religious education from his mother, and early in life was the subject of strong and hopeful religious impressions; but as he approached manhood they were effaced, and confirmed infidelity succeeded. Maternal partiality, however, alarmed at first, came at length to look with less and less pain upon this declension, and filial love and reverence seem to have been absorbed in the pride of philosophical scepticism; for Hume now applied himself with unwearied and unhappily with successful efforts, to sap the foundation of his mother's faith. Having succeeded in this dreadful work, he went abroad into foreign countries; and as he was returning, an express met him in London, with a letter from his mother, informing him that she was in a deep decline, and could not long survive: she said she found herself without any support in her distress: that he had taken away that source of comfort upon which, in all cases



of affliction, she used to rely, and that she now found her mind sinking into despair. She did not doubt but her son would afford her some substitute for her religion, and she conjured him to hasten to her, or at least to send her a letter, containing such consolations as philosophy can afford to a dying mortal. Hume was overwhelmed with anguish on receiving this letter, and hastened to Scotland, travelling day and night; but before he arrived, his mother expired. No permanent impression seems, however, to have been made on his mind by this most trying event; and whatever remorse he might have felt at the moment, he soon relapsed into his wonted obduracy of heart."

On the appearance of this anecdote, Mr (now baron) Hume, the philosopher's nephew, communicated to the editor of the Quarterly Review the following anecdote, of a more pleasing nature, connected with the same circumstance; and while it is apparent that it stands on better ground, we may mention that it is acknowledged by the reviewer as an authenticated contradiction to the statement of Silliman. "David and he (the hon. Mr Boyle, brother of the earl of Glasgow) were both in London, *at the period when David's mother died.* Mr Boyle, hearing of it, soon after went into his apartment, for they lodged in the same house, where he found him in the deepest affliction, and in a flood of tears. After the usual topics of condolence, Mr Boyle said to him, 'My friend you owe this uncommon grief to your having thrown off the principles of religion; for if you had not, you would have been consoled with the firm belief, that the good lady, who was not only the best of mothers, but the most pious of Christians, was completely happy in the realms of the just.' To which David replied, 'Though I throw out my speculations to entertain the learned and metaphysical world, yet, in other things, I do not think so differently from the rest of mankind as you imagine.'"

Hume returned, in 1749, to the retirement of his brother's house at Nine-wells, and during a residence there for two years, continued his remodeling of his *Treatise of Human Nature*, and prepared for the press his celebrated *Political Discourses*. The former production appeared in 1751, under the title of an "Inquiry concerning the Principles of Morals," published by Millar, the celebrated bookseller. Hume considered this the most perfect of his works, and it is impossible to resist admiration of the clearness of the arguments, and the beautiful precision of the theories; the world, however, did not extend to it the balmy influence of popularity, and it appeared to the author, that all his literary efforts were doomed to the unhappy fate of being little regarded at first, and of gradually decaying into oblivion. "In my opinion," he says, "(who ought not to judge on that subject.) [it] is, of all my writings, historical, philosophical, or literary, incomparably the best. It came unnoticed and unobserved into the world."

In 1752, and during the author's residence in Edinburgh, appeared his "*Political Discourses.*" The subjects of these admirable essays were of interest to every one, the method of treating them was comprehensible to persons of common discernment; above all, they treated subjects on which the prejudices of few absolutely refused conviction by argument, and the author had the opportunity of being appreciated and admired, even when telling truths. The book in these circumstances, was, in the author's words, "the only work of mine that was successful on the first publication. It was well received abroad and at home." The chief subjects were, "Commerce, money, interest, the balance of trade, the populousness of ancient nations, the idea of a perfect commonwealth." Sir Josiah Child, Sir William Petty, Hobbes, and Locke, had previously given the glimmerings of more liberal principles on trade and manufacture than those which they saw practised, and hinted at the common prejudices



on the use of money and the value of labour; but Hume was the first to sketch an outline of some branches of the benevolent system of political economy framed by his illustrious friend, Adam Smith. He laid down labour as the only criterion of all value, made a near approach to an ascertainment of the true value of the precious metals, a point not yet fully fixed among economists; discovered the baneful effects of commercial limitations as obliging the nation to trade in a less profitable manner than it would choose to do if unconstrained, and predicted the dangerous consequences of the funding system. The essay on the populousness of ancient nations, was a sceptical analysis of the authorities on that subject, doubting their accuracy, on the principle of political economy that the number of the inhabitants of a nation must have a ratio to its fruitfulness and *their* industry. The essay was elaborately answered by Dr Wallace, in a Dissertation of the Numbers of Mankind, but that gentleman only produced a host of those "authorities," the efficacy of which Mr Hume has doubted on principle. This essay is an extremely useful practical application of the doctrines in the Essay on Miracles. Mr Hume's 'idea of a perfect commonwealth,' has been objected to as an impracticable system. The author probably had the wisdom to make this discovery himself, and might have as soon expected it to be applicable to practice, as a geometrician might dream of his angles, straight lines, and points, being literally accomplished in the measurement of an estate, or the building of a house. The whole represents men without passions or prejudices working like machines; and Hume no doubt admitted, that while passion, prejudice, and habit, forbade the safe attempt of such projects, such abstract structures ought to be held up to the view of the legislator, as the forms into which, so far as he can do it with safety, he ought to stretch the systems under his administration. Plato, More, Harrington, Hobbes, and (according to some accounts,) Berkeley<sup>18</sup> had employed their ingenuity in a similar manner, and Hume seems to have considered it worthy of his attention.

In February, 1752, David Hume succeeded the celebrated Ruddiman, as librarian to the Faculty of Advocates. The salary was at that time very trifling, somewhere we believe about £40, but the duties were probably little more than nominal, and the situation was considered an acquisition to a man of literary habits. It was, with this ample field of authority at his command, that he seems to have finally determined to write a portion of the History of England. In 1757, circumstances with which we are not acquainted induced him to relinquish this appointment.

In 1752, appeared the first (published) volume of the History of England, embracing the period from the accession of the house of Stuart, to the death of Charles the First; and passing over intermediate events, we may mention that the next volume, containing a continuation of the series of events to the period of the Revolution, appeared in 1756, and the third, containing the History of the house of Tudor, was published in 1759. "I was, I own," says the author with reference to the first volume, "sanguine in my expectations of the success of this work. I thought that I was the only historian that had at once neglected present power, interest, and authority, and the cry of popular prejudices; and as the subject was suited to every capacity, I expected proportional applause. But miserable was my disappointment; I was assailed by one cry of reproach, disapprobation, and even detestation; English, Scottish, and Irish, whig and tory, churchman and sectary, freethinker and religionist, patriot and courtier, united in their rage against the man, who had presumed to shed a generous tear for the fate of Charles I. and the earl of Strafford; and after the first ebullitions of their fury were over, what was still more mortifying, the book seemed to sink

<sup>18</sup> In the anonymous adventures of Giovanni de Lucca.



into oblivion." Of the second he says, " 'This performance happened to give less displeasure to the whigs, and was better received. It not only rose itself, but helped to buoy up its unfortunate brother.' " Of the History of England it is extremely difficult to give a fair and unbiased opinion, because, while the author is, in general, one of the most impartial writers on this subject, it is scarcely a paradox to say, that the few partialities in which he has indulged, have done more to warp the mind than the violent prejudices of others. Previous to his history, those who wrote on political subjects ranged themselves in parties, and each man proclaimed with open mouth the side for which he was about to argue, and men heard him as a special pleader. Hume looked over events with the eye of a philosopher; he seemed to be careless of the extent of the good or bad of either party. On neither side did he abuse, on neither did he laud or even justify. The side which he adopted seldom enjoyed approbation or even vindication, and only in apology did he distinguish it from that to which he was inimical. From this peculiarity, the opinions to which he leaned acquired strength from the suffrage of one so apparently impartial and unconcerned. Notwithstanding the prejudices generally attributed however to Hume as an historian, we cannot set him down as an enemy to liberty. No man had grander views of the power of the human mind, and of the higher majesty of intellect, when compared with the external attributes of rank; and the writings of a republican could not exceed in depicting this feeling, the picture he has drawn of the parliament of Charles the First, and of the striking circumstances of the king's condemnation. The instances in which he has shown himself to be inconsistent, may, perhaps, be more attributed to his habits, than to his opinions. His indolent benevolence prompted a sympathy with the oppressed, and he felt a reluctance to justify those who assumed the aspect of active assailants, from whatever cause; while in matters of religion, viewing all persuasions in much the same aspect, unprejudiced himself, he felt a contempt for those who indulged in prejudice, and was more inclined to censure than to vindicate those who acted from religious impulse. With all his partialities, however, let those who study the character of the author while they read his history recollect, that he never made literature bow to rank, that he never flattered a great man to obtain a favour, and that, though long poor, he was always independent. Of the seeming contradiction between his life and opinions, we quote the following applicable remarks from the Edinburgh Review:

" Few things seem more unaccountable, and indeed absurd, than that Hume should have taken part with high church and high monarchy men. The persecutions which he suffered in his youth from the presbyterians, may, perhaps, have influenced his ecclesiastical partialities. But that he should have sided with the Tudors and the Stuarts against the people, seems quite inconsistent with all the great traits of his character. His unrivaled sagacity must have looked with contempt on the preposterous arguments by which the *jus divinum* was maintained. His natural benevolence must have suggested the cruelty of subjecting the enjoyments of thousands to the caprice of one unfeeling individual: and his own practical independence in private life, might have taught him the value of those feelings which he has so mischievously derided. Mr Fox seems to have been struck with some surprise at this strange trait in the character of our philosopher. In a letter to Mr Laing he says, 'He was an excellent man, and of great powers of mind; but his partiality to kings and princes is intolerable. Nay, it is, in my opinion, quite ridiculous: and is more like the foolish admiration which women and children sometimes have for kings, than the opinion, right or wrong, of a philosopher.' "

It would be a vain task to enumerate the controversial attacks on Hume's



History of England. Dr Hurd in his *Dialogues on the English Constitution* stoutly combated his opinions. Miller brought the force of his strongly thinking mind to a consideration of the subject at great length, but he assumed too much the aspect of a special pleader. Dr Birch and Dr Towers entered on minute examinations of particular portions of the narrative, and the late major Cartwright, with more fancy than reason, almost caricatured the opinions of those who considered that Hume had designedly painted the government of the Tudors in arbitrary colours, to relieve that of the Stuarts. Mr Laing appeared as the champion of the Scottish patriots, and Dr M'Crie as the vindicator of the presbyterians; and within these few past years, two elaborate works have fully examined the statements and representations of Hume,—the *British Empire of Mr Brodie*, and the extremely impartial *Constitutional History of Hallam*.

In the interval betwixt the publication of the first and second volumes of the *History*, Hume produced the "*Natural History of Religion*." This production is one of those which Warburton delighted to honour. In a pamphlet which Hume attributed to Hurd, he thus politely notices it: "The few excepted out of the whole race of mankind are, we see, our philosopher and his gang, with their pedlars' ware of matter and motion, who penetrate by their disquisitions into the secret structure of vegetable and animal bodies, to extract, like the naturalists in *Gulliver*, sunbeams out of cucumbers; just as wise a project as this of raising religion out of the intrigues of matter and motion. We see what the man would be at, through all his disguises, and no doubt, he would be much mortified if we did not; though the discovery we make, is only this, that, of all the slanders against revelation, this before us is the tritest, the dirtiest, and the most worn in the drudgery of free-thinking, not but it may pass with his friends, and they have my free leave to make their best of it. What I quote it for, is only to show the rancour of heart which possesses this unhappy man, and which could induce him to employ an insinuation against the Christian and the Jewish religions; not only of no weight in itself, but of none, I will venture to say, even in his own opinion."<sup>19</sup> Hume says, he "found by Warburton's railing" that his "books were beginning to be esteemed in good company;" and of the particular attention which the prelate bestowed on the sceptic, such specimens as the following are to be found in the correspondence of the former: "I am strongly tempted too, to have a stroke at Hume in parting. He is the author of a little book, called *Philosophical Essays*: in one of which he argues against the hope of a God, and in another (very needlessly you will say,) against the possibility of miracles. He has crowned the liberty of the press, and yet he has a considerable post under government. I have a great mind to do justice on his arguments against miracles, which I think might be done in few words. But does he deserve notice? Is he known among you? Pray answer me these questions; for if his own weight keeps him down, I should be sorry to contribute to his advancement to any place but the pillory."<sup>20</sup>

Of the very different manner in which he esteemed a calm, and a scurrilous critic, we have happily been able to obtain an instance, in a copy of a curious letter of Hume, which, although the envelope is unfortunately lost, and the whole is somewhat mutilated, we can perceive from the circumstances, to have been addressed to Dr John Stewart, author of an *Essay on the Laws of Motion*. It affords a singular instance of the calm and forgiving spirit of the philosopher: "I am so great a lover of peace, that I am resolved to drop this matter altogether, and not to insert a syllable in the preface, which can have a reference to your essay. The truth is, I could take no revenge but such a one as would have

<sup>19</sup> Warburton's works, vii. 851, 868.

<sup>20</sup> Letters from a late Rev. Prelate, to one of his Friends, 1808, p. 11.



been a great deal too cruel, and much exceeding the offence; for though most authors think, that a contemptuous manner of treating their writings is but slightly revenged by hurting the personal character and the honour of their antagonists, I am very far from being of that opinion. Besides, as I am as certain as I can be of any thing, (and I am not such a sceptic as you may perhaps imagine,) that your inserting such remarkable alterations in the printed copy proceeded entirely from precipitancy and passion, not from any formed intention of deceiving the society, I would not take advantage of such an incident, to throw a slur on a man of merit, whom I esteem though I might have reason to complain of him. When I am abused by such a fellow as Warburton, whom I neither know nor care for, I can laugh at him. But if Dr Stewart approaches any way towards the same style of writing, I own it vexes me; because I conclude that some unguarded circumstances of my conduct, though contrary to my intention had given occasion to it. As to your situation with regard to lord Kames, I am not so good a judge. I only know, that you had so much the better of the argument that you ought upon that account to have been more reserved in your expressions. All raillery ought to be avoided in philosophical argument, both because (it is) unphilosophical, and because it cannot but be offensive, let it be ever so gentle. What then must we think with regard to so many insinuations of irreligion, to which lord Kames's paper gave not the least occasion? This spirit of the inquisitor is, in you, the effect of passion, and what a cool moment would easily correct. But when it predominates in the character, what ravages has it committed on reason, virtue, truth, sobriety, and every thing that is valuable among mankind!"—We may at this period of his life consider Hume as having reached the age when the mind has entirely ceased to bend to circumstances, and cannot be made to alter its habits. Speaking of him in this advanced period of his life, an author signing himself G. N. and detailing some anecdotes of Hume, with whom he says he was acquainted, states (in the Scots Magazine), that "his great views of being singular, and a vanity to show himself superior to most people, led him to advance many axioms that were dissonant to the opinions of others, and led him into sceptical doctrines, only to show how minute and puzzling they were to other folk; in so far, that I have often seen him (in various companies, according as he saw some enthusiastic person there), combat either their religious or political principles; nay, after he had struck them dumb, take up the argument on their side, with equal good humour, wit, and jocoseness, all to show his pre-eminency." The same person mentions his social feelings, and the natural disposition of his temper to flow with the current of whatever society he was in; and that while he never gambled he had a natural liking to whist playing, and was so accomplished a player as to be the subject of a shameless proposal on the part of a needy man of rank, for bettering their mutual fortunes, which it need not be said was repelled.

But the late lamented Henry McKenzie, who has attempted to embody the character of the sceptic in the beautiful fiction of *La Roche*, has drawn, from his intimate knowledge of character, and his great acquaintance with the philosopher, a more pleasing picture. His words are, "The unfortunate nature of his opinions with regard to the theoretical principles of moral and religious truth, never influenced his regard for men who held very opposite sentiments on those subjects, which he never, like some vain shallow sceptics, introduced into social discourse; on the contrary, when at any time the conversation tended that way, he was desirous rather of avoiding any serious discussion on matters which he wished to confine to the graver and less dangerous consideration of cool philosophy. He had, it might be said, in the language which the Grecian historian applies to an illustrious Roman, two minds; one which indulged in the meta-



physical scepticism which his genius could invent, but which it could not always disentangle; another, simple, natural, and playful, which made his conversation delightful to his friends, and even frequently conciliated men whose principles of belief his philosophical doubts, if they had not power to shake, had grieved and offended. During the latter period of his life I was frequently in his company amidst persons of genuine piety, and I never heard him venture a remark at which such men, or ladies—still more susceptible than men—could take offence. His good nature and benevolence prevented such an injury to his hearers; it was unfortunate that he often forgot what injury some of his writings might do to his readers.<sup>21</sup>

Hume was now a man of a very full habit, and somewhat given to indolence in all occupations but that of literature. An account of himself, in a letter to his relation Mrs Dysart may amuse from its calm pleasantry, and good humour: "My compliments to his solicitorship. Unfortunately I have not a horse at present to carry my fat carcase, to pay its respects to his superior obesity. But if he finds travelling requisite either for his health or the captain's, we shall be glad to entertain him here as long as we can do it at another's expense, in hopes that we shall soon be able to do it at our own. Pray, tell the solicitor that I have been reading lately, in an old author called Strabo, that in some cities of ancient Gaul, there was a fixed legal standard established for corpulency, and that the senate kept a measure, beyond which, if any belly presumed to increase, the proprietor of that belly was obliged to pay a fine to the public, proportionable to its rotundity. Ill would it fare with his worship and I (me), if such a law should pass our parliament, for I am afraid we are already got beyond the statute. I wonder, indeed, no harpy of the treasury has ever thought of this method of raising money. Taxes on luxury are always most approved of, and no one will say that the carrying about a portly belly is of any use or necessity. 'Tis a mere superfluous ornament, and is a proof too, that its proprietor enjoys greater plenty than he puts to a good use; and, therefore, 'tis fit to reduce him to a level with his fellow subjects, by taxes and impositions. As the lean people are the most active, unquiet, and ambitious, they every where govern the world, and may certainly oppress their antagonists whenever they please. Heaven forbid that whig and tory should ever be abolished, for then the nation might be split into fat and lean, and our faction I am afraid would be in a piteous taking. The only comfort is, if they oppress us very much we should at last change sides with them. Besides, who knows if a tax were imposed on fatness, but some jealous divine might pretend that the church was in danger. I cannot but bless the memory of Julius Cæsar, for the great esteem he expressed for fat men, and his aversion to lean ones. All the world allows that the emperor was the greatest genius that ever was, and the greatest judge of mankind."

In the year 1756, the philosophical calm of Hume appeared in danger of being disturbed by the fulminations of the church. The outcry against his doubting philosophy became loud, scepticism began to be looked on as synonymous with infidelity, and some of the fiercer spirits endeavoured to urge on the church to invade the sacred precincts of freedom of opinion. The discussion of the subject commenced before the committee of overtures on the 27th of May, and a long debate ensued, in which some were pleased to maintain, that Hume, not being a Christian, was not a fit person to be judged by the venerable court. For a more full narrative of those proceedings, we refer to the life of Henry Home of Kames, who was subjected to the same attempt at persecution. In an analysis of the works of the two authors, published during the session of the assembly, and circulated among the members, the respectable author, with a

<sup>21</sup> McKenzie's Life of Home, p. 20.



laudable anxiety to find an enemy to the religion he professed, laid down the following, as propositions which he would be enabled to prove were the avowed opinions of Mr Hume :—" 1st, All distinction between virtue and vice is merely imaginary—2nd, Justice has no foundation farther than it contributes to public advantage—3d, Adultery is very lawful, but sometimes not expedient—4th, Religion and its ministers are prejudicial to mankind, and will always be found either to run into the heights of superstition or enthusiasm—5th, Christianity has no evidence of its being a divine revelation—6th, Of all the modes of Christianity, popery is the best, and the reformation from thence was only the work of madmen and enthusiasts." The overture was rejected by the committee, and the indefatigable vindicators of religion brought the matter under a different shape before the presbytery of Edinburgh, but that body very properly decided on several grounds, among which, not the least applicable was, "to prevent their entering further into so abstruse and metaphysical a subject," that it "would be more for the purposes of edification to dismiss the process."

In 1759, appeared Dr Robertson's History of Scotland, and the similarity of the subjects in which he and Hume were engaged, produced an interchange of information, and a lasting friendship, honourable to both these great men. Hume was singularly destitute of literary jealousy; and of the unaffected welcome which he gave to a work treading on his own peculiar path, we could give many instances, did our limits permit. He never withheld a helping hand to any author who might be considered his rival, and, excepting in one instance, never peevishly mentioned a living literary author in his works. The instance we allude to, is a remark on Mr Tytler's vindication of queen Mary, and referring the reader to a copy of it below,<sup>22</sup> it is right to remark, that it seems more dictated by contempt of the arguments, than spleen towards the person of the author.

Any account of the literary society in which Hume spent his hours of leisure and conviviality, would involve us in a complete literary history of Scotland during that period, unsuitable to a biographical dictionary. With all the eminent men of that illustrious period of Scottish literature, he was eminently acquainted; as a philosopher, and as a man of dignified and respected intellect, he stood at the head of the list of great names; but in the less calm employments in which literary men of all periods occupy themselves, he was somewhat shunned, as a person too lukewarm, indolent, and good-humoured, to support literary warfare. An amusing specimen of his character in this respect, is mentioned by M'Kenzie in his life of Hume. When two numbers of a periodical work, entitled "The Edinburgh Review," were published in 1755, the bosom friends of Hume, who were the conductors, concealed it from him, because, "I have heard," says M'Kenzie, "that they were afraid both of his extreme good nature, and his extreme artlessness; that, from the one, their criticisms would have been weakened, or suppressed, and, from the other, their secret discovered;" and it was not till Hume had repeated his astonishment that persons in Scotland beyond the

<sup>22</sup> "But there is a person that has written an Inquiry, historical and critical, into the evidence against Mary, queen of Scots; and has attempted to refute the foregoing narrative. He quotes a single passage of the narrative, in which Mary is said simply to refuse answering; and then a single passage from Goodall, in which she boasts simply that she will answer; and he very civilly, and almost directly, calls the author a liar, on account of this pretended contradiction. That whole Inquiry, from beginning to end, is composed of such scandalous articles; and from this instance, the reader may judge of the candour, fair dealing, veracity, and good manners of the inquirer. There are, indeed, three events in our history, which may be regarded as touchstones of party-men. An English whig, who asserts the reality of the popish plot; an Irish Catholic, who denies the massacre in 1641; and a Scottish Jacobite, who maintains the innocence of queen Mary, must be considered as men beyond the reach of argument or reason, and must be left to their prejudices."



sphere of the literary circle of Edinburgh, could have produced so able a work, that he was made acquainted with the secret. In whimsical revenge of the want of confidence displayed by his friends, Hume gravely maintained himself to be the author of a humorous work of Adam Ferguson, "*The History of Sister Peg*," and penned a letter to the publisher, which any person who might peruse it without knowing the circumstances, could not fail to consider a sincere acknowledgment. Hume was a member of the Philosophical Society, which afterwards merged into the Royal Society of Edinburgh, and acted as joint secretary along with Dr Munro junior. He was also a member of the illustrious Poker Club, and not an uncongenial one, so long as the members held their unobtrusive discussion in a tavern, over a small quantity of claret; but when this method of managing matters was abolished, and the institution merged into the more consequential denomination of "*The Select Society*," amidst the exertions of many eloquent and distinguished men, he was only remarkable, along with his friend Adam Smith, for having never opened his mouth.

In 1761, Mr Hume published the two remaining volumes of the *History of England*, treating of the period previous to the accession of the house of Tudor: he tells us that it was received with "tolerable, and but tolerable success." Whitaker, Hallam, Turner, and others, have examined their respective portions of this period of history with care, and pointed out the inaccuracies of Hume; but the subject did not possess so much political interest as the later periods, and general readers have not been much disposed to discuss the question of his general accuracy. Men such as the first name we have mentioned have attacked him with peevishness on local and obscure matters of antiquarian research, which a historian can hardly be blamed for neglecting: others, however, who seem well-informed, have found serious objections to his accuracy. In an article on the *Saxon Chronicle*, which appeared in the *Retrospective Review*, by an apparently well-informed writer, he is charged in these terms: "It would be perfectly startling to popular credulity, should all the instances be quoted in which the text of Hume, in the remoter periods more especially, is at the most positive variance with the authorities he pretends to rest upon. In a series of historical inquiries which the writer of this article had some years since particular occasion to superintend, aberrations of this kind were so frequently detected, that it became necessary to lay it down as a rule never to admit a quotation from that popular historian, when the authorities he pretends to refer to were not accessible for the purpose of previous comparison and confirmation."

Hume, now pretty far advanced in life, had formed the resolution of ending his days in literary retirement in his own country, when in 1763, he was solicited by the earl of Hertford to attend him on his embassy to Paris, and after having declined, on a second invitation he accepted the situation. In the full blaze of a wide-spread reputation, the philosopher was now surrounded by a new world of literary rivals, imitators, and admirers, and he received from a circle of society ever searching for what was new, brilliant, and striking, numberless marks of distinction highly flattering to his literary pride, though not unmingled with affectation. In some very amusing letters to his friends written during this period, he shows, that if he was weak enough to feel vain of these distinctions, he had sincerity enough to say so.

The fashionable people of Paris, and especially the ladies, practised on the patient and good-humoured philosopher every torture which their extreme desire to render him and themselves distinguished could dictate. "From what has been already said of him," says lord Charlemont, "it is apparent that his conversation to strangers, and particularly to Frenchmen, could be little delightful, and still more particularly one would suppose, to French women; and



yet no lady's toilette was complete without Hume's attendance. At the opera, his broad unmeaning face was usually seen *entre deux jolis minois*. The ladies in France gave the ton, and the ton was deism." Madame D'Épinay, who terms him "Grand et gros historiographe d'Angleterre," mentions that it was the will of one of his entertainers that he should act the part of a sultan, endeavouring to secure by his eloquence the affection of two beautiful female slaves. The philosopher was accordingly whiskered, turbaned, and blackened, and placed on a sofa betwixt two of the most celebrated beauties of Paris. According to the instructions he had received, he bent his knees, and struck his breast, (or as Madame has it, "le ventre,") but his tongue could not be brought to assist his actions further than by uttering "Eh bien! mes demoiselles—Eh bien! vous voila donc—Eh bien! vous voila—vous voila ici?" exclamations which he repeated until he had exhausted the patience of those he was expected to entertain.<sup>23</sup>

In 1765, lord Hertford being appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland, Mr Hume, according to his expectation, was appointed secretary to the embassy, and he officiated as chargé d'affaires, until the arrival of the duke of Richmond. Hume, who had a singular antipathy to England, and who had previously enjoyed himself only in the midst of his social literary circle at Edinburgh, insensibly acquired a relish for the good-humoured politeness and the gayety of the French, and on his return home in 1766, he left behind him a number of regretted friends, among whom were two celebrated females, the marchioness De Barbantane and the countess De Boufflers, who conducted a friendly, and even extremely intimate correspondence with the philosopher to the day of his death.<sup>24</sup>

In the order of time we come now to the discussion of an incident connected with his residence on the continent, which forms a very remarkable epoch in the life of Hume,—we mean his controversy with Rousseau. Before making any statements, however, it is right to warn our readers, that an account of this memorable transaction, sufficient to give him an acquaintance with all its peculiarities, would exceed our limits, which permit of but a slight glance at the incidents, and that indeed it is quite impossible to form a conception of the grotesqueness of some of the incidents, and the peculiarities of character so vividly displayed, without a perusal of the original documents, which are easily accessible, and will well repay the trouble of perusal.

When in 1762, the parliament of Paris issued an *arret* against Rousseau, on account of his opinions, Hume was applied to by a friend in Paris to discover for him a retreat in England; Hume willingly undertook a task so congenial, but it did not suit the celebrated exile at that time to take advantage of his offer. Rousseau, taking every opportunity to complain of the misfortunes he suffered, the transaction with Hume was again set on foot at the instigation of the marchioness De Verdlin; Hume wrote to Rousseau, offering his services, and the latter returned him an answer overflowing with extravagant gratitude. Rousseau had, it appeared, discovered an ingenious method of making himself interesting: he pretended extreme poverty, and had offers of assistance repeatedly made him, which he publicly and disdainfully refused, while he had in reality as Hume afterwards discovered, resources sufficient to provide for his support. In pure simplicity, Hume formed several designs for imposing on Rousseau's ignorance of the world, and establishing him comfortably in life, without allowing him to know that he was assisted by others; and the plan finally concluded and acted on was, that he should be comfortably boarded in the mansion of Mr

<sup>23</sup> *Memoirs et Correspondance de Madame D'Épinay*, iii. 284.

<sup>24</sup> *General Correspondence of David Hume*, 4to, 1828, *passim*.



Davenport, at Wooton, in the county of Derby, a gentleman who kindly undertook to lull the suspicions of the irritable philosopher by accepting of a remuneration amounting to £30 a year. Rousseau arrived in London, and appearing in public in his Armenian dress, excited much notice, both from the public in general, and from literary men. Hume, by his interest with the government obtained for him a pension of £100 a year, which it suited those in authority to wish should be kept secret. Rousseau expressed much satisfaction at this condition, but he afterwards declined the grant, hinting at the secrecy as an impediment to his acceptance of it; his zealous friend procured the removal of this impediment, and the pension was again offered, but its publicity afforded a far more gratifying opportunity of refusal. Immediately after he had retired to Wooton, with his housekeeper and his dog, nothing occurred apparently to infringe his amicable intercourse with Hume; but that individual was little aware of the storm in preparation. The foreign philosopher began to discover the interest of his first appearance in Britain subsiding. He was not in a place where he could be followed by crowds of wondering admirers, the press was lukewarm and regardless, and sometimes ventured to bestow on him a sneer, and above all no one sought to persecute him. The feelings which these unpleasing circumstances occasioned, appear to have been roused to sudden action by a sarcastic letter in the name of the king of Prussia, of which Rousseau presumed D'Alembert to have been the author, but which was claimed by Horace Walpole, and which made the circle of the European journals; and by an anonymous critique of a somewhat slighting nature, which had issued from a British magazine, but which appears not to have been remarked or much known at the period. Of these two productions it pleased Rousseau to presume David Hume the instigator, and he immediately framed in his mind the idea of a black project for his ruin, countenanced and devised by his benefactor under the mask of friendship. Rousseau then wrote a fierce letter to Hume, charging him in somewhat vague terms with a number of horrible designs, and in the general manner of those who bring accusations of unutterable things, referring him to his own guilty breast for a more full explanation. Hume naturally requested a farther explanation of the meaning of this ominous epistle, and he received in answer a narrative which occupies forty printed pages. It were vain to enumerate the subjects of complaint in this celebrated document. There was an accusation of terrible affectation on the part of Hume, in getting a portrait of the unfortunate exile engraved; he had insulted him by procuring dinners to be sent to his lodgings in London, (a circumstance which Hume accounted for on the ground of there having been no convenient chop house in the neighbourhood.) He had also flattered him (an attention which Hume maintains was not unacceptable at the period,) with a deep laid malignity. Hume had also formed a plan of opening all his letters, and examining his correspondence, (an accusation which Hume denied.) Hume was intimate with the son of an individual who entertained towards Rousseau a mortal hatred. A narrative of the treatment which Rousseau had met with at Neufchatel, and which he wished to have published in England, was delayed at the press; but we shall give in Rousseau's own words (as translated) the most deadly article of the charge, premising, that the circumstances were occasioned by Hume's having attempted to impose on him a coach hired and paid for, as a retour vehicle:—"As we were sitting one evening, after supper, silently by the fire-side, I caught his eye intently fixed on mine, as indeed happened very often; and that in a manner of which it is very difficult to give an idea. At that time he gave me a steadfast, piercing look, mixed with a sneer, which greatly disturbed me. To get rid of the embarrassment I lay under, I endeavoured to look full at him in my



turn; but in fixing my eyes against his, I felt the most inexpressible terror, and was obliged soon to turn them away. The speech and physiognomy of the good David is that of an honest man; but where, great God! did this good man borrow those eyes he fixes so sternly and unaccountably on those of his friends? The impression of this look remained with me, and gave me much uneasiness. My trouble increased even to a degree of fainting; and if I had not been relieved by an effusion of tears I had been suffocated. Presently after this I was seized with the most violent remorse; I even despised myself; till at length, in a transport, which I still remember with delight, I sprang on his neck, embraced him eagerly, while almost choked with sobbing, and bathed in tears, I cried out in broken accents, No, no, David Hume cannot be treacherous. If he be not the best of men, he must be the basest of mankind. David Hume politely returned my embraces, and, gently tapping me on the back, repeated several times, in a good-natured and easy tone, Why, what, my dear sir! nay, my dear sir! Oh, my dear sir! He said nothing more. I felt my heart yearn within me. We went to bed; and I set out the next day for the country."

The charge terminates with accusing Hume of wilful blindness, in not being aware, from the neglect with which Rousseau treated him, that the blackness of his heart had been discovered. Soon after the controversy was terminated, a ludicrous account of its amusing circumstances was given to the public; the extreme wit, and humorous pungency of which will excuse our insertion of it, while we may also mention, that with its air of raillery, it gives an extremely correct abstract of the charge of Rousseau. It is worthy of remark, that the terms made use of show the author to have been colloquially acquainted with the technicalities of *Scottish* law, although it is not likely that a professional person would have introduced terms applicable only to civil transactions, into the model of a criminal indictment. We have found this production in the *Scots Magazine*. Mr Ritchie says it appeared in the *St James's Chronicle*: in which it may have been first published, we do not know.

#### HEADS OF AN INDICTMENT LAID BY J. J. ROUSSEAU, PHILOSOPHER, AGAINST D. HUME, Esq.

1. That the said David Hume, to the great scandal of philosophy, and not having the fitness of things before his eyes, did concert a plan with Messrs Froachin, Voltaire, and D'Alembert, to ruin the said J. J. Rousseau for ever by bringing him over to England, and there settling him to his heart's content.

2. That the said David Hume did, with a malicious and traitorous intent, procure, or cause to be procured, by himself or somebody else, one pension of the yearly value of £100, or thereabouts, to be paid to the said J. J. Rousseau, on account of his being a philosopher, either privately or publicly, as to him the said J. J. Rousseau should seem meet.

3. That the said David Hume did, one night after he left Paris, put the said J. J. Rousseau in bodily fear, by talking in his sleep; although the said J. J. Rousseau doth not know whether the said David Hume was really asleep, or whether he shammed Abraham, or what he meant.

4. That, at another time, as the said David Hume and the said J. J. Rousseau were sitting opposite each other by the fire-side in London, he the said David Hume did look at him, the said J. J. Rousseau, in a manner of which it is difficult to give any idea; that he the said J. J. Rousseau, to get rid of the embarrassment he was under, endeavoured to look full at him, the said David Hume, in return, to try if he could not stare him out of countenance; but in fixing his eyes against his, the said David Hume's, he felt the most inexpressible terror, and was obliged to turn them away, inasmuch that the said J. J. Rousseau doth



in his heart think and believe, as much as he believes anything, that he the said David Hume is a certain composition of a white-witch and a rattle-snake.

5. That the said David Hume on the same evening, after politely returning the embraces of him, the said J. J. Rousseau, and gently tapping him on the back, did repeat several times, in a good-natured, easy tone, the words, "Why, what, my dear sir! Nay, my dear sir! Oh my dear sir!"—From whence the said J. J. Rousseau doth conclude, as he thinks upon solid and sufficient grounds, that he the said David Hume is a traitor; albeit he, the said J. J. Rousseau doth acknowledge, that the physiognomy of the good David is that of an honest man, all but those terrible eyes of his, which he must have borrowed; but he the said J. J. Rousseau vows to God he cannot conceive from whom or what.

6. That the said David Hume hath more inquisitiveness about him than becometh a philosopher, and did never let slip an opportunity of being alone with the governante of him the said J. J. Rousseau.

7. That the said David Hume did most atrociously and flagitiously put him the said J. J. Rousseau, philosopher, into a passion; as knowing that then he would be guilty of a number of absurdities.

8. That the said David Hume must have published Mr Walpole's letter in the newspapers, because, at that time, there was neither man, woman, nor child in the island of Great Britain, but the said David Hume, the said J. J. Rousseau, and the printers of the several newspapers aforesaid.

9. That somebody in a certain magazine, and somebody else in a certain newspaper, said something against him the said John James Rousseau, which he, the said J. J. Rousseau, is persuaded, for the reason above mentioned, could be nobody but the said David Hume.

10. That the said J. J. Rousseau knows, that he, the said David Hume, did open and peruse the letters of him the said J. J. Rousseau, because he one day saw the said David Hume go out of the room after his own servant, who had at that time a letter of the said J. J. Rousseau's in his hands; which must have been in order to take it from the servant, open it, and read the contents.

11. That the said David Hume did, at the instigation of the devil, in a most wicked and unnatural manner, send, or cause to be sent, to the lodgings of him, the said J. J. Rousseau, one dish of beef steaks, thereby meaning to insinuate, that he the said J. J. Rousseau was a beggar, and came over to England to ask alms: whereas, be it known to all men by these presents, that he, the said John James Rousseau, brought with him the means of sustenance, and did not come with an empty purse; as he doubts not but he can live upon his labours, with the assistance of his friends; and in short can do better without the said David Hume than with him.

12. That besides all these facts put together, the said J. J. Rousseau did not like a certain appearance of things on the whole.

Rousseau, with his accustomed activity on such occasions, loudly repeated his complaints to the world, and filled the ears of his friends with the villany of his seeming benefactor. The method which Hume felt himself compelled to adopt for his own justification was one which proved a severe punishment to his opponent; he published the correspondence, with a few explanatory observations, and was ever afterwards silent on the subject. Some have thought that he ought to have remained silent from the commencement, and that such was his wish we have ample proof from his correspondence at that period, but to have continued so in the face of the declarations of his enemy, he must have been more than human; and the danger which his fame incurred from the acts of a man who had the means of making what he said respected, will at least *justify* him.



Hume had returned to Edinburgh with the renewed intention of there spending his days in retirement, and in the affluence which his frugality, perseverance, genius, and good conduct had acquired for him; but in 1765, at the solicitation of general Conway, he acted for that gentleman as an under-secretary of state. It is probable that he did not make a better under-secretary than most men of equally diligent habits might have done, and nothing occurs worthy of notice during his tenure of that office, which he resigned in January, 1768, when general Conway resigned his secretaryship.

We have nothing to record from this period till we come to the closing scene of the philosopher's life. In the spring of 1775, he was struck with a disorder of the bowels, which he soon became aware brought with it the sure prognostication of a speedy end. "I now," he says "reckon upon a speedy dissolution. I have suffered very little pain from my disorder; and what is more strange, have, notwithstanding the great decline of my person, never suffered a moment's abatement of my spirits, inasmuch, that were I to name the period of my life, which I should most choose to pass over again, I might be tempted to point to this latter period. I possess the same ardour as ever in study, and the same gayety in company. I consider, besides, that a man of sixty-five, by dying, cuts off only a few years of infirmities, and though I see many symptoms of my literary reputation breaking out at last with additional lustre, I know that I could have but few years to enjoy it. It is difficult to be more detached from life than I am at present."

The entreaties of his friends prevailed on Hume to make a last effort to regain his health, by drinking the Bath waters, and he left Edinburgh for that purpose in the month of April, after having prepared his will, and written the memoir of himself, so often referred to. As he passed through Morpeth, he met his affectionate friends John Home the poet and Adam Smith, who had come from London for the purpose of attending him on his journey, and who would have passed him had they not seen his servant standing at the inn door. The meeting of these friends must have been melancholy, for they were strongly attached to each other, and the intimacy betwixt the philosopher and the enthusiastic poet Home, seemed to have been strengthened by the striking contrast of their temperaments. The intercourse of the friends on their journey was supported by Hume with cheerfulness, and even with gayety; and he never morosely alluded to his prospects of dissolution. On one occasion, when Home was officiously preparing his pistols, (for he was usually inspired with a military enthusiasm,) Hume said to him, "you shall have your humour, John, and fight with as many highwaymen as you please, for I have too little of life left to be an object worth saving." Of this journey a journal was found among the papers of Home, in the handwriting of the poet, which has been fortunately given to the world by Mr McKenzie. Regretting that we cannot quote the whole of this interesting document, we give a characteristic extract.

*" Newcastle, Wednesday, 24th Aprile.*

"Mr Hume not quite so well in the morning; says, that he had set out merely to please his friends; that he would go on to please them; that Ferguson and Andrew Stuart, (about whom we had been talking) were answerable for shortening his life one week a piece; for, says he, you will allow Xenophon to be good authority; and he lays it down, that suppose a man is dying, nobody has a right to kill him. He set out in this vein, and continued all the stage in this cheerful and talking humour. It was a fine day, and we went on to Durham—from that to Darlington, where we passed the night.

"In the evening Mr Hume thinks himself more easy and light than he has



been any time for three months. In the course of our conversation we touched upon the national affairs. He still maintains, that the national debt must be the ruin of Britain, and laments that the two most civilized nations, the British and French, should be on the decline; and the barbarians, the Goths and Vandals of Germany and Russia, should be rising in power and renown. The French king, he says, has ruined the state by recalling the parliaments. Mr Hume thinks that there is only one man in France fit to be minister, (the archbishop of Toulouse,) of the family of Brienne. He told me some curious anecdotes with regard to this prelate, that he composed and corrected without writing; that Mr Hume had heard him repeat an elegant oration of an hour and a quarter in length, which he had never written. Mr Hume talking with the princess Beauvais about French policy, said that he knew but one man in France capable of restoring its greatness; the lady said she knew one too, and wished to hear if it was the same; they accordingly named each their man, and it was this prelate."

The journey had the effect of partly alleviating Mr Hume's disorder, but it returned with renewed virulence. While his strength permitted such an attempt, he called a meeting of his literary friends to partake with him of a farewell dinner. The invitation sent to Dr Blair is extant, and is in these terms: "Mr John Hume, *alias* Home, *alias* the late lord conservator, *alias* the late minister of the gospel at Athelstaneford, has calculated matters so as to arrive infallibly with his friend in St David's Street, on Wednesday evening. He has asked several of Dr Blair's friends to dine with him there on Thursday, being the 4th of July, and begs the favour of the doctor to make one of the number." Subjoined to the card there is this note, in Dr Blair's hand writing, "*Mem.* This the last note received from David Hume. He died on the 25th of August, 1776." This mournful festival, in honour as it were of the departure of the most esteemed and illustrious member of their brilliant circle, was attended by lord Elibank, Adam Smith, Dr Blair, Dr Black, professor Ferguson, and John Home. On Sunday the 26th August, 1776, Mr Hume expired. Of the manner of his death, after the beautiful picture which has been drawn of the event by his friend Adam Smith, we need not enlarge. The calmness of his last moments, unexpected by many, was in every one's mouth at the period, and it is still well known. He was buried on a point of rock overhanging the old town of Edinburgh, now surrounded by buildings, but then bare and wild—the spot he had himself chosen for the purpose. A conflict betwixt a vague horror at his imputed opinions, and respect for the individual who had passed among them a life so irreproachable, created a sensation among the populace of Edinburgh, and a crowd of people attended the body to its grave, which for some time was an object of curiosity. According to his request, Hume's Dialogues on Natural Religion were published after his death, a beautifully classic piece of composition, bringing us back to the days of Cicero. It treats of many of the speculations propounded in his other works.

HUME, PATRICK, first earl of Marchmont, a distinguished patriot and statesman, was born, January 13th, 1641. His original place in society was that of the laird of Polwarth, in Berwickshire, being the eldest son of Sir Patrick Hume of Polwarth, the representative of an old baronial family, by Christian Hamilton, daughter of Sir Alexander Hamilton of Innerwick. The subject of our memoir succeeded his father in 1648, while as yet a mere child; and was accordingly indebted to his excellent mother for the better part of his early education. He appears to have been, by her, brought up in the strictest tenets of the presbyterian religion, which flourished, without any constraint upon its private exercise, during all his early years, till it was discountenanced by govern-



ment after the Restoration. Sir Patrick, however, was not only an admirer of the form of worship enjoined by that religious system, but a zealous maintainer of its pretensions to a divine right, as the only true church of Christ; and this, it is said, was what first inspired him with the feelings of a patriot. Having been sent to parliament in 1665, as representative of the county of Berwick, he soon distinguished himself by the opposition which he gave, along with the duke of Hamilton and others, to the headlong measures of the government. In 1673, the king sent a letter to parliament desiring a levy of soldiers and money to support them, and the duke of Lauderdale moved that it be referred to the lords of the articles, who were always at the beck of government. This proposal, though strictly in accordance with the custom of the Scottish parliament, was opposed by the duke of Hamilton, who asserted that the royal wishes ought to be considered by the whole assembled representatives of the nation. On Sir Patrick Hume expressing his concurrence with the duke, he was openly pointed out to parliament by Lauderdale, as a dangerous person. Hereupon, Sir Patrick said, "he hoped this was a free parliament, and it concerned all the members to be free in what concerned the nation." In the ensuing year, he was one of those who went with the duke of Hamilton to lay the grievances of the nation before the king, whose delusive answer to their application is well known. It was not possible that a person who maintained so free a spirit in such an age could long escape trouble. In 1675, having remonstrated against the measure for establishing garrisons to keep down the people, he was committed by the privy council to the tolbooth of Edinburgh, as "a factious person, and one who had done that which might usher in confusion." After suffering confinement for six months in Stirling castle, he was liberated through the intercession of friends, but not long after was again confined, and altogether suffered imprisonment for about two years. The order for his liberation, dated 17th April, 1679, states that "he had been imprisoned for reasons known to his majesty, and tending to secure the public peace;" and adds, "the occasions of suspicion and public jealousy being over, he is ordered to be liberate." To continue our memoir in the words of Mr George Crawford,<sup>1</sup> who had received information from Sir Patrick's own mouth, "Finding after this that the ministers of state were most earnestly set on his destruction, and that he could not live in security at home, he went to England, and entered into a strict friendship with the duke of Monmouth, the earl of Shaftesbury, and the lord Russel, who was his near relation. With them he often met, and had many conferences on the state of Scotland, and what might be done there to secure the kingdom from popery and arbitrary power, in the event of a popish successor. But, as his lordship protested to me, there never passed among them the least intimation of any design against the king's life, or the duke of York's; that was what they all had an abhorrence of. But he said, he thought it was lawful for subjects, being under such pressures, to try how they might be relieved from them; and their design never went further."

Notwithstanding the pure intentions of this little band of patriots, the government, as is well known, was able to fasten upon them the charge of having conspired the deaths of the king and his brother; and to this infamous accusation, lord Russell fell a victim in England, and Mr Baillie of Jerviswood, in Scotland. It was on the 24th of December, 1684, that the latter individual suffered; before that time, Sir Patrick Hume, though conscious of innocence, had gone into hiding, being justified in that step by a degree of personal infirmity, which unfitted him for enduring imprisonment. The place selected for his concealment was the sepulchral vault of his family, underneath the parish

<sup>1</sup> Lives and Characters of the Officers of the Crown, and of the State in Scotland.



church of Polwarth, about two miles from Redbraes castle, the house in which he generally resided. Here he lived for many weeks of the autumn of 1684, without fire and hardly any light, and surrounded by the ghastly objects which usually furnish forth such a scene. He was enabled, however, by the firmness of his own mind, and the affections of his amiable family, to suffer this dreary self-imprisonment without shrinking. No one knew of his concealment but his family, and one "Jamie Winter," a carpenter, of whose fidelity they had good reason to be assured. Having been provided with a bed through the aid of this humble friend, Sir Patrick depended for food and other necessities upon the heroic devotedness of his daughter Grizel, who, though only twelve years of age, nightly visited this dismal scene, without manifesting the least agitation either on account of real or imaginary dangers. Supported by such means, Sir Patrick never lost his cheerfulness of temper, but, on the contrary, could laugh heartily at any little incident detailed to him by his daughter. The noble child had no other means of obtaining his food, except by secreting part of what she had upon her own plate at the family meals. Her having one day secured an entire sheep's-head, which her younger brother Alexander thought she had swallowed in a moment, supplied one of those domestic jests with which the fugitive father was entertained. While in this lonely place, Sir Patrick had no other reading than Buchanan's psalms, which he conned so thoroughly, that he ever after had the most of them by heart. As the winter advanced, lady Polwarth contrived a retreat underneath the floor of a low apartment at Redbraes, and thinking that this might serve to conceal her husband in the event of any search taking place, had him removed to his own house, where he accordingly lived for some time, till it was found one morning, that the place designed for concealment, had become half filled with water.

Warned by this incident, and by the execution of his friend Mr Baillie, he resolved to remain no longer in his native country. It was projected that he should leave the house next morning in disguise, attended by his grieve or farm-overseer, John Allan, who was instructed to give out that he was going to attend a horse-market at Morpeth. The party stole away by night, and had proceeded a considerable distance on their way, when Sir Patrick, falling into a reverie, parted company with his attendant, and did not discover the mistake till he found himself on the banks of the Tweed. This, however, was a most fortunate misadventure, for, soon after his parting with Allan, a company of soldiers that had been in search of him at Redbraes, and followed in the expectation of overtaking him, came up, and would have inevitably discovered and seized him, if he had not been upon another track. On learning what had happened, he dismissed his servant, and, leaving the main-road, reached London through bye-ways. On this journey he represented himself as a surgeon, a character which he could have supported effectually, if called upon, as he carried a case of lancets, and was acquainted with their use. From London he found his way to France, and thence after a short stay, walked on foot to Brussels, intending to converse with the duke of Monmouth. Finding the duke had gone to the Hague, he proceeded to Holland, but did not immediately obtain a conference with that ill-fated nobleman. He had an audience, however, of the prince of Orange, who, "looking on him (to use the words of Crawford,) as a confessor for the protestant religion, and the liberties of his country, treated him with a very particular respect."

On the death of Charles II., in February, 1685, and the accession of the duke of York, whose attachment to the catholic faith rendered him, in their eyes, unfit to reign, the British refugees in Holland concerted two distinct but relative expeditions, for the salvation of the protestant religion, and to maintain "the



natural and native rights and liberties of the free people of Britain and Ireland, and all the legal fences of society and property there established." One of these expeditions was to land in England, under the duke of Monmouth, whose prosecution of his own views upon the crown, under the favour of the protestant interest, is well known. The other was to be under the conduct of the earl of Argyle, and was to land in Scotland, where it was expected that an army would be formed in the first place from his lordship's Highland retainers, and speedily enforced by the malcontents of Ayrshire, and other parts of the Lowlands. Sir Patrick Hume has left a memoir respecting the latter enterprise, from which it clearly appears that Monmouth gave distinct pledges (afterwards lamentably broken,) as to the deference of his own personal views to the sense of the party in general,—and also that Argyle acted throughout the whole preparations, and in the expedition itself, with a wilfulness, self-seeking, and want of energy, which were but poorly compensated by the general excellence of his motives, and the many worthier points in his character. Sir Patrick Hume and Sir John Cochrane of Ochiltree, alike admirable for the purity and steadiness of their political views, were next in command, or at least in the actual conduct of affairs, to the earl. The sword of the former gentleman is still preserved, and bears upon both sides of its blade, the following inscription in German :

"Got bewarr die aufrechte Schotten."

that is, God preserve the righteous Scots. It was not destined, however, that fortune should smile on this enterprise. The patriots sailed on the 2nd of May, in three small vessels, and on the 6th arrived near Kirkwall in the Orkney islands. The imprudent landing of two gentlemen, who were detained by the bishop, served to alarm the government, so that when the expedition reached the country of Argyle, he found that all his friends, upon whom he depended, had been placed under arrest at the capital. After trifling away several weeks in his own district, and affording time to the government to collect its forces, he formed the resolution of descending upon Glasgow. Meanwhile, Sir Patrick Hume and others were forfeited, their estates confiscated, and a high reward offered for their apprehension. While Argyle was lingering at Rothesay, Sir Patrick conducted the descent of a foraging party upon Greenock, and, though opposed by a party of militia, succeeded in his object. Allowing as largely as could be demanded for the personal feelings of this gentleman, it would really appear from his memoir that the only judgment or vigour displayed in the whole enterprise, resided in himself and Sir John Cochrane. When the earl finally resolved at Kilpatrick to give up the appearance of an army, and let each man shift for himself, these two gentlemen conducted a party of less than a hundred men across the Clyde, in the face of a superior force of the enemy, and were able to protect themselves till they reached Muirdykes. Here they were assailed by a large troop of cavalry, and were compelled each man to fight a number of personal contests in order to save his own life. Yet, by a judicious disposition of their little force, and the most unflinching bravery and perseverance, Hume and Cochrane kept their ground till night, when, apprehending the approach of a larger body of foot, they stole away to an unfrequented part of the country, where they deliberately dispersed.

Sir Patrick Hume found protection for three weeks, in the house of Montgomery of Lainshaw, where, or at Kilwinning, it would appear that he wrote the memoir above alluded to, which was first printed in Mr Rose's observations on Fox's historical work, and latterly in the Marchmont papers, (1831.) The better to confound the search made for him, a report of his death was circulated by his friends. Having escaped by a vessel from the west coast, he proceeded



by Dublin to Bourdeaux, where we find he was on the 15th of November. He now resumed his surgical character, and passed under the name of Dr Peter Wallace. Early in 1686, he appears to have proceeded by Geneva to Holland, where his family joined him, and they resided together at Utrecht for three years. The picture of this distressed, but pious and cheerful family, is very affectingly given by lady Murray, in the well-known memoirs of her mother, lady Grizel Baillie. They were reduced to such straits through the absence of all regular income, that lady Hume could not keep a servant, and Sir Patrick was obliged—but this must have been a labour of love—to teach his own children. They were frequently compelled to pawn their plate, to provide the necessaries of life until a fresh supply reached them. Yet, even in this distress, their house was ever open to the numerous refugees who shared in their unhappy fate. Not forgetting political objects, Sir Patrick, in 1688, wrote a letter powerful in style and arguments, to put the presbyterian clergy in Scotland on their guard against the insidious toleration which king James proposed for the purpose of effecting the ascendancy of popery. In this document, which has been printed among the Marchmont papers by Sir G. H. Rose, we find him giving an animated picture of the prince of Orange, whom he already contemplated as the future deliverer of his country, and no doubt wished to point in that character to the attention of Scotsmen; “one,” says he, “bred a Calvinist, who, for religious practice, exceeds most men so high in quality, and is equal to the most part of whatever rank of the sincere and serious in that communion; for virtue and good morals beyond many; those infirmities natural to poor mankind, and consistent with seriousness in religion, breaking out as little, either for degree or frequency, from him, as from most part of good men, and not one habitual to him: one of a mild and courteous temper; of a plain, ingenuous, and honest nature; of a humane, gay, and affable carriage, without any token of pride or disdain; one educated and brought up in a republic as free as any in the world, and inured to the freedom allowed by and possessed in it. His greatest enemy, if he know him, or my greatest enemy, if he read this, must find his own conscience witnessing to his face, that what I have said is truth, and that I am one of more worth than to sully my argument with a flaunting hyperbole even in favour of a prince.” The modern reader, who is acquainted with the picture usually drawn of the same personage by the English historians, will probably be startled at the gayety and affability here attributed to the prince; but, besides the unavoidable prepossession of Sir Patrick for a person who, it would appear, had treated him kindly, and stood in the most endearing relation to all his favourite objects in religion and politics, it must be allowed that, at an age which might be called youth (thirty-eight), and previous to his undertaking the heavy and ungrateful burden of royalty in Britain, William might have been better entitled to such a description than he was in the latter part of his life.

Before this time, the eldest son of Sir Patrick Hume, and his future son-in-law Baillie, had obtained commissions in the horse-guards of the prince of Orange, in whose expedition to England all three soon after took a part. These gentlemen were among those who suffered in the storm by which a part of the prince's fleet was disabled; they had to return to port with the loss of all their luggage, which, in the existing state of their affairs, was a very severe misfortune. The little party appears to have speedily refitted and accompanied the prince at his landing in Devonshire, as we find Sir Patrick writing a diary of the progress to London, in which he seems to have been near the prince all the way from Exeter. In the deliberations held at London respecting the settlement of the new government, Sir Patrick bore a conspicuous part; but it was in Scotland that his zeal and judgment found a proper field of display. In the convention parliament,



which sat down at Edinburgh, March 14, 1689, he appeared as representative of the county of Berwick; and, an objection being made on the score of his forfeiture, he was unanimously voted a member by the house. The decision of this assembly in favour of a settlement of the crown upon William and his consort Mary, soon followed.

The career of public service was now opened to the subject of our memoir, at a period of life when his judgment must have been completely matured, and after he had proved, by many years of suffering under a tyrannical government, how worthy he was to obtain honours under one of a liberal complexion. In July, 1690, his attainder was rescinded by act of parliament; he was soon after sworn a member of the privy council; and in December, 1690, he was created a peer by the title of lord Polwarth. The preamble of the patent is a splendid testimony to the eminent virtues he had displayed in asserting the rights and religion of his country. King William at the same time vouchsafed to him an addition to his armorial bearings, "an orange proper ensigned, with an imperial crown, to be placed in a surtout in his coat of arms in all time coming, as a lasting mark of his majesty's royal favour to the family of Polwarth, and in commemoration of his lordship's great affection to his said majesty."

From this period, the life of lord Polwarth is chiefly to be found in the history of his country. He was appointed in 1692, to be principal sheriff of Berwickshire, and in 1693, to be one of the four extraordinary lords of session. Though there is no trace of his having been bred to the law, his conduct in these two employments is said to have been without blemish. His reputation, indeed, for decisions conformable to the laws, for sagacity and soundness of judgment, is, perhaps, one of the most remarkable parts of the brilliant fame which he has left behind him. In 1696, he attained the highest office in Scotland, that of lord chancellor, and in less than a year after, he was promoted in the peerage by the titles, earl of Marchmont, viscount of Blasonberry, lord Polwarth, Redbraes, and Greenlaw, to him and to his heirs male whatsoever. He was soon after named one of the commission of the treasury and admiralty; and in 1698 was appointed lord high commissioner to represent the king's person in the parliament which met at Edinburgh in July of that year. To pursue the words of Sir George Rose, who gives a sketch of the life of the earl in his preface to the Marchmont papers, "his correspondence with king William and his ministers, whilst he exercised these high functions, exhibits an earnest and constant desire to act, and to advise, as should best promote at once the honour of his master and benefactor, and the weal of the state; and he had the good fortune to serve a prince, who imposed no duties upon him which brought into conflict his obligations to the sovereign and to his country."

The earl of Marchmont was acting as commissioner at the General Assembly of 1702, when the death of his affectionate sovereign interrupted the proceedings, and plunged him into the deepest grief. He was appointed by queen Anne to continue to preside over the assembly till the conclusion of its proceedings; but the principles of this great man were too rigid to allow of his long continuing in office under the new government. In his letter to queen Anne, written on the death of king William, he was too little of a courtier to disguise the feelings which possessed him as a man, although he must have known that every word he used in admiration or lamentation of her predecessor must have been grating to her ears. In the first session of the parliament after her accession, he presented to it an act for the abjuration of the pretender; and, though it was in conformity to, and in imitation of the English act passed immediately on her ascending the throne, and was read a first time, the high commissioner adjourned the house in order to stop the measure. In a memorial to the queen of the 1st



of July, 1702, (*Marchmont Papers*) will be found a full vindication of his conduct in this matter, and a statement of that held by his friends, and the commissioner, the duke of Queensberry, differing essentially from Lockhart's. He was on this dismissed from his office of chancellor, the place being conferred on the earl of Seafield.

Having thus sacrificed his office to his principles, he pursued the latter in the ensuing parliaments with the consistency and fervour which might have been expected from such a man. The protestant succession in the house of Hanover, and the union of the two divisions of the island under one legislature, were the two objects on which he now centered his attention and energies. It is hardly necessary to remind the reader that the general temper of the Scottish people was perversely opposed to both of these measures, and that it was only the minority of such consistent whigs as lord Marchmont, who, reposing more upon great abstract principles than narrow views of immediate advantage, saw them in their proper light, and gave them the weight of their influence. An attempt of the earl to introduce an act for the Hanover succession, at a time when his fellow statesmen were chiefly bent on asserting by the act of Security the useless independence of their country, was so ill received that there was even some talk of consigning this noble patriot to the state-prison in Edinburgh castle. Afterwards, however, when the government of queen Anne was obliged to adopt the measure of a union, his lordship had the pleasure of contributing his aid—and most willingly was it rendered—towards what had been the grand object of his political life. The selection of the Scottish commissioners, upon which the whole matter hinged, was effected in obedience to a sagacious advice tendered by lord Marchmont—namely, that they should be “the most considerable men, provided they were whigs, and therefore friends to the Revolution; but such alone, with disregard to their feelings respecting an incorporating union, as hostile to it or not.” The reasonings he employed to enforce this principle of selection are to be found in the *Marchmont Papers*; and we learn from Lockhart to how great an extent they were acted on. Speaking of the commissioners, this gentleman says, that “all were of the court or whig interest except himself,” an ardent Jacobite, an exception only made in the hope of gaining him through his uncle, the whig lord Wharton. It is universally allowed that this principle, though the author of it has not heretofore been very distinctly known, achieved the union.

We are now to advert to a circumstance of a painful nature respecting the earl of Marchmont, but which we have no doubt has taken its rise either from error or from calumny. As a leader of the independent party in the Scots parliament—called the *Squadrone Volante*—it is alleged that his lordship was one of those individuals who were brought over to the government views by bribery; and Lockhart actually places the sum of 1104*l.* 15*s.* 7*d.* against his name, as his share of the twenty thousand pounds said to have been disbursed by the English exchequer, for the purpose of conciliating the chief opponents of the measure. Sir George H. Rose has made an accurate and laborious investigation into the foundation of these allegations, from which it would not only appear that lord Marchmont has been calumniated, but that a very incorrect notion has hitherto prevailed respecting the application of the money above referred to. We must confess that it has always appeared to us a most improbable story, that, even in the impoverished state of Scotland at that time, noblemen, some of whom were known to entertain liberal and enlightened views, and had previously maintained a pure character, were seduced by such trifling sums as those placed against them in the list given by Lockhart. Sir George Rose has shown, to our entire satisfaction, that the sum given on this occasion to the earl of Marchmont



was a payment of arrears due upon offices and pensions—in other words, the payment of a just debt; and that he is not blamable in the matter, unless it can be shown that receiving the payment of a debt can under *any* circumstances be disgraceful to the creditor. The best proof of his lordship's innocence is to be found in his conduct at the union, and for years before it. It is clear from his letters to the English statesmen, that the union was an object which he constantly had at heart, and that so far from being drawn over by any means whatever to their views, he had in reality urged them into it with all his strength and spirit, and all along acted with them in the negotiations by which it was effected. Money does not appear to have been so abundant on this occasion, as to make it probable that any was spent, except upon opponents.

The earl of Marchmont offered himself as a candidate at the election of the Scots representative peers in 1707, and again on the dissolution of parliament in 1708, but in each case without success. He could scarcely calculate on the countenance of queen Anne's government; for, if he had rendered it eminent services, he had also taught it how uncompromising was his adherence to his principles. Thus his parliamentary life ceased with the union. But his letters written subsequently to it give evidence that his mind was engaged deeply in all the events affecting the weal and honour of his country. Nor was his patriotism deadened by the insult and injury he received from the court, when, at the accession of the tory ministry in 1710, he was deprived of his office of sheriff of Berwickshire, which was conferred on the earl of Home.

In 1703, lord Marchmont had the misfortune to lose his amiable and affectionate spouse, of the family of Ker of Cavers, to whose virtues he has left a very affecting testimony. In 1709, he suffered a hardly less severe calamity in the death of his eldest son lord Polwarth, a colonel of cavalry, who, beginning his service in king William's body-guard, served through his wars and the duke of Marlborough's with reputation, and died childless, though twice married. He was treasurer depute in 1696. His amiable and honourable character fully justified his father's grief. The second brother Robert, also a soldier, died many years before him.

The accession of George I. gave to lord Marchmont what he called the desire of his heart, a protestant king upon the throne. He was immediately re-appointed sheriff of Berwickshire. In 1715, in the seventy-fifth year of his age, acting on the feelings and principles of his youth, he forbade a meeting of the gentlemen of the county, which had been proposed in the professed view of obtaining a redress of hardships, but which would have embarrassed the newly established government; and his lordship took the necessary precautions to render his prohibition effectual. When he saw the protestant succession secure, he gave up all thoughts of active life, and removed to Berwick-upon-Tweed, to spend the remainder of his days in retirement. He retained his cheerful disposition to the last. A short time before his death, he was visited by his daughter, lady Grizel Baillie, and his grand-children, who, with a number of his friends, had a dance. Being then very weak in his limbs he was unable to come down stairs, but desired to be carried down to see them; and, as pleasingly recorded by his grand-daughter, lady Murray, he was so much delighted with the happy faces he saw around him, that he remarked, "though he could not dance, he could yet beat time with his foot."

On the 1st of August, 1724, this illustrious patriot breathed his last at Berwick, in the eighty-third year of his age, leaving one of the most irreproachable characters which have come down to us from that time, if not from others of greater general virtue. He had become so reconciled to the prospect of death, that, though no doubt sensible of the solemn change which it was to produce, he



could make it the subject of a gentle mirth. Being observed to smile, he was asked the reason by his grandson, the ingenious lord Binning, to whom he answered, "I am diverted to think what a disappointment the worms will meet with, when they come to me expecting a good meal, and find nothing but bones." Lord Marchmont, he it remarked, though at one time a handsome man, had always been of a spare habit of body, and was now much attenuated. His character has already been sufficiently displayed in his actions, and the slight commentaries we have ventured to make upon them. It is impossible, however, to refrain from adding the testimony of Fox, who, in his historical work, says of him, as Sir Patrick Hume, that "he is proved, by the whole tenor of his life and conduct, to have been uniformly zealous and sincere in the cause of his country."

HUME, ALEXANDER, second earl of Marchmont, the eldest surviving son and successor of the first earl, having maintained the historical lustre of the family, deserves a place in the present work, though only perhaps in a subordinate way. He was born in 1675, and in his boyhood shared the exile and distress of his family. Before his elder brother's death, he was distinguished as Sir Alexander Campbell of Cessnock, having married the daughter and heiress of that family. He was brought up as a lawyer, and became a judge of the court of session before he was thirty years of age. He was a privy councillor and a baron of the court of Exchequer, and served in the Scottish parliament, first for Kirkwall, and then for Berwickshire, when the act of union passed. Emulating his father's feelings, he zealously promoted that measure, and took a very active share in the arduous labours that were devolved upon the sub-committee, to which the articles of the union were referred.

But the principal historical transaction in which this nobleman was concerned, was the introduction of the family of Hanover to the British throne. A report having been circulated that the electoral family was indifferent to the honours opened up to them by the act of succession, lord Polwarth, (for he had now attained this designation,) proceeded in 1712, to Hanover, and entered into a correspondence with the august family there resident, which enabled him fully to contradict the rumour. He took a leading part in suppressing the rebellion of 1715, by which that succession was sought to be defeated, and, in 1716, was rewarded for his services, by being appointed ambassador to the court of Denmark.

After acceding to the family honours in 1722, the earl of Marchmont was honoured with several important places of trust under government, till joining the opposition against the excise scheme of Sir Robert Walpole, he forfeited the favour of the court and his place as a privy councillor, which he then held. "It appears," says Sir George Henry Rose,<sup>1</sup> "that the distinguished members of the Scottish nobility who joined in this act of hostility to the ministers, were less induced so to do by any particular objections to that measure of finance, than by the hope, that their junction with the English who resisted it, might lead to the subversion of lord Hlay's government of Scotland, a rule which they felt to be painful and humiliating. They knew it moreover to be sustained by means, many of which they could not respect, and which they believed to tend to degrade and alienate the nation. That they judged rightly in apprehending that the system adopted by Sir Robert Walpole and his virtual viceroy, for the management of the public affairs in North Britain, was ill calculated to conciliate to the reigning family the affections of the people, was but too sufficiently proved by subsequent events. He sat as one of the sixteen Scots peers in the parliament of 1727; but at the general election in 1754, the hand of

<sup>1</sup> Preface to Marchmont Papers.



power was upon him; and, being excluded, he, together with the dukes of Hamilton, Queensberry, and Montrose, the earl of Stair, and other Scottish noblemen, entered into a concert with the leading English members of the opposition, in order to bring the machinations unsparingly used to control the election of the peers in Scotland, to light, and their authors to punishment. Sir Robert Walpole's better fortune, however, prevailed against it, as it did against a similar project in 1739." The earl of Marchmont died in January, 1740, and was succeeded by his eldest surviving son Hugh, who was destined to exhibit the extraordinary spectacle of a family, maintaining, in the third generation, the same talent, judgment, and worth which had distinguished the two preceding.

HUME, HUGH CAMPBELL, third and last earl of Marchmont, was born at Edinburgh on the 15th February, 1708, and soon became remarkable for the precocity of his intellect, and the versatility of his genius. His mind was equally directed to the acquisition of scholastic erudition and political knowledge, and on all subjects he was supposed to be excelled by few or none of his time. In 1734, when only twenty-six years of age, he was chosen member for the county of Berwick, and entered the House of Commons as lord Polwarth, at the same time that his younger and twin brother, Mr Hume Campbell, came forward as representative for the burghs of the district. The injustice and neglect which Sir Robert Walpole had shown to lord Marchmont, was speedily avenged by the trouble which these young men gave to his government. The former soon attained the first place in the opposition; and how keenly his attacks were felt by the ministry is shown in a remark made by the latter person, to the effect that "there were few things he more ardently desired than to see that young man at the head of his family," and thus deprived of a seat in the house. This wish was soon gratified, for his father dying in 1740, lord Polwarth succeeded as earl of Marchmont, nor did he again enter the walls of parliament until the year 1750, when a vacancy occurring in the representation of the Scottish peerage, he was almost unanimously elected. From his talents as a speaker, his extensive information, and active business habits, he acquired great influence in the upper house, and was constantly re-chosen at every general election, during the long period of 34 years. He was appointed first lord of police in 1747, and keeper of the great seal of Scotland, in January, 1764, the latter of which he held till his death. The estimation in which his lordship was held by his contemporaries may be judged of by the circumstance of his living on terms of the strictest intimacy with the celebrated lord Cobham, (who gave his bust a place in the Temple of Worthies at Stow,) Sir William Wyndham, lord Bolingbroke, the duchess of Marlborough, Mr Pope, and other eminent persons of that memorable era. The duchess appointed him one of her executors, and bequeathed him a legacy of £2,500 for his trouble, and as a proof of her esteem. Mr Pope likewise appointed him one of his executors, leaving him a large-paper edition of *Thuanus*, and a portrait of lord Bolingbroke, painted by Richardson. The poet likewise immortalized him, by introducing his name into the well-known inscription in the Twickenham grotto:—

"Then the bright flame was shot through Marchmont's soul!"

His lordship's library contained one of the most curious and valuable collections of books and manuscripts in Great Britain; all of which he bequeathed at his death to his sole executor, the right honourable George Rose.

His lordship was twice married; first, in 1731, to Miss Western of London, by whom he had four children, a son (who died young), and three daughters; the youngest of whom was afterwards married to Walter Scott, Esq. of Harden. Upon the death of his wife, in 1747, he next year married a Miss Elizabeth



Crompton, whose father was a linen draper in Cheapside, by whom he had one son, Alexander, lord Polwarth, who died without issue, in the 31st year of his age. The circumstances attending this second marriage were very peculiar, and his lordship's conduct on the occasion, seems altogether so much at variance with his general character, as well as with one in his rank and circumstances in life, that we reckon them worthy of being recorded here;—and in doing so, we think we cannot do better than adopt the account of them given by the celebrated David Hume, in a familiar epistle to the late Mr Oswald of Dunnikier, and published in the latter gentleman's correspondence. The letter is dated, London, January 29th, 1748:—"Lord Marchmont has had the most extraordinary adventure in the world. About three weeks ago, he was at the play, when he espied in one of the boxes a fair virgin, whose looks, airs, and manners, had such a powerful and wonderful effect upon him, as was visible by every by-stander. His raptures were so undisguised, his looks so expressive of passion, his inquiries so earnest, that every person took notice of it. He soon was told that her name was Crompton, a linen draper's daughter, that had been bankrupt last year, and had not been able to pay above five shillings in the pound. The fair nymph herself was about sixteen or seventeen, and being supported by some relations, appeared in every public place, and had fatigued every eye but that of his lordship, which, being entirely employed in the severer studies, had never till that fatal moment opened upon her charms. Such and so powerful was their effect, as to be able to justify all the Pharamonds and Cyrusses in their utmost extravagancies. He wrote next morning to her father, desiring to visit his daughter on honourable terms: and in a few days she will be the countess of Marchmont. All this is certainly true. They say many small fevers prevent a great one. Heaven be praised that I have always liked the persons and company of the fair sex! for by that means I hope to escape such ridiculous passions. But could you ever suspect the ambitious, the severe, the bustling, the impetuous, the violent Marchmont, of becoming so tender and gentle a swain—an Artamenes—an Oroondates!"

His lordship died at his seat, at Hemel Hempstead, in Hertfordshire, on the 10th of January, 1794, and leaving no heirs male, all the titles of the family became extinct; but his estate descended to his three daughters. According to Sir George H. Rose, who, from his family connexion with the earl of Marchmont, had the best means of knowing, this nobleman "was an accomplished and scientific horseman, and a theoretical and practical husbandman and gardener. He pursued his rides and visits to his farm and garden as long as his strength would suffice for the exertion; and some hours of the forenoon, and frequently of the evening, were dedicated to his books. His most favourite studies appear to have been in the civil law, and in the laws of England and Scotland, in the records and history of the European nations, and in ancient history; and the traces of them are very unequivocal. The fruits of his labours in extracts, observations, comparisons, and researches, all made in his own hand-writing, are not more to be admired than wondered at, as the result of the industry of one who was stimulated neither by poverty nor by eagerness for literary celebrity. His Dutch education had given him method, which was the best possible auxiliary to an ardent and powerful mind, such as his was."

In the publication which we have entitled the *Marchmont Papers*, are many of earl Hugh, of which the most important feature is a diary, which he kept during three different periods of peculiar interest in the reign of George the Second. The first extends from the latter end of July, 1744, to the end of that year, and embraces the events which led to the formation of what was called the Broad Bottom Administration, when lord Carteret, who just then became earl



of Granville, was compelled to retire by the Pelhams, the king consenting thereto very reluctantly, and when the dukes of Devonshire, Bedford, and Dorset, and the earls of Harrington and Chesterfield, came into office. The second period begins in September, 1745, when news had just been received in London that the Pretender was near Edinburgh, and that it would probably be soon in his occupation. It closes in the February following, with the extraordinary events of that month, the resignation of the Pelham ministry, and its re-establishment after the earl of Bath's and the earl of Granville's interregnum of three days. The third period commences in July, 1747, and terminates in March, 1748, soon after the earl of Chesterfield's resignation, and the duke of Bedford's appointment to succeed him as secretary of state.

HUME, PATRICK, is noticed by various writers as the name of an individual who adorned the literature of his country at the close of the seventeenth century. Who or what he was, is not known: it is only probable, from the regularity with which certain first names occur in genealogies in connexion with surnames, that he belonged to the Polwarth branch of the family of Home, or Hume, as in that branch there were six or seven successive barons bearing the name of Patrick. This learned man is only known to have written the notes connected with the sixth edition of Milton's *Paradise Lost*, which was published in folio by Tonson in 1695, and is one of the most elegant productions of the British press that have ever appeared. It has been a matter of just surprise to several writers of Scottish biography, that absolutely nothing should have been handed down respecting this person, seeing that his notes evince a high degree of taste, and most extensive erudition, and are in fact the model of almost all commentaries subsequent to his time. "His notes," says an anonymous writer,<sup>1</sup> "are always curious; his observations on some of the finer passages of the poet, show a mind deeply smit with an admiration for the sublime genius of their author; and there is often a masterly nervousness in his style, which is very remarkable for this age." But the ignorance of subsequent ages respecting the learned commentator is sufficiently accounted for by the way in which his name appears on the title-page, being simply in initials, with the affix *ΦΙΛΟΠΩΛΗΤΗΣ*, and by the indifference of the age to literary history. It would appear that the commentary, learned and admirable as it is, speedily fell out of public notice, as in 1750, the Messrs Poulis of Glasgow published the first book of the *Paradise Lost*, with notes by Mr Callender of Craigforth, which are shown to be, to a great extent, borrowed from the work of Hume, without the most distant hint of acknowledgment.

HUNTER, (Dr) HENRY, a divine highly distinguished in literature, was born at Culross, in the year 1741. His parents, though in humble life, gave him a good education, which was concluded by an attendance at the university of Edinburgh. Here his talents and application attracted the notice of the professors, and at the early age of seventeen he was appointed tutor to Mr Alexander Boswell, who subsequently became a judge of the court of session, under the designation of lord Balmonto. He afterwards accepted the same office in the family of the earl of Dundonald at Culross abbey, and thus had the honour of instructing the late venerable earl, so distinguished by his scientific inquiries and inventions. In 1764, having passed the necessary trials with unusual approbation, he was licensed as a minister of the gospel, and soon excited attention to his pulpit talents. So highly were these in public esteem, that, in 1766, he was ordained one of the ministers of South Leith, which has always been con-

<sup>1</sup> Blackwood's Magazine, iv. 662, where there is a series of extracts from Hume's Commentary, in contrast with similar passages from that published by Mr Callender of Craigforth.



sidered as one of the most respectable appointments in the Scottish church. He had here ingratiated himself in an uncommon degree with his congregation, when a visit to London, in 1769, opened up to his ambition a still wider field of usefulness. The sermons which he happened to deliver on this occasion in several of the Scottish meeting-houses, drew much attention, and the result was an invitation, which reached him soon after his return, to become minister of the chapel in Swallow Street. This he declined; but in 1771, a call from the London Wall congregation tempted him away from his Scottish flock, who manifested the sincerest sorrow at his departure. This translation not only was an advancement in his profession, but it paved the way for a series of literary exertions, upon which his fame was ultimately to rest. Several single sermons first introduced him to the world as an author. These were on the ordination of O. Nicholson, M. A., 1775, 2 Cor. iv. 7, 8; On the study of the Sacred Scriptures, Acts xviii. 11, in the work called the *Scottish Preacher*, vol. iv.; at the funeral of the Rev. George Turnbull, 1783; On the opening of a meeting-house at Walthamstow, in 1787, Rev. xxi. 3, 4; On the Revolution, 1788; *The Believer's Joy*, Acts viii. 39; also in the fourth volume of the *Scottish Preacher*. These sermons, with some miscellaneous pieces, were collected and published, in two volumes, after the author's death. Dr Hunter first appeared as a general writer in 1783, when he published the first volumes of his "*Sacred Biography, or the history of the Patriarchs and of Jesus Christ*," which was ultimately extended to seven volumes, and has become a standard work, the seventh edition having appeared in 1814. Before this work was completed, the notice attracted by the system of Lavater throughout civilized Europe, tempted him to engage in an English version of the "*Physiognomy*" of that philosopher, whom he previously visited at his residence in Switzerland, in order to obtain from the conversation of the learned man himself, as perfect an idea as possible of his particular doctrines. It is said that Lavater at first displayed an unexpected coolness on the subject of Dr Hunter's visit, being afraid that an English translation might injure the sale of the French edition, in which he had a pecuniary interest. This, however, seems to have been got over; for Lavater eventually treated his English visitor in a manner highly agreeable. "As their professions were alike," says an anonymous writer, "so their sentiments, their feelings, and their opinions, are altogether alike. A complete acquaintance with the French language enabled Dr Hunter to enjoy Lavater's conversation freely; and he ever afterwards talked with enthusiasm of the simplicity of manners, the unaffected piety, the unbounded benevolence, and the penetrating genius, of this valued friend. The bare mention of that barbarous cruelty which massacred the virtuous Lavater, was sufficient to make him shrink back with horror."—The first number of this work was published in 1789, and it was not completed till nine years after, when it ultimately formed five volumes, in quarto, bearing the title of "*Essays on Physiognomy, designed to promote the knowledge and love of mankind, by John Caspar Lavater*." Dr Hunter's abilities as a translator were of the first order, and, in this instance, drew forth the entire approbation of the original author. The work was, moreover, embellished in a style, which, at that time, might be considered as unrivalled. It contained above eight hundred engravings, executed by and under the direction of Mr Holloway, and such was altogether the elaborate elegance of the publication, that it could not be sold to the public under thirty pounds per copy. We are only left to regret that so much talent, so much taste, and such a large sum of money as this price would indicate, should have been spent upon an inquiry which the acute and precise sense of the immediately succeeding generation has pronounced to be in a great measure a delusion.



At the time of the French revolution, Dr Hunter republished a treatise by Robert Fleming, whose life, with an account of the work in question, has already been given in this Biographical Dictionary. The pamphlet contained some prophetic intimations, which Dr Hunter supposed to bear a reference to the events in the neighbouring kingdom. It is needless to remark the weakness which alone could dictate such a proceeding in this generally able and enlightened man. Dr Hunter also published a "Sermon preached, February 3, 1793, on the execution of Louis XVI."

In 1795, he attempted a translation from the German, selecting for this purpose Euler's celebrated "Letters to a German princess." This work met with the entire approbation of the public, and has proved a very useful addition to the stock of our native scientific literature. The first edition was in quarto, and a second, in octavo, appeared in 1802. The work has since been reprinted in a smaller size, with notes by Sir David Brewster. The merit of Dr Hunter as a translator was now universally acknowledged, and work accordingly pressed upon him. While still engaged in his version of Lavater, he commenced, in 1796, the publishing of a translation of St Pierre's *Studies of Nature*, which was completed in 1799, in five volumes octavo, afterwards republished in three. "His translation," says the anonymous writer above quoted, "of the beautiful and enthusiastic works of St Pierre, was universally read and admired: here, if in any instance, the translator entered into the spirit of the author, for the glow of benevolence which gives life to every page of '*Les Etudes de la Nature*' was entirely congenial to the feelings of Dr Hunter." Saurin's *Sermons*, and Soncini's *Travels to Upper and Lower Egypt*, complete the list of Dr Hunter's labours as a translator; and it is but small praise to say, that few men have reached the same degree of excellence in that important branch of literature. During the progress of other labours, Dr Hunter published more than one volume of original sermons, and a volume entitled "*Lectures on the Evidences of Christianity*," being the completion of a plan begun by the Rev. John Fell. He also commenced the publication, in parts, of a popular "*History of London and its Environs*," which, however, he did not live to complete.

In the year 1790, Dr Hunter was appointed secretary to the corresponding board of the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland. He was likewise chaplain to the Scots corporation in London, and both these institutions were much benefited by his zealous exertions in their behalf. It must be obvious from the frequent and involved succession of his literary productions, that Dr Hunter spent a most industrious life, and was upon the whole the most busy as he approached that stage of existence when the generality of men begin to find ease not only agreeable but necessary. It is probable that this unceasing exertion, which no doubt was more occasioned by necessity than by choice, tended to break down his constitution, which was further weakened in his latter years by the agitation and distress of mind consequent on the death of three beloved children. Having retired to Bristol wells for the recovery of his health, he died there, of inflammation in the lungs, October 27, 1802, in the sixty-second year of his age.

"If Dr Hunter," says his anonymous biographer,<sup>2</sup> "was conspicuous as an author, he was still more to be admired as a man. An unbounded flow of benevolence, which made him enjoy and give enjoyment to every society, joined to a warmth of feeling, which made him take an interest in every occurrence, rendered him the delight of all his acquaintance. His social talents were of the highest order. An easy flow of conversation, never loud, never overbearing, and completely free from affectation; an inexhaustible fund of pleasant anecd-

<sup>2</sup> Obituary of *Gentleman's Magazine*, lxxii. 1072.



dotes and occasional flashes of wit and humour, made every company he joined pleased with him and with themselves. He was particularly happy in adapting his conversation to those he conversed with; and while to a lady his discourse appeared that of a polished gentleman, the scholar was surprised by his apt quotations from the classics, and the ease with which he turned to any subject that was brought before him. \* \* His private charities were as numerous as the objects of compassion which occurred to him; nor should his unbounded and cheerful hospitality be forgot among his other virtues." [He is said to have carried this virtue beyond the bounds which a regard to prudence and economy should have prescribed.] "The crowded attendance and the universal regret of his congregation are the best proofs of the effect of his pulpit eloquence. His enlightened and liberal views of religion made his meeting-house the resort of the leading Scotsmen in London; and it was here that the natives of the southern part of the island had an opportunity of observing a specimen of that church which produced a Robertson and a Blair. \* \* Dr Hunter was of a spare habit of body, and remarkably active; and his usual cheerfulness and flow of good humour continued till within a few weeks of his death." He left a family, consisting of a wife, two sons, and a daughter.

HUNTER, WILLIAM and JOHN, two eminent physicians, fall to be noticed here under one head, in order that we may, without violating alphabetical arrangement, give William that priority to which his seniority and precedence in public life render necessary.

WILLIAM HUNTER was born, May 23, 1718, at Kilbride in the county of Lanark. His great-grandfather, by his father's side, was a younger son of Hunter of Hunterston. His father and mother lived on a small estate in the above county, called Calderwood, which had been some time in the possession of their family. They had ten children, of whom the subject of our present memoir was the seventh, while John was the tenth. One of his sisters married the reverend James Baillie, professor of divinity in the university of Glasgow, and became the mother of Matthew Baillie, the late celebrated physician, whose labours in morbid anatomy have been of such essential service in promoting the study of pathology. William Hunter was sent to the college of Glasgow at the age of fourteen, where he pursued his studies with diligence, and obtained the esteem of the professors and his fellow students. He was at this time designed for the church;—but hesitated, from conscientious motives to subscribe all the articles of its faith. There is perhaps no position so painful as that of a man whose mind is overshadowed by doubts on doctrinal points of religion, having firmness in himself to investigate narrowly the foundation of the principles he should embrace, and rectitude enough to acknowledge with candour the difficulties by which he is embarrassed. Such was the state of mind of William Hunter when he became acquainted with the eminent Dr Cullen, who was then established in practice at Hamilton. After much deliberation, under his persuasion, he determined to relinquish his theological studies, and devote himself exclusively to the profession of medicine. Accordingly, having obtained the consent of his father, in the year 1737, he went to reside with Dr Cullen; in whose family he lived nearly three years; a period which afterwards, when he was engaged in the anxieties and turmoil that are ever attendant on the life of a medical man, he looked back upon with peculiar pleasure. It was the *oasis* on which, in after years, his memory loved to dwell. Between these two gifted individuals a partnership was now formed, and it was agreed that William Hunter should take charge of the surgical, and Dr Cullen of the medical cases that occurred in their practice. To carry their mutual wishes more efficiently into operation, it was arranged that William Hunter should proceed to Edin-



burgh, and then to London, for the purpose of pursuing his medical studies in each of these cities, after which, that he should return to settle at Hamilton.

In November, 1740, William Hunter went to Edinburgh, where he remained until the following spring, attending the lectures of the medical professors there, among whom he had the advantage of attending Dr Alexander Monro, who was one of the most talented and able professors, who, perhaps, ever adorned that university. In the summer of 1741, he proceeded to London, and resided with Mr. afterwards Dr Smellie, then an apothecary in Pall Mall. He took with him a letter of introduction from Mr Foulis, the printer at Glasgow, to Dr James Douglas. At first, Mr Hunter commenced the study of anatomy under the tuition of Dr Frank Nicholls, who was the most eminent teacher of anatomy then in London, and who had formerly professed the science at Oxford. It appears that Dr Douglas had been under some obligation to Mr Foulis, who had collected for him several editions of Horace, and he naturally, therefore, paid attention to young Hunter, whom he at once recognized to be an acute and talented observer. Dr Douglas was at that time intent on a great anatomical work on the bones, which he did not live to complete, and was looking out for a young man of industry and ability whom he might employ as his dissector. He soon perceived that his new acquaintance would be an eligible assistant to him, and after some preliminary conversation invited him into his family, for the double purpose of assisting him with his dissections, and directing the education of his son. The pecuniary resources of young Hunter were at this time very slender, and the situation was to him therefore highly advantageous; but it was with difficulty that he could obtain the consent of his father for him to accept it, who being now old and infirm, awaited with impatience his return to Scotland. Ultimately, however, he was prevailed on to acquiesce in the wishes of his son, which he did with reluctance; he did not, however, long survive, as he died on the 30th of the October following, aged seventy-eight. Mr Hunter's previous arrangements with Dr Cullen formed no obstacle to his new views; for he had no sooner explained his position, than Dr Cullen, anxious for his advancement, readily canceled the articles of agreement, and left his friend to pursue the path which promised to lead him to fame and to fortune. At liberty now to take advantage of all the means of instruction by which he was surrounded, he pursued his studies with assiduity. By the friendly assistance of Dr Douglas he was enabled to enter himself as a surgeon's pupil at St George's hospital, under Mr James Wilkie, and as dissecting pupil under Mr Frank Nicholls. He also attended a course of experimental philosophy, which was delivered by Desaguliers. He soon became very expert as a dissector, insomuch that Dr Douglas went to the expense of having several of his preparations engraved. But he did not enjoy his liberal patronage and aid long, for many months had not elapsed when his kind benefactor died, an event which happened April 1, 1742, in the sixty-seventh year of his age. Dr Douglas left a widow and two children;—but his death made no alteration in respect to Mr Hunter, who continued as before to reside in his family, and perform the same duties which he had previously done.

In the year 1743, the first production from the pen of Mr Hunter was communicated to the Royal Society. It was an "Essay on the Structure and Diseases of Articulating Cartilages," a subject which had not been at that time sufficiently investigated, and on which his observations threw considerable light. His favourite scheme was now to commence as a lecturer on anatomy;—but he did not rashly enter on this undertaking, but passed some years more in acquiring the necessary knowledge, and in making the numerous preparations which are necessary to exhibit in a complete course of anatomy. There is, perhaps,



no branch of medical science which demands more patient and assiduous toil than this, more especially at that period, when there were so few aids to anatomical knowledge. He communicated his project to Dr Nicholls, who had declined lecturing, in favour of Dr Lawrence, who gave him little encouragement, and he retired, as many others similarly situated have done, to meditate on his own secret hopes, and to await a fit opportunity for commencing his designs. It thus happens in the lives of many young men, that wiser heads caution them against embarking in schemes they have long cherished, and in which, after all, they are destined to be successful. The ardour and perseverance of youth often accomplish undertakings which appear wild and romantic to the sterner, and colder judgment of the aged. To William Hunter the wished-for opportunity soon occurred, whereby he was enabled to put his plans to the test of experience. A society of navy surgeons at that time existed, which occupied rooms in Covent Garden, and to this society Mr Samuel Sharpe had been engaged as a lecturer on the operations of surgery. This course Mr Sharpe continued to repeat until finding that it interfered too much with his other engagements; he resigned in favour of William Hunter, who gave his first anatomical course in the winter of 1746. It is said that when he first began to speak in public he experienced much solicitude; but the applause he met with inspired him with that confidence which is so essential an element of all good oratory. Indeed, he gradually became so fond of teaching, that some few years before his death, he acknowledged that he was never happier than when engaged in lecturing. The profits of the first two courses were considerable; but having with much generosity contributed to supply the pecuniary wants of his friends, he found himself so reduced on the return of the next season, that he was obliged to postpone his lectures, because he had not money to defray the necessary expenses of advertising. An anecdote is mentioned by his biographer Symmons, very characteristic of the early difficulties which are experienced by many men of genius. Mr Watson, one of his earliest pupils, accompanied him home after his next introductory lecture. He had just received seventy guineas for admission fees, which he carried in a bag under his cloak, and observed to his friend, "that it was a larger sum than he had ever been master of before." His previous experience now taught him more circumspection;—he became more cautious of lending money, and by strict economy amassed that great fortune, which he afterwards so liberally devoted to the interests of science. His success as a lecturer before the society of navy surgeons was so decided, that its members requested him to extend his course to anatomy, and gave him the free use of their room for his lectures. This compliment he could not fail to have duly appreciated, and it may be regarded as the precursory sign of that brilliant career which he was soon afterwards destined to pursue.

In the year 1747, he was admitted a member of the Incorporation of Surgeons, and after the close of his lectures in the spring of the following year, he set out with his pupil, Mr James Douglas, on a tour through Holland and Paris. At Leyden, he visited the illustrious Albinus, whose admirable injections inspired him with the zeal to excel in this useful department of anatomy. Having made this tour, he returned to prepare his winter course of lectures, which he commenced at the usual time.

Mr Hunter at this time practised surgery as well as midwifery; but the former branch of the profession he always disliked. His patron, Dr Douglas, had acquired considerable reputation as an accoucheur, and this probably induced him to direct his views to this line of practice. Besides this, an additional inducement presented itself, in the circumstance of his being elected one of the surgeon accoucheurs to the Middlesex hospital, and afterwards to the



British Lying-in Hospital. The introduction of male practitioners in this department of the profession, according to Astruc, took place on the confinement of madame la Valliere in 1663. She was anxious for concealment, and called in Julian Clement, an eminent surgeon, who was secretly conducted into the house where she lay, covering her face with a hood, and where the king is said to have been hidden behind the curtains. He attended her in her subsequent accouchments, and his success soon brought the class of male practitioners into fashion. Nor was this a matter of minor import, for hereby the mortality among lying-in women has been materially reduced. Mowbray is said to have been the first lecturer on obstetrics in London, and he delivered his course of lectures in the year 1725. To him succeeded the Chamberlains, after whom, Smellie gave a new air of importance and dignity to the science. It is said that the manners of Smellie were by no means prepossessing—indeed they are described to have been unpleasing and rough; therefore, although a man of superior talent, he necessarily found a difficulty in making his way among the refined and the more polished circles of society. Herein, Hunter had a decided advantage, for while he was recognized to be a man of superior abilities; his manners and address were extremely conciliating and engaging. The most lucrative part of the practice of midwifery was at this time divided between Sir Richard Manningham and Dr Sandys;—the former of whom died, and the latter retired into the country just after Mr Hunter became known as an accoucheur.

The field was now in a great measure left open to him, and in proportion as his reputation increased, he became more extensively consulted. His predecessor Dr Sandys, had been formerly professor of anatomy at Cambridge, where he had formed a valuable collection of preparations, which on his death having fallen into the hands of Dr Bloomfield, was now purchased by Mr Hunter for the sum of £200. There can be no doubt that the celebrity of Mr Hunter as an anatomist contributed to increase his practice as an accoucheur, as it was reasonably expected that his minute knowledge of anatomy would give him a correspondingly great command in difficult and dangerous cases. Acting now principally as an accoucheur, he appears to have entirely relinquished the surgical department of his profession; and desirous of practising as a physician, obtained in 1750, the degree of doctor of medicine from the university of Glasgow. The degree of doctor of medicine at that and other universities of Scotland, was at this period granted, on the candidate's paying a certain sum of money and presenting a certificate from other doctors of medicine of his being qualified to practise the healing art—but so much was the facility of obtaining these degrees abused that this method of granting them has been very properly abolished. Shortly after obtaining his diploma, Dr Hunter left the family of Mr Douglas, and went to reside in Jernyn Street, Soho Square.

The following summer he revisited his native country, for which, amidst the professional prosperity of a town life, he continued to entertain a cordial affection. He found on his arrival that his mother was still living at Long Calderwood, which was now become his own property, in consequence of the death of his brother James, who died in the 28th year of his age. It is worthy of notice, that this young man had been a writer to the signet in Edinburgh; but disliking the profession of the law, he went to London, with the intention of studying anatomy under his brother William—so that it would almost appear, that in the family of the Hunters there was an hereditary love for medical science. Ill health, however, which bows down the intellectual power of the strongest of mankind, preyed upon his constitution; so that he could not carry his plans into execution, and he therefore returned to his birth place, where



he died. At this period, Dr Cullen was progressing to that fame which he subsequently attained; and was residing at Glasgow, where Dr Hunter again met him, to take a retrospect over the eventful changes which had signalized the progress of their separate lives. Such a meeting could not, under the peculiar circumstances, fail to be interesting to both; for there scarcely can be any gratification superior to that of meeting in after life, the friend of early youth, pursuing successfully the career which at one time was commenced together, and who is still opening up the paths to new discoveries, in which both sympathize and delight, while, at the same time, the same sentiments of personal friendship remain undiminished in all their original strength and sincerity.

On the return of Dr Hunter to London, he continued corresponding with Dr Cullen on a variety of interesting scientific subjects, and many of the letters have been recently published by Dr Thomson, in his life of this eminent physician, a work which should be familiar to all who take any interest in the history of medical science.

On the return of Dr Hunter to London, on the resignation of Dr Layard, who had officiated as one of the physicians to the British Lying-in Hospital, we find the governors of that institution voting their "thanks to Dr Hunter for the services he had done the hospital, and for his continuance in it as one of the physicians." Accordingly he was established in this office without the usual form of an election. He was admitted in the following year licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians, and was soon after elected a member of the Medical Society. His history of an aneurism of the aorta appears in the first volume of their "Observations and Enquiries," published in 1757. In 1762, we find him in the "Medical Commentaries," supporting his claim of priority in making numerous anatomical discoveries over that of Dr Monro Secundus, at that time professor of anatomy in the university of Edinburgh. It is not easy to adjust the claims of contemporary discoverers in numerous branches of science; and though, on this occasion, a wordy war of considerable length was waged concerning the real author of the great doctrine of the absorbent action of the lymphatic system, yet the disputants seem to have left the field, each dissatisfied with the conduct of his antagonist, and each equally confident of being entitled to the honour of being regarded as the real discoverer. It is not worth while to rake up the ashes of any such controversy; but it is no more than justice to assert, that Dr Hunter vindicated his claims in a manly and honourable tone, at the same time acknowledging that "the subject was an unpleasant one, and he was therefore seldom in the humour to take it up."

In 1762, when the queen became pregnant, Dr William Hunter was consulted, and two years afterwards had the honour to be appointed physician extraordinary to her majesty. We may now regard him as having attained the highest rank in his profession; and avocations necessarily increasing very considerably, he found himself under the necessity of taking an assistant, to relieve him from the fatigues to which he was now subjected. Accordingly he selected Mr Hewson, an industrious and accomplished young man, to be his assistant, and afterwards took him into partnership with him in his lectures. This connexion subsisted until the year 1770, when, in consequence of some misunderstanding, it was dissolved, and Cruickshank succeeded to the same situation. In the year 1767, Dr William Hunter became a fellow of the Royal Society, to which the following year he communicated his observations on the bones, commonly supposed to be elephants' bones, which were found near the river Ohio in America. At this period the attention of men of science had been directed to the large bones, tusks, and teeth, which had been found on the banks of the above river, and the



French Academicians came to the conclusion that they were, in all probability, the bones of elephants. From the different character of the jaw-bone, and other anatomical signs, Dr William Hunter, however, came to the conclusion that they did not belong to the elephant, but to an animal *incognitum*, probably the same as the mammoth of Siberia.<sup>3</sup> Nor was this the only subject of natural history on which Dr Hunter exercised his ingenuity, for in a subsequent volume of the transactions, we find him offering his remarks on some bones found in the rock of Gibraltar, which he proves to have belonged to some quadruped. Further, we find an account published by him of the Nylghau, an Indian animal not before described. Thus, amidst the anxious duties of that department of the profession in which he excelled, we find his active mind leading him into investigations on subjects of natural history, which are eminently interesting to all who delight in examining into the mysteries, and beauties, and past history of the surrounding world.

In the year 1768, Dr William Hunter became fellow of the society of arts, and the same year at the institution of an academy of arts, he was appointed by his majesty professor of anatomy. His talents were now directed into a new sphere of action; in which he engaged with unabated ardour and zeal. He studied the adaptation of the expression of anatomy to sculpture and painting, and his observations are said to have been characterized by much originality and just critical acumen.

In January, 1781, he was unanimously elected successor to Dr John Fothergill, as president of the Royal College of Physicians of London, the interests of which institution he zealously promoted. In 1780, the Royal Medical Society of Paris elected him one of their foreign associates, and in 1782 he received a similar mark of distinction from the Royal Academy of Sciences in that city. Thus, in tracing the life of this eminent physician, we find honour upon honour conferred upon him, in acknowledgment of the essential services which he rendered to the cause of science. But his *chef d'œuvre* yet remains to be noticed; it was consummated in the invaluable "Anatomy of the Human Gravid Uterus," one of the most splendid medical works of the age in which he lived. It was commenced in 1751, but not completed until 1775, owing to the author's desire to render it as complete as possible. It contains a series of thirty-four folio plates, from superior drawings of subjects and preparations, executed by the first artists, exhibiting all the principal changes which occur during the nine months of pregnancy. Here we find the first representation that was given of the retroverted uterus, and the membrana decidua reflexa discovered by himself. He did not live however to complete the anatomical description of the figures, which his nephew the late lamented Dr Baillie did in 1794.<sup>4</sup> He dedicated this valuable work to the king; and it needs only to be added, in testimony of merit, that notwithstanding the march of medical knowledge, it has not been superseded by any rival author. It remains now, and will go down to posterity, as a standard work complete in its designs, and admirable in its execution. But this was not the only service which Dr William Hunter rendered to the profession; it remains for us yet to record the circumstances under which he founded a museum which has justly called forth the admiration of every medical man by whom it has been visited. When Dr William Hunter began to reap the fruits of his professional skill and exertions, he determined on laying aside a fund from which he would derive support, if overtaken by the calamities of sickness, or the infirmities of age. This he very shortly accomplished; and it is said, that on one occasion he stated that having borrowed from this fund a sum to de-

<sup>3</sup> Philosophical Transactions, vol. 58.

<sup>4</sup> Anatomical Description of the Gravid Uterus and its contents, 1794.



fray some expenses of his museum, he felt very much dissatisfied and uneasy until it was replaced. His competency having been obtained, and his wealth continuing to accumulate, he formed a laudable design of founding a school of medicine, and for this purpose addressed a memorial to Mr Grenville, then minister, in which he requested the grant of a piece of ground in the Mews for the site of an anatomical theatre. He undertook to expend £7000 on the building, and to endow a professorship of anatomy in perpetuity; but the scheme did not meet the reception it deserved, and fell to the ground. It is said that the earl of Shelburne, afterwards in conversation with the learned doctor, expressed his approbation of the design, and desired his name to be put down as a subscriber for £1000. But Dr Hunter had now it would appear determined on other arrangements, having purchased a spot of ground in Great Windmill Street, which he determined to appropriate to the proposed use. He there built accordingly a house and anatomical theatre, and removed from Jernyn Street to these premises in 1770. Medical men engaged in active practice, who have a taste for the study of morbid anatomy, have little difficulty in obtaining specimens; and by his own exertions and those of his pupils, many of whom engaged zealously in the cause, he soon succeeded in bringing together a vast number of morbid preparations, to augment the number of which he purchased numerous collections that were at various times exposed to sale in London. The taste for collecting, which all acquire who commence founding a museum, "increased by what it fed on," and he now, in addition to the anatomical specimens, sought to accumulate fossils, curious books, coins—in short, whatever might interest either the man of letters, the physician, the naturalist, or the antiquary. We are informed that in respect to books he became possessed of "the most magnificent treasure of Greek and Latin books that has been accumulated since the days of Mead;"—furthermore, Mr Combe, a learned friend of the doctor's, published a description of part of the coins in the collection, under the following title:—"Nummorum Veterum Populorum et Urbium qui in Museo Gulielmi Hunter asservantur, descriptio, figuris illustrata. In the preface to this volume, which is dedicated by Dr William Hunter to her majesty, some account is given of the progress of the collection, which had been accumulating since 1770, at an expense of upwards of £20,000. In 1781, a valuable addition to it was received, consisting of shells, corals, and other curious subjects of natural history, which had been collected by the late Dr Fothergill, who gave directions by his will that his collection should be appraised after his death, and that Dr William Hunter should have the refusal of it at £500. This was accordingly done, and Dr Hunter purchased it eventually for £1200. To complete the history of this museum, we may here add, that on the death of Dr William Hunter, he bequeathed it, under the direction of trustees, for the use of his nephew Dr Matthew Baillie, and in case of his death to Mr Cruickshank, for the term of thirty years, at the expiration of which it was to be transmitted to the university of Glasgow. The sum of £8000 was furthermore left as a fund for the support and augmentation of the collection, and each of the trustees was left £20 per annum for the term of thirty years—that is, during the period that they would be executing the purposes of the will. Before the expiration of the period assigned, Dr Baillie removed the museum to Glasgow, where it at present is visited by all who take an interest in medical or general science.

We have followed Dr William Hunter through the chief and most remarkable events by which his life was characterized, and now pausing to contemplate his having arrived at the summit of his ambition,—honoured by the esteem of his sovereign, complimented by foreign academies, and consulted by persons of all ranks—with an independence of wealth which left



him no desires for further accumulation of riches—we must acknowledge that the cup of human enjoyment, while it mantles to the brim, must still contain some bitter drop—that there is in this world no happiness without alloy. Ill health now preyed, with all its cankering evils, upon his constitution, and he meditated, indeed seriously made up his mind, to retire from the scenes of his former activity to his native country, where he might look back upon the vista of his past life and die in peace. With this view he requested his friends Dr Cullen and Dr Baillie to look out for a pleasant estate for him, which they did, and fixed on a spot in Annandale, which they recommended him to purchase. The bargain was agreed on, at least so it was concluded, but when the title deeds were submitted to examination they were found to be defective—and accordingly the whole project fell to the ground, for although harassed by ill health, Dr Hunter found that the expenses to support the museum were so enormous, that he preferred still remaining in his practice. He was at this time, dreadfully afflicted with gout, which at one time affected his limbs, at another his stomach, but seldom remained in one part many hours. Yet, notwithstanding this, his ardour and activity remained unabated;—but at length he could no longer baffle the destroying power which preyed upon his being. The attacks became more frequent, and on Saturday, March 15, 1783, after having for several days experienced a return of wandering gout, he complained of great headache and nausea, in which state he retired to bed, and felt for many days more pain than usual, both in his stomach and limbs. On the Thursday following, he found himself so much recovered, that he determined to give the introductory lecture to the operations of surgery, and it was to no purpose that his friends urged on him the impropriety of the attempt. Accordingly he delivered the lecture, but towards the conclusion, his strength became so much exhausted that he fainted, and was obliged to be carried by his servants out of the lecture room. We now approach the death-bed scene of this eminent man, and surely there can be no spectacle of deeper or more solemn interest than that presented by the dissolution of a man, who adorned by intellectual energy and power, the path which it was in this life his destiny to tread. The night after the delivery of the above lecture, and the following day, his symptoms became aggravated, and on Saturday morning he informed his medical adviser, Mr Combe, that he had during the night had a paralytic stroke. As neither his speech nor his pulse were affected, and as he was able to raise himself in bed, Mr Combe was in hopes that his patient was mistaken; but the symptoms that supervened indicated that the nerves which arises in the lumbar region had become paralyzed; for the organs to which they are distributed, lost the power of performing their functions. Accordingly he lingered with the symptoms, which in all similar cases exist, until Sunday the 30th March, when he expired. During his last moments he maintained very great fortitude and calmness, and it is reported that shortly before his death, he said, turning round to Mr Combe, “If I had strength enough to hold a pen I would write how easy and pleasant a thing it is to die.” Such a sentiment as this, breathed by one under the immediate dominion of death, strikes us with peculiar wonder and awe, for it is seldom in such an hour that suffering humanity can command such stoical complacency. During the latter part of his illness, his brother John—with whom he had previously been on unfriendly terms—requested permission to attend him, and felt severely the parting scene. His remains were interred on the 5th April, in the rector’s vault of St James’s church, Westminster.

The lives of all eminent men may be viewed in a double relation,—they may be contemplated simply with a reference to their professional and public career—or they may be viewed in connexion with the character they have dis-



played in the retired paths of domestic life. It would appear that Dr Hunter devoted himself exclusively to the pursuits of his profession; nor did he contract any tie of a gentler and more endearing nature to bind him to the world.—His habits were temperate and frugal. When he invited friends to dine with him he seldom regaled them with more than two dishes, and he was often heard to say, that “a man who cannot dine on one dish deserves to have no dinner.” After the repast, the servant handed round a single glass of wine to each of his guests; which trifles show the economical disposition he possessed, and which enabled him to realize £70,000 for the purpose of completing a museum for the benefit of posterity. He was an early riser, and after his professional visits was to be found always occupied in his museum. He was in person “regularly shaped, but of slender make, and rather below the middle stature.” There are several good portraits of him, one of which is an unfinished painting by Toffany, which represents him in the act of giving a lecture on the muscles at the royal academy surrounded by a group of academicians. Another by Sir Joshua Reynolds, and of which a correct and elegant fac-simile is given in connexion with the present work, is preserved in the Hunterian Museum at Glasgow.

The professional character of Dr Hunter is deservedly held high in the estimation of all who are acquainted with the history of medicine. His anatomy of the Gravid Uterus is alone a monument of his ability; but, besides this, he made discoveries for which his name deserves the highest possible respect. His claims to being the discoverer of the origin and use of the lymphatic vessels were, it is true, warmly contested; but many who have taken pains to examine the merits of the controversy, among whom we may mention the celebrated Blumenbach, agree in awarding to him the honour of the discovery. He had the merit also of first describing the varicose aneurism, which he did in the *Observations and Inquiries* published by the Medical Society of London. His discovery and delineation of the *membrana decidua reflexa* in the retroverted uterus, deserves also honourable mention; in short, both the sciences of anatomy and midwifery were materially advanced by his labours. He was a good orator, and an able and clear lecturer; indeed the extent of his knowledge, more especially in physiology, enabled him to throw a charm of interest over the dry details of descriptive anatomy. His general knowledge was, as we have seen, very extensive; and his name and talents were respected in every part of Europe. Among the MSS. which he left behind him, were found the commencement of a work on biliary and urinary concretions, and two introductory lectures, one of which contains the history of anatomy from the earliest period down to the time when he wrote; also, considerations on the immediate connexion of that science with the practice of physic and surgery. Among other of his works, which are highly esteemed by the profession, we may notice his “*Essay on the Origin of the Venereal Disease*,” which he communicated to the Royal Society; and also his “*Reflections on the Symphysis Pubis*.”

By his will Dr Hunter bequeathed an annuity of £100 to his sister, Mrs Baillie, during her life, and the sum of £2000 to each of her daughters. The residue of his estate and effects went to his nephew.

We may conclude our memoir of this eminent physician by relating the following anecdote, which is said to have occurred in his visit to Scotland, before he had acquired the celebrity he so earnestly desired. As he and Dr Cullen were riding one day in a low part of the country, the latter pointed out to him his native place, Long Calderwood, at a considerable distance, and remarked how conspicuous it appeared. “Well,” said he, with some degree of energy, “if I live I shall make it more conspicuous.” We need not add any comment on his having lived to verify fully this prediction. Such are the achievements which



assiduity and perseverance are ever enabled to accomplish. The moral deducible from the lives of all eminent men teaches the same lesson.

JOHN HUNTER, younger brother of the preceding, was one of the most profound anatomists and expert surgeons of the age in which he lived. We have already seen how much his brother did to promote the interests of medical science, and we shall find in the sequel, that the subject of our present memoir accomplished still more, and attained even to a higher and prouder eminence, inasmuch that his name is, as it were, consecrated in the history of his profession, and respected and esteemed by all who are in the slightest degree acquainted with the science. The exact date of his birth has been a subject of some dispute :—by Sir Everard Home it is placed in July 14, 1728 ; and this day has been celebrated as its anniversary by the College of Surgeons of London ;—Dr Adams, however, has dated it on the 13th of February, on the authority of the parish register shown to him by the Rev. James French, the minister of the parish. This evidence is sufficiently satisfactory ; and we, therefore, consider that the latter is the correct date of his birth. He was, as we have already stated, the youngest of the family, and born when his father had nearly reached the age of seventy. Being the youngest, he was a great favourite with both of his parents ; indeed, they allowed him to enjoy without restraint all the pleasures and pastimes which are the delight of early life, without imposing on him those tasks which are essential to an early and good education. Ten years after his birth his mother was left a widow, and he was then the only son at home, one or both of his sisters being now married. Herein, therefore, we may find every apology for the indulgence of his mother, who, doubtless, regarded him with an eye of no ordinary interest and affection. He was, accordingly, not sent to school until he had arrived at the age of seventeen, when he was placed at a grammar school—but not having the patience to apply himself to the cultivation of languages, and furthermore disliking the restraint to which he was subjected, he neglected his studies, and devoted the greater part of his time to country amusements. Numerous are the instances of men of genius, who, like Hunter, neglected their education in youth ; but who, subsequently, by assiduous application and diligence, recovered their lost time, and attained to high eminence. Such was the case with Horne Tooke, Dean Swift, and others, whose names are honourably recorded in the history of literature. Care ought to be taken, however, to impress it on the minds of youth, that the general rule is otherwise, and that early application is necessary in by far the majority of cases, to produce respectable attainments in mature life. About this time, Mr Buchanan, who had lately come from London to settle at Glasgow as a cabinet-maker, paid his addresses to Mr Hunter's sister Janet, and having many agreeable qualities she accepted his offer, and contrary to the advice of her relations, was married to him. Mr Buchanan was a man of agreeable and fascinating address, and, besides other pleasing and companionable qualities, displayed the accomplishments of a good singer ;—so that his company was continually in request, and he yielded too freely to the pleasures and festivities of society. His business being in consequence neglected, his circumstances became embarrassed, and John Hunter, who was now seventeen, went to Glasgow on a visit to his sister, for whom he had the greatest affection, to comfort her in her distress, and endeavour to assist in extricating her husband from the difficulties in which he was involved. There is a report that Mr Hunter was destined to be a carpenter, and one of his biographers ventures to affirm that “ a wheel-wright or carpenter he certainly was ;” however, the only ground for such a statement seems to have been, that when orders were pressing he occasionally did assist his brother-in-law, by working with him at his trade. The occupation of a carpenter is, in towns distant from the metropolis, often



combined with that of a cabinet maker ;—and thence arose the report to which we have just alluded. His assistance could only have been very slight, and it being eventually impossible for Mr Buchanan to retrieve himself from his difficulties, he relinquished his business, and sought a livelihood by teaching music, besides which, he was appointed clerk to an Episcopal congregation. Thus the marriage of his sister, proved so far, in a worldly sense, unfortunate ; and the predictions of her relations were too truly verified. Her brother John soon became tired of witnessing embarrassments he could not relieve, and finding that his sister preferred grieving over her sorrows alone, to allowing him to be the constant witness of her grief, he returned to Long Calderwood, after an absence which had so far had a beneficial effect on him, that it weaned him from home, reconciled his mother to his absence, and in all probability suggested to him reflections and motives for future activity, which never otherwise might have occurred. It is no wonder that the village amusements to which he had been accustomed, now lost their wonted charms ;—it is no wonder that he felt restless and anxious to enter on some useful occupation, for already he had witnessed what were the bitter fruits of idleness and dissipation. He had often heard of his brother William's success in London, and he now wrote to him requesting permission to pay him a visit, at the same time offering to assist him in his anatomical labours ;—and in case these proposals were not accepted, he expressed a wish to go into the army.

His brother William returned a very kind answer to his letter, and gave him an invitation to visit him immediately, which he cheerfully accepted, and accompanied by a Mr Hamilton who was going there on business, they rode together on horseback, and in September, 1748, he arrived in London. About a fortnight before the winter session of lectures for that year, his brother, anxious to form some opinion of his talents for anatomy, gave him an arm to dissect the muscles, with some necessary instructions for his guidance, and the performance, we are informed, greatly exceeded expectation. William now gave him a dissection of a more difficult nature,—an arm in which all the arteries were injected, and these as well as the muscles were to be exposed and preserved. His execution of this task gave his brother very great satisfaction, nor did he now hesitate to declare that he would soon become a good anatomist, and, furthermore, he promised that he should not want for employment. Here we may observe, that the manipulation in dissecting requires a species of tact, which, like many other acquirements, is best obtained in early life ; and now under the instruction of his brother, and his assistant Mr Symonds, he had every opportunity for improvement, as all the dissections carried on in London at this time were confined to that school.

In the summer of 1749, the celebrated Cheselden, at the request of Dr Hunter, permitted John to attend at the Chelsea hospital, where he had ample opportunities for studying by the sick-bed, the progress and modifications of disease. At this time surgical pathology was in a rude state ; and, among other absurd doctrines, the progress of ulceration was held to be a solution of the solid parts into pus, or matter. When the mind, however young, enters fresh and vigorous into the field of inquiry, untrammelled by early prejudices, it is apt to observe phenomena in new relations, and to discover glimmerings of paths which lead to the knowledge of unsuspected truths. Such, at this time, we may consider to have been the state of John Hunter's mind ;—acute in all its perceptions ; discriminate in all its observations ; and free to embrace fearlessly whatever new theories his reflections might suggest. Here, therefore, in learning the first rudiments of surgery, he first began to suspect the validity of



the doctrines which were promulgated, which some few years afterwards, it was his good fortune to combat, and overthrow.

In the succeeding season, Mr Hunter was so far advanced in the knowledge of practical anatomy as to relieve his brother from the duty of attending in the dissecting-room. This now became the scene of the younger brother's employment during the winter months, whilst William confined himself to delivering lectures in the theatre. In the summer he resumed his attendance at the Chelsea hospital, and in the following year, 1751, he became a pupil at St Bartholomew's hospital, where he was generally present at the performance of the most remarkable operations. At this time Mr Pott was one of the senior surgeons at the latter institution, and no man operated more expertly, or lectured with better effect than he did; and although his pathological doctrines were subsequently, and with justice, arraigned by his present pupil, his name is nowhere mentioned by him but with the highest respect.

In the year 1753, Mr Hunter entered as a gentleman commoner in St Mary's Hall, Oxford; probably with the view of subsequently becoming a fellow of the College of Physicians. But his matriculation was not afterwards persevered in, and the following year he entered as surgeon's pupil at St George's hospital. His object in taking this step, which might appear to have been superfluous, is obvious. He desired to obtain the appointment of surgeon to some public hospital; and he well knew, that while his chance of success at Chelsea hospital was very remote, he was precluded from competing for the appointment at St Bartholomew's, from the circumstance of his not having served an apprenticeship to any surgeon of that hospital, a qualification expressly required by every candidate for that office. He accordingly calculated that the chances were more in his favour at St George's, where he hoped to obtain sufficient interest among the medical officers to facilitate his wishes. To this hospital he was, in two years afterwards, appointed house-surgeon. This, we may observe, is a temporary office, the person holding which may be regarded as a resident pupil, who resides in the house, and is expected to be always in readiness to attend to any accident that may be brought to the house, or may occur in the vicinity.

In the winter of 1755, he was admitted to a partnership in the lectures of his brother, a certain portion of the course being allotted to him, and he being required to lecture during the occasional absence of his colleague. Probably from the neglect of his early education he was little qualified to compete with his brother as a lecturer, a task he always performed with very great difficulty. For making dissections, and anatomical preparations, he was unrivalled in skill; and this was of no mean importance when we remember, that this art was at that time very little known, and that such exhibitions were of great utility during the public lecture. "Mr Hunter worked for ten years," says Sir Everard Home, "on human anatomy, during which period he made himself master of what was already known, as well as made some addition to that knowledge. He traced the ramifications of the olfactory nerves upon the membranes of the nose, and discovered the course of some of the branches of the fifth pair of nerves. In the gravid uterus, he traced the arteries of the uterus to their termination in the placenta. He was also the first who discovered the existence of the lymphatic vessels in birds." The difficulty of unraveling all the complex parts of the human frame, induced him to extend his inquiries, and examine into the structure of the inferior animals, nature having, as Dr Geoffroy St Hilaire has more recently demonstrated, preserved one type in the organization of all animate beings. He applied to the keeper of the tower, and the men who are the proprietors of the menageries of wild beasts, for the bodies of the animals which



died under their care, besides which he purchased such rare animals as came in his way, and many were presented to him by his friends, which he very judiciously intrusted to the showmen to keep until they died, the better to secure their interest in assisting him in his labours.

Ill health is too often the penalty of unremitting application, and Mr Hunter's health now became so much impaired by excessive attention to his pursuits, that in the year 1760, when he had just completed his thirty-second year, he became affected by symptoms which appeared to threaten consumption, and for which a milder climate was deemed advisable.

In October, 1760, he was appointed by Mr Adair, surgeon on the staff, and the following spring he embarked with the army for Belleisle, leaving Mr Hewson to assist his brother during his absence. Both in Belleisle and Portugal he served as senior surgeon on the staff, until the year 1763, and during this period amassed the materials for his valuable work on gun-shot wounds. Nor is this all; taking advantage of the opportunities presented to him, he examined the bodies of many of the recently killed, with the view of tracing the health, structures of certain parts, as well as the nature of particular secretions. After the peace in 1763, Mr Hunter returned to England, "which," says one of his biographers, "I have often heard him say he had left long enough to be satisfied, how preferable it is to all other countries."

Mr Hewson had now supplied the place of Mr Hunter in superintending dissections and assisting in the anatomical theatre during the space of two years, and it was scarcely to be expected that he would resume his connexion with his brother. During his absence, the interest he had previously acquired in the profession, naturally became diminished; for it is the fate of all who are either by necessity or choice induced to leave their native country, to find on their return, the friendship of some alienated, and that death, or worldly circumstances have compelled others to leave the circle of their former acquaintance. Here then we find Mr Hunter at the age of thirty-six, with very limited means, and with few friends, settling in London to commence the great professional struggle which all are destined to encounter who enter on this particular path of life, which is generally found to be crowded with competitors whom good fortune has already signalized with success. Scarcely can any situation of greater anxiety be conceived, than that of an able and active-minded man sitting down to practise medicine in a city in which he is comparatively a stranger, and which is already supplied with numerous rival practitioners, on whom the public has already pronounced a favourable verdict. Such at this time was the position of Mr Hunter, as one of his biographers simply but emphatically expresses it, "the practice of surgery now and for a long time afterwards afforded no *opening* for him; Hawkins, Bunfield, Sharpe, Potter, embraced almost the whole of family practice, whilst Adair and Tomkins carried from him the chief of the practice derived from the army." Disheartening, and indeed gloomy as these prospects now were, he returned with unabated ardour to his scientific pursuits, and laid the foundation of that eminence which he afterwards attained. If the difficulties of this world be met with philosophy, and with a firm resolution to overcome them, they may generally be surmounted, and they then leave the moral victor both the wiser and the happier for the conflict. So was it with John Hunter, who, finding the emoluments from his half-pay and private practice insufficient to support him, determined on teaching practical anatomy and operative surgery. With the pecuniary means which he was thus enabled to raise, he purchased about two miles from London a piece of ground near Brompton, at a place called Earl's Court, and there built a house for the purpose of experiments, which he could not carry on successfully in a large town.



Here, in the course of his inquiries he made several important discoveries. He ascertained the changes which animal and vegetable substances undergo in the stomach, when acted on by the gastric juice; he also, by feeding animals with madder, which tinges growing bones with a red colour, discarded the principles observable in the growth of bones; and, furthermore, succeeded in explaining the process by which a dead piece is separated from the living bone. During his absence from England, his name had in some degree been kept up before the attention of the public, by his brother's essays in the *Medical Commentaries*, where we find several allusions to his experiments and observations. In consequence of these scientific researches, while he was yet, as a practitioner, overlooked by the public, the Royal Society, much to its honour, elected him a fellow, in which title he preceded his brother, who was ten years older, and had been known ten years earlier in the metropolis. The adjudgment of this honour, and the recognition of the merit which it necessarily carried along with it, must in Mr Hunter's circumstances, have been to him peculiarly gratifying. It was to him a proud incentive to further exertion; and a strong inducement to bear up against the difficulties, which, as we have explained, at this time retarded his professional advancement.

The love of science leads us at all times to resources which lie beyond the neglect and injustice of the world, and the mind of Hunter, untutored as it was in early life, now sought relief, occupation, and improvement in the paths which it opened up. Among other instructive amusements, he engaged in watching the peculiar habits and instincts of various animals, for which purpose he kept several, which should have been domiciled in menageries, in his own house. Sir Everard Home relates the following anecdote: "two leopards which were left chained in an out-house, had broken from their confinement and got into the yard among some dogs, which they immediately attacked; the howling this produced alarmed the whole neighbourhood. Mr Hunter ran into the yard to see what was the matter, and found one of them climbing up the wall to make his escape, the other surrounded by the dogs; he immediately laid hold of them both and carried them back to their den. But as soon as they were secured, and he had time to reflect on the risk of his own situation, he was so much agitated that he was in danger of fainting." Incredible as to some this anecdote may appear, we hesitate not to accord our implicit belief, knowing how remarkable a control men have exercised even over the most savage animals, when themselves actuated by great courage and strong power of resolution.

This year, by a strong exertion in dancing, Mr Hunter unfortunately broke the tendo Achillis, (the strong and broad tendon felt at the back of the foot,) in consequence of which he introduced an improvement on the mode of treating this accident, which was superior to that recommended by Dr Alexander Munro, who had himself at a more advanced period of life experienced a similar misfortune.

We have no account from Sir Everard Home of Mr Hunter's town residence, until his brother, having completed his house in Windmill Street, assigned over to him the lease of his house in Jernyn Street. It is presumed by one of his biographers, that on his first arrival in London he lodged, for the purpose of being near to his brother's dissecting rooms, in Covent Garden, and another informs us that on his return from abroad he resided in Golden Square. Be this as it may, he appears to have lived in Jernyn Street until the expiration of the lease in 1783, a period of fifteen years. Whatever may have been the slight difference which existed between him and his brother, the latter appears still to have interested himself in his welfare, as we find that, chiefly through his



interest, he was, in 1768, (on the authority of Dr Symmons,) elected surgeon to St George's hospital. He had now acquired the desired means for giving his talents and industry full scope ; for, as fellow of the Royal Society, he gained the earliest notice of every scientific discovery and improvement which might take place in Europe ; and as surgeon to this hospital, he had the means of extending his observations, and confirming his pathological doctrines. His whole time was now devoted to the examination of facts, and the patient accumulation of such knowledge as he could gradually attain ; nor did he, as many others have done, captivated by love of fame, rush prematurely before the notice of the public. " With the exception," says one of his biographers " of what was published in his name by his brother William, in the year 1764, there does not appear to be any thing by John up to the year 1772. If there were any publications, they must have terminated like many more by others ; they must have experienced the fate of abortions, or at least I know nothing of them." Herein he showed very considerable wisdom, and well would it have been for many authors, had they, like John Hunter, persevered even in obscurity in maturing their knowledge before surrendering themselves to a tribunal, whose verdict will always in the end be found to have been dictated by the severest and most rigid principles of justice.

The surgeons of most of the public hospitals in this country have the privilege of selecting, on their own terms, house-pupils, who reside with them a year or two after the completion of their education. Among many who became pupils of John Hunter, and afterwards acquired celebrity in their profession, we may notice the famous Dr Jenner, who boarded in his house in 1770 and 1771, and lived in habits of intimacy with him until his death. " In every conversation" says a friend of Dr Jenner's " as well as in a letter I received from him, he spoke with becoming gratitude of his friend and master." Even the slightest recollection, or testimony of esteem, from such a man as Dr Jenner, in favour or illustration of the character of John Hunter must be received with interest. In 1771, Mr Hunter published the first part of his Treatise on the Teeth, a very valuable work, the merit of which has not been surpassed by any later production. It may be observed *en passant*, that this was the only work he sold to the booksellers, all his others being published on his own account, or communicated to miscellaneous collections, chiefly periodicals. Between the appearance of the first and second part of his treatise, Dr Fothergill published his paper on that painful affection of the facial nerve, denominated *Tic Douloureux*.

While thus rising in eminence, Mr Hunter became attached to the daughter of Mr Boyne Home, surgeon of Burgoyne's regiment of light horse, who was also the father of the celebrated Sir Everard Home. The young lady received his addresses favourably ; but the feelings of human nature, impassioned as they may be, must succumb to the cold reality of worldly circumstances ; wherefore, their marriage was necessarily delayed until he had obtained a sufficient competency to maintain her in that rank of society, which for their mutual happiness was desirable. When the passions are staked on the success of such an attachment, and are in fact concentrated in the welfare of a being so chosen, disappointment annihilates all moral energy, and reduces the prospects of life into painful ruin ; —but when hope is allowed to feed itself on encouragement, and the future alliance definitively fixed, there is an object for exertion ; —a stimulus to action which will not allow of rest, until the means of gaining the promised end have been accomplished. This John Hunter appears to have duly felt, and his exertions therefore were correspondingly increased ; and during this time, when he could suspend his professional and scientific toils, nothing gave him greater



gratification than the pleasure of enjoying her society. "The expenses of his pursuits," says Sir Everard Home, "had been so great, that it was not for some years after his first engagement with this lady, that his affairs could be sufficiently arranged to admit of his marriage. This happy period at length arrived, and he was married to Miss Home in 1771."

"Whilst he was paying," continues Sir Everard, "his addresses to my sister, I was a boy at Westminster school. During the holidays I came home, and Mr Hunter, who was frequently there, always showed me particular kindness; he made my father an offer to bring me up to his profession, a proposal which I readily accepted. I was struck with the novelty and extent of his researches, had the highest respect and admiration for his talents, and was ambitious to tread the paths of science under so able a master."

The year after his marriage, at the request of Sir John Pringle, he read to the Royal Society a communication showing that after death the gastric juice has the power of dissolving the coats of the stomach. This paper he was persuaded to read to the society, before he had entirely completed the investigations which he further meditated;—but it appears that he did not afterwards return to the subject, considering that the fact on which any further inquiries might be formed had been sufficiently demonstrated.

In the winter of 1773, he formed a plan for giving a course of lectures on the theory and principles of surgery, with the view of vindicating his own principles, which he frequently heard misquoted or ascribed to others, and of teaching them systematically. The first two winters, he read his lectures gratis to the pupils of St George's hospital, and the winter following charged the usual terms of other teachers in medicine and surgery. "For this, or for continuing them," says one of his biographers, "there could be no pecuniary motive. As he was under the necessity of hiring a room and lecturing by candle light, his emoluments must have been trifling. The lectures not being considered a part of medical education, his class was usually small; and of the few that heard him, the greater part acknowledged their difficulty in understanding him, which was often proved by their incapacity of keeping up their attention. The task itself was so formidable to him, that he was obliged to take thirty drops of laudanum before he entered the theatre at the beginning of each course. Yet he certainly felt great delight in finding himself understood, always waiting at the close of each lecture to answer any questions; and evincing evident satisfaction when those questions were pertinent, and he perceived that his answers were satisfactory and intelligible." In addition to this, Sir Everard Home, after stating the fact of his having recourse to laudanum—the elixir vitæ of the opium eater—"to take off the effects of uneasiness," adds, "he trusted nothing to memory, and made me draw up a short abstract of each lecture, which he read on the following evening, as a recapitulation to connect the subjects in the minds of the students." Amidst all his avocations, both as a lecturer and practitioner, he still pursued with an unabated zeal and industry his researches into comparative anatomy. No opportunity for extending his knowledge on this interesting department of science did he permit to escape him. In the year 1773, at the request of Mr Walsh, he dissected the torpedo, and laid before the Royal Society an account of its electrical organs. A young elephant which had been presented to the queen by Sir Robert Barker, and died, afforded him an opportunity of examining the structure of that animal; after which two other elephants in the queen's menagerie likewise died, which he also carefully dissected. The year following, 1774, he published in the Philosophical Transactions an account of certain receptacles of air in birds, showing how these communicate with the lungs and are lodged in the fleshy parts, and in the bones of these animals; likewise



a paper on the gillaroo trout, commonly called in Ireland the gizzard trout. In 1775, several animals of the species called the *gymnotus electricus* of Surinam, were brought alive into this country, and by the curious phenomena they exhibited the attention of the scientific world was greatly excited. After making numerous experiments on the living animals, Mr Walsh purchased those which died, and gave his friend Mr Hunter an opportunity of examining them. This he readily accepted, and drew up an account of their electrical organs, which he published in the *Philosophical Transactions*. In the same volume of that valuable work will be found his paper containing experiments respecting the powers of animals and vegetables in producing heat. Thus, in the paths of natural history did he find a recreation from the more serious, and often irksome duties of his profession;—and by his skilful dissections, and acute observations, enriched our knowledge in this interesting and fascinating department of science. While thus engaged, Mr Hunter found a great difficulty in showing to advantage the natural appearances of many parts of animals which he wished to be preserved. In some instances the minute vessels could not be seen when the preparation was immersed in spirits; in others, the natural colour of the parts preserved, and even the character of the surface, faded and underwent a change after being some time immersed in this liquid,—a circumstance which, to this day, diminishes very much the value of almost all the morbid preparations which are preserved in private and public museums. The only method, therefore, of accomplishing the object he had in view, was to have them carefully and correctly drawn at the time of the dissection. The expense of engaging draftsmen, the difficulty of procuring them, and above all their ignorance of the subject to be delineated, were considerable objections to their employment. Accordingly, he engaged a young and talented artist named Bell, to live with him for ten years, during which period it was agreed that he should be employed both as a draftsman and in making anatomical preparations. This young man soon imbibed the spirit of his master; he worked assiduously with his knife, his forceps, and his pencil; he engaged himself during part of his time in copying out Mr Hunter's lectures, and in less than ten years became a skilful anatomist and surgeon. By his labours, Mr Hunter's collection became enriched with many very accurate and spirited drawings; and a variety of curious and delicate anatomical preparations. This skilful artist, by the interest of his friend Sir Joseph Banks, obtained the appointment of assistant surgeon in the honourable East India Company for the settlement of Bencoolen in Sumatra, whither he set out with the view both of improving his fortune, and collecting specimens of natural history. He was in both successful beyond his most sanguine expectations. He sent home some very rare specimens of animals and corals, and two papers since published in the *Philosophical Transactions*,—one giving a description of the double horned rhinoceros, and the other of an uncommonly formed fish. Unfortunately for the cause of science, he died of fever in 1792, being one of the many who have been summoned from this world, amidst early promises of future excellence and success.

In January, 1776, Mr Hunter was appointed surgeon extraordinary to his majesty,—an honour which contributed still farther to advance his professional interests. About this time the attention of the public was much directed to the efforts of the Humane Society. Dr Cogan was the first who introduced the subject from Holland; and after him, Dr Hawes did not suffer it to rest until it experienced the royal patronage. Here again we find Mr Hunter zealously engaged in endeavouring to ascertain the best mode of restoring apparently drowned persons, the consequence of which was the production of a paper which he read to the Royal Society, entitled “Proposals for the Recovery of Persons apparently



Drowned." The able author of this paper draws the distinction between the mere suspension of the functions by which life is supported, and absolute death, which he illustrates by reference to various animals, in whom, under certain conditions, the actions of life are temporarily suspended. It further contains a description of the signs of life and death, which are of vast importance; indeed, notwithstanding the progress that has since been made, both in Germany and Britain, in medical jurisprudence, this paper contains information which has by no means been superseded.

In the autumn of this year, Mr Hunter was taken extremely ill, and the nature of his complaints induced both his friends and himself to apprehend that his life was in imminent danger. However, the anticipated calamity was averted; he rallied, and was restored to his friends and the public, to whom his subsequent services were of such vast importance. When on his sick bed, he reflected on his own worldly affairs, such as he was about to leave them;—he perceived that all his fortune had been expended in his pursuits; that his family had no provision excepting what might arise from the sale of his collection; and he naturally, on this account, suffered much solicitude and anxiety. No sooner did he leave his sick chamber, than he commenced arranging his collection, so that it might, in whatever event, command its value, and with this view he began to make a catalogue of the collection; but the delicacy of his health obliged him to desist from his labours, and persuaded by his friends and relatives, he retired for a time to Bath. During his absence, Mr Everard Home was employed to draw out descriptions of the preparations, leaving blanks for those with which he was unacquainted. His complaints were considerably ameliorated by his residence at Bath; and though he returned to town before he was quite convalescent, he continued to amend, and was soon recovered.

In 1778, he published the second part of his *Treatise on the Teeth*, and also, in the *Philosophical Transactions*, a paper on the heat of animals and vegetables. "I had now," says Sir Everard Home, "lived six years with Mr Hunter and completed my education: his expenses had always exceeded his income. I had therefore no emolument to expect from remaining in his house, which made it necessary for me to take up some line for my own support, and admiral Keppel's action with the French fleet was the means of procuring me a very eligible situation."

Thus Mr Hunter was now deprived of the valuable assistance of his former pupil. And here we may pause to observe, both from the reflections which he made during his late illness, and the statement of Sir E. Home, that his expenditure had always exceeded his income, how slow are the emoluments of men whose scientific labours are nevertheless an advantage and honour to their country. Mr Hunter had now arrived at the age of fifty years, thirty of which had been devoted to his profession; he had been eleven years member of the Royal Society, and nine years an hospital surgeon;—he was respected and esteemed by the most accomplished men of science, and his claims to honourable distinction recognized by the nobility and by royalty itself; but still his pecuniary circumstances were at so low an ebb, that, had he died during his late illness, his wife and children would have been left comparatively destitute. His expenses do not appear to have been great; his family had increased, but only two survived, and these were still of an age to be little expensive; his own personal expenses were not considerable; and yet five years after this period (says one of his biographers), when he purchased a leasehold in Leicester Square, he assured us that he was under the necessity of mortgaging before he could pay for it, and for some time afterwards he used to regret that all he could collect in fees "went to carpenters and bricklayers;



whilst the sum expended was scarcely sufficient to furnish the library of a literary character." But the calamities and poverty of men of genius are so proverbial, that the hand of humanity willingly draws a veil over their sufferings; and yet there is something higher than riches to be obtained in this world, and amidst all the difficulties he has to encounter, happy is he who can command the power of contributing even in the slightest degree to the well-being and happiness of the human race. It is this high hope, this internal moral conviction, which always has, and ever will support genius along the difficult and thorny track which it is ever its destiny to tread.<sup>1</sup> In 1780, Mr Hunter laid before the Royal Society an account of a woman who had the small pox during pregnancy, and in whom the disease seems to have been communicated to the fetus. The following year he was elected fellow of the Royal Society of Sciences and Belles Lettres at Gottenburg.

During this period, he read before the Royal Society many valuable communications; among which we may notice, a paper on the Organ of Hearing in Fish, and six Croonian lectures on Muscular Motion. In these lectures he collected all the observations that had been made on the muscles, respecting their powers and effects, and the stimuli by which they are excited; and to these he added comparative observations concerning the moving powers of plants; but these lectures were not published in the Philosophical Transactions, as they were not considered by the author to be sufficiently complete dissertations.

Sir Everard Home informs us, that in the year 1783, Mr Hunter was chosen into the Royal Society of Medicine and Royal Academy of Surgery in Paris. In this year, continues the same writer, the lease of his house in Jernyn Street expired, and his collection being now too large to be contained in his dwelling house, he purchased the lease of a large house on the east side of Leicester Square, and the whole lot of ground extending to Castle Street, in which there was another house. In the middle space between the two houses he erected a building for his collection. Upon this building he expended above three thousand pounds, and, unfortunately for his family, the lease did not extend beyond twenty-four years. \* \* \* \* "During the execution of this extensive plan I returned to England from Jamaica, where, at the close of the war, I had been appointed staff surgeon. \* \* \* I found Mr Hunter now advanced to a considerable practice, and a still greater share of public confidence. His collection had increased with his income. In this he was materially assisted by his friendship with Sir Joseph Banks, who not only allowed him to take any of his own specimens, but procured him every curious animal production in his power, and afterwards divided between him and the British Museum all the specimens of animals he had collected in his voyage round the world. Drawing materials from such ample sources, standing alone in this branch of science, and high in the public estimation, he had so much attention paid to him, that no new animal was brought to this country which was not shown to him; many were given to him, and of those which were for sale he had commonly the refusal; under these circumstances his collection made a progress which would otherwise have been impossible. In April, 1785, his new rooms were completed, and I devoted the whole of the summer to the object of assisting him in moving his preparations, and arranging them in their proper order."<sup>2</sup>

The surgical practice of Mr Hunter now daily increased, and he performed

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* Exposition of the false medium and barrier excluding men of genius from the public. London, Edingham Wilson, 1833.

<sup>2</sup> Life of John Hunter by Sir Everard Home, prefixed to his Treatise on the Blood, Inflammation, and Gun shot wounds.



with great skill and judgment numerous operations, which were at that time new in the art of surgery; but whatever may have been the multiplicity of his professional engagements, his mind was still devoted to effecting improvements in medical education, and with this view, assisted by his friend the celebrated Dr Fordyce, he instituted a medical society, called the *Lyceum Medicum Londinense*, the meetings of which were held in his own lecture-rooms, and which acquired no inconsiderable reputation, both from the numbers and character of its members. Institutions of this kind have been of eminent importance in fostering and eliciting talents that have done honour to medical science; and this under the patronage it enjoyed did not fail to flourish.

In the year 1786, in consequence of the death of Mr Middleton, Mr Hunter was appointed deputy surgeon general to the army; shortly after which he published his work on the venereal disease, and another entitled "*Observations on certain parts of the Animal Economy*;" both which works rank high in the estimation of the profession. Sir Everard Home mentions the curious fact, that he chose to have his works printed and published in his own house, but "finding," he adds, "this measure to bear hard upon the booksellers in a way which had not been explained, and which was not intended, the second editions were sold by Mr Johnson in St Paul's Church-yard, and Mr Nicoll, Pall Mall." In the spring of this year he had another very severe illness, which confined him to bed, and rendered him incapable of any kind of business. "In this state," says his biographer, "I was obliged to take upon myself the charge of his patients, as well as of his other affairs; and these were so extensive, that my residence in his house became absolutely necessary. His recovery was very slow, and his health received so severe a shock, that he was never afterwards entirely free from complaint or capable of his usual bodily exertion. After his recovery from this illness, he was subjected to affections of the heart upon every occasion which agitated his mind. In this infirm state he was unable to attend patients upon sudden calls in the night, or to perform operations without assistance; and for these years I continued to live with him until within a year of his death, and then took a house within a few doors, which, in no respects detached me from his pursuits, or prevented me from taking a part in his private practice. The uncertainty of the continuance of life under this affection; the mental agitation, and frequent depression with which it is almost invariably attended, render the victims of such generally anxious and unhappy; the canker worm is felt to be preying within the living frame, and there is no hope of restoration to permanent health. But notwithstanding all this, his energies remained unabated, and he still toiled with his wonted alacrity in the pursuit of knowledge. In the year 1787, he submitted to the Royal Society a paper giving an account of the experiment he had made to determine the effect of extirpating one ovary, on the number of the young; also another communication, in which he proves the wolf, jackall, and dog to be of the same species; and another on the anatomy of the whale tribe. In return for these labours, having been twelve years a fellow, he received the gold Copleyan medal. Distinctions of this kind, although abstractly no stimulus to men who are actuated by higher motives in pursuit of knowledge, when conferred on men of such eminent abilities, not only do honour to the individual to whom they are presented, but to the institution by which they are awarded; and certainly, on reviewing the labours of John Hunter, there was perhaps no man who ever lived, better entitled to this honour. In the July of this year, he was chosen a member of the American Philosophical Society; and the same year, on account of his continued ill health, he applied to the governors of St George's hospital to allow him an assistant surgeon, to which request they readily acceded; and Sir



Everard Home was appointed to the office. In the year 1789, he succeeded Mr Adair as inspector general of hospitals, and surgeon general of the army, and about the same time was admitted a member of the Royal College of Surgeons in Ireland.

In the year 1792, Mr Hunter found that the period which he allotted to lecturing interfered so much with his other avocations, that he gave his materials for the lectures into the hands of Sir Everard Home, who relieved him of this duty. He now therefore began to prepare for the press his "Treatise on the Blood, Inflammation, and Gun-shot wounds," the data for which he had been collecting for many years. In his dedication to the king, he states that his appointment as surgeon on the staff in the expedition against Belleisle afforded him the opportunities of attending to gun-shot wounds, of seeing the errors and defects in that branch of military surgery, and of studying to remove them. He further adds, that it drew his attention to inflammation in general, and enabled him to make the observations which form the bases of that doctrine, which has since his time excited so much controversy among physiologists. By a series of very interesting experiments, and by a very ingenious mode of reasoning, he came to the conclusion maintained by this doctrine, which holds, that the blood as existing in its fluid state is alive, and that its death causes the changes which are observed to take place when it is abstracted from the body. In the Old Testament we read, "ye shall eat the blood of no manner of flesh; for the life of all flesh is the blood," (Levit. xvii. 14.) The same doctrine too seems promulgated in the Alcoran—and appears to have been maintained by the celebrated Harvey;—but notwithstanding these facts, there is no reason to presume that the idea was plagiarized by John Hunter: on the contrary, his opinion was with him original, inasmuch as it was elicited by the experiments which he himself performed. This would by no means be an appropriate place to discuss the general merits of this physiological doctrine; but we do not err in stating that it is supported by very plausible evidence, and is maintained by many eminent men of science. The nature and seat of the living principle which raises man above the inanimate beings by which he is surrounded, is manifestly beyond the reach of human investigation; but it must be satisfactory to those who have not time nor inclination even to examine the evidence which has been on either side adduced, to find, that such men as John Hunter and Abernethy recognized the existence of something beyond the mere mechanism of the human frame; that they in their acute reasonings urged the existence of an internal and self-sustaining principle, which modifies the different conditions of matter, and must be therefore superior to its decay.

In the year 1792, Mr Hunter was elected an honorary member of the Chirurgico-Physical Society of Edinburgh, and likewise connected himself with the Veterinary College, then just projected in London. "The origin of this institution," says Dr Adams, "was at Odiham in Hampshire; the Agricultural Society of which had offered a premium for the best account of the glanders. Mr Sergeant Bell was the fortunate candidate, and the society was so well pleased with his piece, that in a little time after, a Veterinary College was projected, over which that gentleman should preside. As soon as the proposal was known to Mr Hunter he eagerly joined it, urging the advantages which might be derived from it, not only to quadrupeds, but to man, by extending our knowledge of physiology and more especially of pathology. In order to forward his plan, several gentlemen, the duke of Bedford at their head, deposited £500 on the chance of its being never returned. Mr Hunter was one of the number. It was proposed that he should examine Mr Sergeant Bell, to which he readily assented. It will easily be conceived by those who are not at all acquainted



with the continental pathology of those days, that the examination proved unsatisfactory. Mr Hunter would have gladly introduced another gentleman; but this did not at all lessen his zeal in promoting the object of the institution." Such was the origin of his connexion with the London Veterinary College, of which he now became one of the vice-presidents.

In the transactions of the Society for improving Medical Knowledge, of which Mr Hunter was one of the original and most zealous members, he published about this period papers on the Treatment of Inflamed Veins, on Introsusception, and on a mode of conveying food into the stomach in cases of paralysis of the œsophagus. He likewise finished his Observations on the Economy of Bees, and presented them to the Royal Society. These observations he finished at Earl's Court, which was his place of retirement from the toils of his profession, but by no means a retreat from those intellectual labours which diversified the whole tenor of his life. "It was there," says Sir Everard Home, "he carried on his experiments on digestion, on exfoliation, on the transplanting of teeth into the combs of cocks, and all his other investigations on the animal economy, as well in health as in disease. The common bee was not alone the subject of his observation, but the wasp, hornet, and the less known kinds of bees were also objects of his attention. It was there he made the series of preparations of the external and internal changes of the silk worm; also a series of the incubation of the egg, with a very valuable set of drawings of the whole series. The growth of vegetables was also a favourite subject of inquiry, and one on which he was always engaged making experiments. In this retreat he had collected many kinds of animals and birds, and it was to him a favourite amusement in his walks to attend to their actions and to their habits, and to make them familiar with him. The fiercer animals were those to which he was most partial, and he had several of the bull kind from all parts of the world. Among these was a beautiful small bull he had received from the queen, with which he used to wrestle in play, and entertain himself with its exertions in its own defence. In one of these contests the bull overpowered him and got him down, and had not one of the servants accidentally come by, and frightened the animal away, his frolic would probably have cost him his life."<sup>3</sup> The pleasure which a man of high intellectual endowments, and refined sensibility, takes in watching the habits, and in a manner sympathizing with the feelings exhibited by the lower classes of animals, constitutes one of the most amiable and noble features which his disposition can pourtray, and doubtless must give rise to some of the finest and most generous feelings of which human nature is susceptible. Man is in all cases the representative, or rather the repetition of mere man, and in the sufferings of one of his own species he sees reflected as in a mirror the miseries he himself may possibly have to endure; wherefore the chords of pity are by a latent feeling of self-interest vibrated, and he enters into commiseration with his fellow man; but to extend his thoughts and feelings beyond the possible range of his own experience to the commonly despised, or perhaps maltreated lower animals, manifests a high and generous tone of feeling independent of all such collateral selfishness, and in perfect consonance with the most elevated principles of Christian philosophy. Here then we have before us the instance of a philosopher whose profound knowledge had already, in no trifling degree, contributed to the advancement of science and the benefit of the human race, familiarizing himself, and with child-like simplicity playing, with animals, which, although of a lower order of classification, possess senses as acute, feelings as strong, and necessities as urgent as our own, and which by their complex and equally perfect organization, prove themselves to be as much the subjects of divine care,—and

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*



in their own spheres as important in carrying out and completing the great scheme of the universe.

We have thus already traced the life of John Hunter from youth to middle age; from obscurity to eminence; from adversity to prosperity; and it remains for us now to notice those accessions of disease which rendered the tenure of his life one of extreme uncertainty. We have already stated that in the spring of 1769, he was confined to bed by a serious illness,—an acute attack of gout, which returned the three following springs, but not the fourth. In the spring of 1773, he became affected with very severe spasmodic symptoms, owing to disease of the heart. His next illness took place in 1776, and this appears to have been occasioned by inflammation in the arteries of the brain, which gave rise to morbid appearances that were recognized after death. It is said that this attack was occasioned by mental anxiety, arising from the circumstance of his being obliged to pay a large sum of money for a friend for whom he had become security, and which his circumstances rendered extremely inconvenient. After, on this occasion, taking certain refreshments, and feeling relieved, he ventured on attempting a journey of eight miles in a post-chaise; but he became so much worse that he was obliged to go to bed, and was afterwards brought home in a post-chaise. The determination of blood to the head, in particular, gave rise to many very remarkable symptoms. When he went to bed he felt giddy, and experienced a sensation of being suspended in the air. This latter painful feeling increased. The least motion of his head upon the pillow seemed to be so great that he scarcely dared attempt it. If he but moved his head half round, it appeared to be moving from him with great velocity. The idea he had of his own size was that of being only two feet long; and when he drew up his foot or pushed it down, it seemed to be moving a vast way. His sensations became extremely acute or heightened; he could not bear the least light, a curtain and blanket were obliged to be hung up before it, and the bed curtains closely drawn. He kept his eyes firmly closed, but if a candle was only passed across the room he could not bear it. His hearing was also painfully acute; as was likewise his sense of smell and of taste; every thing he put into his mouth appearing of a higher flavour than natural. After being bled, and subjected to other reducing treatment, he recovered from this severe attack; but his constitution had received a shock, which nothing could surmount. An organic disease lurked within, which every excitement would aggravate, if not lead to direct and suddenly fatal consequences. He had no particular illness, however, from this period until 1785, “although,” says Sir Everard Home, “he appeared much altered in his looks, and gave the idea of being much older than could be accounted for from the number of years which had elapsed.” The physiognomy of death is often impressed on the features of the living, for some time before the fatal event occurs which severs them from their relations with the world. So was it with John Hunter;—but in the beginning of the April of this latter year, he became attacked with a dreadfully severe spasmodic disease, which, like his similar attacks, was induced by mental anxiety. His feet, his hands, and then his chest became successively affected; and in effect the extension of the spasm became so considerable that he repeatedly swooned. “I was with him,” says his accomplished brother-in-law, “during the whole of this attack, and never saw any thing equal to the agonies which he suffered; and when he fainted away I thought him dead, as the pain did not seem to abate, but to carry him off, having first completely exhausted him.” Such were the intense sufferings he endured: nevertheless, he rallied, and partially recovered, nor did any thing of the kind particularly recur until the December of 1789, when at the house of a friend he became afflicted by a total loss of



memory. He did not know in what part of the town he was; nor even the name of the street when told it; nor where his own house was, nor had he any conception of any place existing beyond the room he was in, yet in the midst of all this was he perfectly conscious of the loss of memory. He was sensible of impressions of all kinds from the senses, and therefore looked out of the window, although rather dark, to see if he could be made sensible of the situation of the house; at length this loss of memory gradually went off, and in less than half an hour his memory was perfectly recovered. About a fortnight afterwards when visiting a patient, an attack, somewhat of a similar nature recurred; and during this illness he was attended by Dr Pitcairn and Dr Baillie. Amidst all the diseases and sufferings to which the living body is subjected, the changes which in an especial manner affect the mind, are interesting to all—whether professional or non-professional. His mental impressions during this attack were lively, indeed, often disagreeably so. His dreams had so much the strength of reality that they often awakened him; but the remembrance of them remained perfect.

“The sensation,” says Sir Everard Home, “which he had in his head was not pain, but rather so unnatural as to give him the idea of having no head. The organs of sense (as in the former illness,) were painfully acute. He could not endure the light; and every thing had a yellow cast. Sounds were louder than natural, and every object had lost its true direction, leaning, as nearly as he could guess, to an angle of fifty or sixty degrees. His recovery from this attack was less perfect than from any other; he never lost the obliquity of vision; and his memory became much impaired. The recurrence too of the spasms became more frequent. The slightest exertion induced them. He never went to bed without their being brought on by the act of undressing himself;—they came on during the middle of the night;—the least excitement in conversation was attended by them; and even operations in surgery if requiring any nicety, occasioned them. It is remarked by Sir Everard Home, that as his mind was irritated by trifles, these produced the most violent effects on his disease. “His coachman,” says he, “being beyond his time, or a servant not attending to his directions, brought on the spasms, while a real misfortune produced no such effect. He thus continued to drag on a painful and precarious existence, with the grave every moment threatening to open beneath his feet. At length the fatal event so long anticipated by his friends occurred; it was sudden; and occasioned, as his former fits had been, by mental excitement. The circumstances by which this was occasioned, are thus detailed by Dr Adams, who had a personal knowledge of them. “A law,” says he, “concerning the qualifications required for the admission of pupils, had been carried contrary to the wishes of Mr Hunter. At this time he was applied to by a youth ignorant of the new regulation and consequently unprovided with any documents. His former residence was at a great distance, and he was anxious not to lose time during an expensive stay in London, in fitting himself for professional service. Mr Hunter, to relieve himself from the irksomeness of pleading or explaining, requested the case might be drawn up in the form of a letter addressed to himself. This he proposed to bring with him at the meeting of the next board. Notwithstanding this great caution, however, he felt the probability of a contest which he might prove unable to support. On the succeeding day the writer of this, (Dr Adams,) had a very long conversation with him, in which we were insensibly led to his complaint; a subject of all others the most interesting to his friends, and on which he never was backward in conversing. He was willing to hear every argument against the probable existence of an organic infirmity; but it was easy to see that his own opinion remained the same. Nor did he fail



on this occasion, to revert to the effect which it had on his temper. On the following day, I am informed from good authority, he told a baronet, who called on him in the morning, that he was going to the hospital; that he was fearful some unpleasant rencounter would ensue, and if such should be the case, he knew it must be his death." Notwithstanding this presentiment, he chose to hazard the event, for the purpose of defending a youth, against what appeared to him an oppressive and unjust regulation. The generosity of such a motive is the best apology for the indiscretion in attending the meeting, at which such fatal consequences were, even by himself, apprehended. "On the 16th October," says Sir Everard Home, "when in his usual state of health, he went to St George's hospital, and meeting with something which irritated his mind, and not being perfectly master of the circumstances, he withheld his sentiments; in which state of restraint he went into the next room, and turning round to Dr Robinson, one of the physicians to the hospital, he gave a deep groan, and dropped down dead." His body was conveyed from the hospital in a sedan chair, and underwent a careful medical examination, by which it appeared that among other morbid changes that had occurred, the arteries both of the heart and brain had undergone ossification. His funeral was attended by a few of his oldest medical friends, and his remains interred in the vault under the parish church of St Martin's in the Fields. He expired, it may be added, in his sixty-fifth year, the same age, at which his brother Dr William Hunter died.

We have now noticed *seriatim* the principal events which characterized the life of this eminent surgeon, and throughout them we notice the manifestation of great mental energy, combined with considerable powers of originality. His early education, had it is true been grievously neglected; but this very fact left him at liberty to explore more freely new and untrodden paths, which men shackled by scholastic dogmas, and bowing with undue reverence to pre-existing authorities, seldom have the courage to attempt. With such men the deviation from established rules is regarded as a species of heterodoxy; and their learning, therefore, chains them down to a fixed and never improving system. Thus it was with the majority of physicians who embraced, and then promulgated *ex cathedra* the doctrines of Galen, Boerhaave, Stahl, and others; but it was otherwise with John Hunter; he was of no school; he went with an unprejudiced mind to nature, and examined into all her operations with that freedom and independence which can alone advance the true interests of philosophy. He read very little. "I have learned," says one of his biographers, "from a gentleman who was very intimate with him, that when he had made a discovery, it was his custom to relate it to Mr Cruickshanks, who frequently informed him that Haller had made the same observation before." In every department of science, and even in general literature, such coincidences of observation will often occur; and these too frequently have given rise to charges of wilful plagiarism, of which the suspected author was never guilty. John Hunter was a man of truly original observation; and distinguished himself as much by the practical application of his knowledge, as by the ingenious theories which he adopted. As a surgeon, he was a bold but judicious, a quick yet skilful operator; and suggested many improvements in the mode of performing difficult operations. He discovered the method of operating for popliteal aneurism by taking up the femoral artery on the anterior part of the thigh without interfering with the tumour in the ham, by which the pain, and danger, and future sufferings of the patient are materially mitigated. This indeed ranks among the most important of the improvements which have recently been introduced into the practice of surgery. It may be added, that John Hunter always held the showy part of surgery in the lowest estimation. "To perform an



operation," said he, "is to mutilate a patient whom we are unable to cure; it should therefore be considered as an acknowledgment of the imperfection of our art." How different a sentiment is this from that entertained by some eminent surgeons, who, with much surgical skill but little humanity, recommend operations at the risk of the patient's life, and handle the knife, when in the public theatre, rather with the view of exhibiting their own dexterous manipulation, than with that of relieving the condition of the unfortunate being who writhes beneath the torture which is so coolly and ostentatiously inflicted.

In the former part of our memoir we adverted to the difficulties which this eminent surgeon experienced for some years in struggling against those pecuniary adversities, which seem in an especial manner to oppress men of superior mental endowments. But the subsequent tenor of his career teaches a lesson which cannot too strongly be inculcated;—that resolution, industry, and perseverance, will in the end battle the evil genius which seems at first to throw thorns and impediments around our path. During the first eleven years of his practice, which, it must be admitted, was for him a long and tedious mental probation, his income never amounted to a thousand pounds a year; however, the four succeeding years it exceeded that sum; and for several years previous to his death, it increased to five, and was at that period six thousand pounds a year. Whatever difficulties, therefore, at first beset his progress were eventually surmounted; he attained the highest rank in his profession; he was universally esteemed and extolled as a man of general science; he had as much practice as he could attend to; his emoluments were considerable; and if we raise up the curtain of domestic life, we shall find him cheered by the society of a wife whom he loved; whose superior mental accomplishments rendered her a fit companion even for a man of his elevated scientific rank; besides all which, he was the parent of two children, in whom, it was natural that his best hopes and warmest affections should be centered. "Nor," says Dr Adams, "was he insensible of these blessings; he has often told me, that if he had been allowed to bespeak a pair of children, they should have been those with which providence had favoured him." But the cup of human enjoyment seldom mantles to the brim without containing some drops of alloying bitterness; and there is no doubt but that professional anxieties, and ill health rendered his temper irritable and impetuous. He was, says Sir Everard Home, readily provoked, and when irritated not easily soothed. His disposition was candid and free from reserve, even to a fault. He hated deceit, and as he was above every kind of artifice, he detested it in others, and too openly avowed his sentiments. His mind was uncommonly active; it was naturally formed for investigation, and that turn displayed itself on the most trivial occasions, and always with mathematical exactness. What is curious, it fatigued him to be long in mixed company which did not admit of connected conversation, more particularly during the last ten years of his life. He required less relaxation than other men; seldom sleeping more than four hours in the night, but almost always nearly an hour after dinner: this probably arose from the natural turn of his mind being so much adapted to his own occupations, that they were in reality his amusements, and therefore did not fatigue.

We have already seen how much time, even amidst his arduous professional toils and miscellaneous pursuits, he devoted to comparative anatomy, and in collecting preparations to illustrate every department of that interesting science. The museum which he succeeded in founding, remains to this day a monument of his industry, perseverance, and ingenuity. Here we find arranged in a



regular order of progressive classification every species of animate being, or link in the chain of organization, from the lowest vegetable, in which life can be scarcely recognized, up to man; but no account or description, however minute, can do adequate justice to such a collection. By his will he left it, under the discretion of his executors, to be sold for the benefit of his family, in one entire lot, to the government of Great Britain; or in case of refusal, to any other government or state which would offer such a price for it, as all parties might consider reasonable. Six years after his death, it was purchased by the British parliament for fifteen thousand pounds, and given to the College of Surgeons, on condition that twenty-four lectures should be delivered annually to members of the college, and that under certain regulations it should be open to the public. We thus find that, while his elder brother completed a museum which does honour to the university in which it is preserved, the younger, by his industry and perseverance, completed another, which has been pronounced by the most competent judges to be an honour to his country. How practical a lesson does this afford of the prodigious achievements which may be accomplished by the sustained perseverance and labours of a single individual!

In personal appearance, John Hunter was much below the ordinary middle stature; but his body was well formed for muscular exertion, and when in health he was always extremely active. His countenance was open, and although impressed with lines of thought, was by no means habitually severe; on the contrary, its expression soon softened into tenderness, or became lighted up by mirth, according as the impression swept across his mind. When Lavater saw his print, he said "That man thinks for himself," an opinion which the whole tenor of his actions will be seen to have verified. An admirable portrait of him was painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds, of which a spirited engraving was executed by Mr Sharpe. A bust also of him was modeled by a Mr Bacon, in the modeling of which he was assisted by a cast taken during life. He was quick in manner, and "in conversation," says Sir Everard Home, "spoke too freely and harshly of his contemporaries;" but this, we are given to understand, arose rather from his conviction that surgery was still in its infancy, than from any uncharitable motive, or wish to depreciate his contemporaries. From almost the earliest periods in society, medical men have been stigmatized for displaying the "*odium medicum*;" but the fact is, that men educated to the practice of an art, the principles of which are not cognizable to the public, are apt to treat with intolerance the pretensions of men whom they have reason to know, notwithstanding they may have crept into a certain degree of favour, are ignorant perhaps of the most elementary principles of their profession. The observations of John Hunter, even in casual occasions, were often remarkably pointed, and significant of his very acute and discriminating mental powers. On one occasion, having been heard to express regret that we must all die, a physician present took advantage of the opportunity to inquire whether it was true that his brother had in his last moments expressed how "pleasant a thing it is to die?" to which he immediately replied, "'tis poor work when it comes to that," evidently insinuating a doubt as to the moral correctness of any such sentiments, which, as we have before hinted, we regard as a rash declaration, incompatible with the sufferings, condition, and mysterious, yet infinitely important prospects of any man on the brink of that future world, which, seriously regarded, must suggest reflections of a very different, and far more solemn nature. Few men were more generous than John Hunter, and the only fault which can impugn his memory is, that in executing his designs for the benefit of science, he neglected too much the interests of his wife and children. It is to be regretted that the



ambition of being serviceable to mankind, should hurry any man away from the more immediate consideration of the wants and condition of his own family; for not all the advantages conferred on posterity, nor all the fame that is trumpeted abroad in his honour, can compensate for a single pang of that widowed bosom which, from such neglect, may have to endure the keen and bitter sorrows of unpitied poverty. We say this without disparagement to the many excellent qualities which distinguished the character of John Hunter,—a name which will be ever highly esteemed in the annals of British surgery.

We cannot, however, conclude this memoir without pausing to notice more fully the estimable qualities of the lady to whom it was his good fortune to be united. She possessed personal attractions of the highest order; “into whatever assembly she entered,” says one who appears to have been acquainted with her, “the delicacy of her face, with the commanding grace of her person, gave her a peculiar air of distinction, and seldom failed to attract attention. But she never ascribed to her own merit the notice she received in society; feeling herself the wife of a celebrated man, she was fond of imputing the attention she received to the influence of his character; doing injustice to herself from a generous pride of owing every thing to him; and she never appeared so much gratified by attention as when she supposed it was shown to her for his sake.”<sup>4</sup> The same competent authority states, that “during her husband’s life they lived in a liberal and hospitable manner. Mr Hunter was too much devoted to science to attend much to his worldly affairs, and too careless of money to be rich. He did not leave his family in affluence, yet so circumstanced that his widow always supported a most respectable appearance, and was visited by the first society.” We repeat that we do not think that any man’s devotion to science affords the slightest apology or ground of excuse for leaving those to whom he should be bound by the most sacred ties of attachment, in neglected circumstances. On the death of her husband, Mrs John Hunter withdrew from society, and spent her life almost entirely in retirement. After a lingering illness, which she bore with much patience and resignation, she died on 7th January, 1821, in the 79th year of her age, leaving behind her a son and daughter, the former a major in the army, and the latter the widow of general Campbell, son of the late Sir James Campbell of Inverneil.

Besides her many amiable domestic qualifications, to which all who knew her bore testimony, she was exceedingly accomplished; and occasionally during her husband’s lifetime, mingled in society with Horace Walpole, Mrs Carter, Mrs Vesey, and other characters well known in the literary world. She sang and played with admirable taste, and had a talent for poetry which she chiefly displayed in the production of songs and poems, which were characterized by much refinement of thought, sensibility of feeling, and delicacy of expression. Among the former, “The Son of Alknomook” and “Queen Mary’s Lament,” became extremely popular; among the latter, her verses “On November, 1784,” a beautiful address to fancy, under the title of “La Douce Chimere,” with several other minor poems, display much feeling and imagination.<sup>5</sup> We cannot conclude this memoir more appropriately than by transcribing the following little poem of hers, not that we have selected it as a specimen of her general poetical power, but because it was for the first time published in the *Scots Magazine* for March, 1821, and may not, on that account, be generally known:—

<sup>4</sup> Register of Deaths, *Scots Magazine*, 1821.

<sup>5</sup> She collected her poems and songs and published them in a small volume in the year 1806.



## THE LOT OF THOUSANDS.

How many lift the head, look gay, and smile,  
Against their consciences?—*Young.*

When hope lies dead within the heart,  
By secret sorrow close concealed,  
We shrink, lest looks or words impart  
What must not be revealed.

'Tis hard to smile when one could weep,  
To speak when one would silent be;  
To wake when one should wish to sleep,  
And wake to agony.

Yet such the lot by thousands cast,  
Who wander in this world of care,  
And bend beneath the bitter blast,  
To save them from despair.

But nature waits her guests to greet,  
Where disappointment cannot come;  
And time guides with unerring feet  
The weary wanderers home.

HUTTON, (DR) JAMES, an eminent philosophical character, was born in Edinburgh on the 3rd June, 1726. His father was a respectable merchant, who for many years held the office of city treasurer, and was admired by all who knew him, for his sound judgment and strict integrity. He died while James was very young; the care, therefore, of her son's education devolved upon Mrs Hutton, whose great maternal kindness was only exceeded by her desire to give her son a liberal education. She sent him first to the High school of Edinburgh, and afterwards to the university, where he entered as a student of humanity in 1740. Professor M'Laurin was then the most celebrated teacher in that seminary, but though Dr Hutton admired his lectures, he did not seem much disposed towards the science which he taught. To professor Stevenson's predilections on logic may be attributed the first direction given to young Hutton's genius, not so much for having made him a logician, but for having accidentally directed his mind towards the science of chemistry. The professor having casually mentioned in one of his lectures, in illustration of some general doctrine, the fact, that gold is dissolved in *aqua regia*, and that two acids, which can each of them singly dissolve any baser metals, must unite their strength before they can attack the most precious; the phenomenon struck so forcibly on the mind of Hutton, that he began to search with avidity after books which might explain its cause, and afford him an opportunity of pursuing a study altogether new. He at first found some embarrassments in his pursuit from the superficial works that came to his hands, and it was from Harris's *Lexicon Techni* that he first derived his knowledge of chemistry, and which by a sort of elective attraction drew his mind all at once to a favourite study, that decided his prospects in life.

Though he pursued his academical studies with closeness and regularity, and evinced a taste and capacity for instruction, his friends did not see much profit likely to arise from scientific pursuits, and accordingly persuaded him to adopt some profession, which, though much against his inclination, he agreed to, and was accordingly placed as an apprentice with Mr George Chalmers, writer to the signet, in 1743. The dry routine of a laborious profession in a less ardent



mind might have checked, if not for ever destroyed, those seeds of genius which were as yet scarce called into life ; but so strong was Mr Hutton's propensity for scientific study, that, instead of copying papers, and making himself acquainted with legal proceedings, he was oftener found amusing himself with his fellow apprentices in chemical experiments ; so that Mr Chalmers was forced to acknowledge that the business of a writer was one in which he had little chance to succeed. With a fatherly kindness, he therefore advised young Hutton to embrace some other employment more suitable to his inclinations, and relieved him at once from the obligations he came under as his apprentice. How much is science indebted to that liberal-minded man ! Having now to fix upon another profession, he selected that of medicine, as being the most nearly allied to chemistry, and began to study under Dr George Young, and at the same time attended the lectures at the university from 1744 to 1747. The schools of medicine in Edinburgh at that time had not arrived at the high perfection for which they are now so justly celebrated, and it was thought indispensably necessary that a physician should finish his education on the continent. Mr Hutton accordingly proceeded to Paris, where he applied himself closely to anatomy and chemistry. After remaining for two years in France, he returned home by the way of the Low Countries, and took the degree of doctor of medicine at Leyden in 1749.

On arriving in London, about the end of that year, he began seriously to reflect upon his prospects in life, and he soon saw, that however much he wished to establish himself in his native city as a physician, there were many obstacles which seemed insurmountable. He was a young man whose merit was unknown, and whose connexions, though respectable, had no power to assist him, the business being then in the hands of a few eminent practitioners who had been long known and established. All this seems to have made a deep impression on his mind, and he expressed himself with much anxiety on the subject in corresponding with his friends in Edinburgh. Amongst these there was one, a young man nearly of his own age, whose habits and pursuits were congenial with his own, and with whom he had tried many novel experiments in chemistry ; amongst the best was one on the nature and properties of sal ammoniac. This friend, whose name was James Davie, had, in Mr Hutton's absence, pushed his inquiries on the subject to a considerable extent ; the result of which afforded him a well-grounded hope of being able to establish a profitable manufactory of that salt from coal-soot. Mr Davie communicated the project to his friend in London, who, with a mind as yet undecided on any fixed pursuit, returned to Edinburgh in 1750, and abandoning entirely his views on the practice of medicine, resolved to apply himself to agriculture. What his motives were for taking this step it is difficult to ascertain. His father had left him a small property in Berwickshire, and being of an independent and unambitious mind, despising avarice and vanity alike, he most probably looked upon the business of a farmer as entitled to a preference above any other. But not being disposed to do any thing in a superficial way, he determined to gain a knowledge of rural economy in the best school of the day. For this purpose he went into Norfolk, and took up his residence in the house of a farmer, from whom he expected to receive sufficient instruction. He appears to have enjoyed his situation very much,—the natural simplicity of his disposition according well with the plain, blunt characters around him.

It has been remarked of Dr Hutton, that to men of an ordinary grade of mind, he appeared to be an ordinary man possessing little more spirit perhaps than is usually to be met with. This circumstance made his residence in Norfolk quite agreeable, as even there he could for a time forget his great acquire-



ments, and mingle with the simple characters around him, in so cordial a manner, as to make them see nothing in the stranger to set them at a distance from him, or induce them to treat him with reserve. In years after, when surrounded by his literary friends, the philosopher loved to describe the happy hours he spent while under the humble roof of honest John Dybold, from whom he had learned so many good practical lessons in husbandry. From his residence in Norfolk, he made many journeys on foot through other parts of England to obtain information in agriculture, and it was in the course of these rambles that, to amuse himself on the road, he first began to study mineralogy and geology. In a letter to Sir John Hall of Douglas, a gentleman possessed of much taste for science, he says, while on his perambulations, "that he was become very fond of studying the surface of the earth, and was looking with anxious curiosity, into every pit, or ditch, or bed of a river, that fell in his way, and that if he did not always avoid the fate of *Thales*, his misfortune was certainly not owing to the same cause." This letter was written from Yarmouth in 1753. With the view of still further increasing his knowledge of agriculture, he set out for Flanders, where good husbandry was well understood, long before it was introduced into Britain, and travelling through Holland, Brabant, Flanders, and Picardy, he returned about the middle of summer, 1754. Notwithstanding all he had seen to admire in the garden culture that prevailed in Holland, and the husbandry in Flanders, he says, in a letter to his friend Sir John Hall, from London, "Had I a doubt of it before I set out, I should have returned fully convinced that they are good husbandmen in Norfolk." Many observations made on that journey, particularly on mineralogy, are to be found in his *Theory of the Earth*. As he was now sufficiently initiated in a knowledge of agriculture, he wished to apply himself to the practice in his own country; and for that purpose, returned to Scotland at the end of summer. He at first hesitated on the choice of a situation where he might best carry his improved plans of farming into effect, and at last fixed upon his own patrimony in Berwickshire. From Norfolk he brought with him a plough and ploughman, who set the first example of good tillage. It was a novel sight for the surrounding farmers to see the plough drawn by two horses, without an accompanying driver. The new system was, however, found to succeed in all its parts, and was quickly adopted, so that Dr Hutton has the credit of introducing the new husbandry into a country where it has, since his time, made more rapid improvements than in any other in Europe. He resided on his farm until the year 1768, occasionally making a tour into the Highlands, with his friend Sir George Clerk, upon geological inquiries, as he was now studying that branch of science with unceasing attention.

While residing on his farm for the last fourteen years, he was also engaged in the sal ammoniac work, which had been actually established on the foundation of the experiments already made by his friend and himself, but the business remained in Mr Davie's name only till 1765, when a copartnership was regularly entered into, and the manufactory carried on in the name of both.

As his farm, from excellent management, progressively improved, it became a more easy task, and to a mind like his, less interesting; so that finding a good opportunity of letting it to advantage, he did so, and became a resident in Edinburgh in the year 1768, from which time he devoted his whole life to scientific pursuits. This change of residence was accompanied with many advantages he seldom enjoyed before;—having the entire command of his own time, he was enabled to mix in a society of friends whose minds were congenial with his own; among whom were Sir George Clerk, his brother Mr Clerk of Eldin, Dr Black, Mr Russel, professor of natural philosophy, professor Adam Ferguson, Dr James Lind, and others. Surrounded by so many eminent



characters, by all of whom he was beloved and respected, from the vast fund of information he possessed, he employed his time in maturing his views and searching into the secrets of nature with unwearied zeal. In one of these experiments he discovered that mineral alkali is contained in zeolite. On boiling the gelatinous substance obtained from combining that fossil with muriatic acid, he found that, after evaporation, the salt was formed. Dr Playfair thinks this to be the first instance of an alkali being discovered in a stony body. The experiments of M. Klapproth and Dr Kennedy have confirmed the conclusion, and led to others of the same kind. With a view of completing his Theory of the Earth, he made many journeys into different parts of England and Wales, and on visiting the salt mines of Cheshire, he made the curious observations of the concentric circles marked on the roofs of these mines, to which he has referred in his Theory, as affording a proof that the salt rock was not formed from mere aqueous deposition.

In 1777, Dr Hutton's first publication was given to the world in the shape of a pamphlet, on the "Nature, Quality, and Distinctions of Coal and Culm." This was occasioned by a question which the board of customs and privy council wished to have settled, in order to fix on the proportion of duty the one should bear with the other when carried coastwise. Dr Hutton's pamphlet was considered so ingenious and satisfactory, that an exemption of the small coal of Scotland from paying duty on such short voyages was the consequence. He took a lively interest in promoting the arts of his native country, and devoted much of his time and attention to the project of an internal navigation between the Firths of Forth and Clyde. He read several papers in the Philosophical Society, before its incorporation with the Royal Society, (none of which were then published, with the exception of one in the second volume of the Transactions of the Royal Society,) "on certain natural appearances of the ground on the hill of Arthur's Seat." His zeal for the support of science in this city induced him to come forward and communicate to the Royal Society a Sketch of a Theory of the Earth, the perfecting of which had occupied his unceasing attention for a period of thirty years, during which time he had never ceased to study the natural history of the globe, with a view of ascertaining all the changes that have taken place on its surface, and discovering the causes by which they have been produced; and from his great skill as a mineralogist, and having examined the great leading facts of geology with his own eyes, and carefully studied every learned work on the natural history of the earth, it must be acknowledged that few men could enter better prepared on so arduous a task. As this Theory is so well known, and has been the subject of so much controversy, our limits will not permit us entering upon it here; we therefore refer our readers to the book itself.

Dr Kirwan of Dublin, and others, considered Dr Hutton's Theory both eccentric and paradoxical, and have charged him with presumption in speculating on subjects to which the mere human understanding is incompetent to reach, while some gave a preference to the system of Berkeley, as more simple and philosophical; but notwithstanding all the attacks which the new doctrines of Hutton were subjected to, he had the proud satisfaction of being fortified in his opinions by many great and good men, who were bound to him by the closest ties of friendship. Dr Black, Mr Clerk of Eldin, and professor Playfair, as occasion required, were willing and ready to vindicate his hypothesis. But setting aside all these considerations, there existed in the work itself many faults, which contributed not a little to prevent Dr Hutton's system from making a due impression on the world. In the opinion of his greatest defender, professor Playfair, "It was proposed too briefly, and with too little detail of facts for a system which



involved so much that was new and opposite to the opinions generally received. The description which it contains of the phenomena of geology, suppose in the reader too great a knowledge of the things described. The reasoning is sometimes embarrassed by the care taken to render it strictly logical, and the transitions from the author's peculiar notions of arrangement, are often unexpected and abrupt. These defects, run more or less through all Dr Hutton's writings, and produce a degree of obscurity astonishing to all who knew him, and who heard him every day converse, with no less clearness and precision than animation and force." In the same volume of the *Transactions* appeared a paper by him, "A Theory of Rain," which he afterwards published in his "Physical Dissertations." Having long studied meteorology with great attention, this ingenious theory attracted almost immediate notice, and was valued for affording a distinct notion of the manner in which cold acts in causing a precipitation of humidity. It met, however, from M. De Luc with a vigorous and determined opposition; Dr Hutton defended it with some warmth, and the controversy was carried on with much sharpness on both sides.

In his observations in meteorology, he is said to be the first who thought of ascertaining the medium temperature of any climate by the temperature of its springs. With this view he made a great number of observations in different parts of Great Britain, and found, by a singular enough coincidence between two arbitrary measures quite independent of each other, that the temperature of springs along the east coast of this island varies a degree of Fahrenheit's thermometer for a degree of latitude. This rate of change, though it cannot be general over the whole globe, is probably not far from the truth for all the northern parts of the temperate zone. In explaining the diminution of temperature as we ascend in the atmosphere, Dr Hutton was much more fortunate than any other of the philosophers who have considered the same subject. It is well known that the condensation of air converts part of the latent into sensible heat, and that the rarefaction of air converts part of the sensible into latent heat; this is evident from the experiment of the air gun, and from many others. If, therefore, we suppose a given quantity of air to be suddenly transported from the surface to any height above, it will expand on account of the diminution of pressure, and a part of its heat becoming latent it will be rendered colder than before. Thus, also, when a quantity of heat ascends by any means whatever from one stratum of air to a superior stratum, a part of it becomes latent, so that an equilibrium of heat can never be established among the strata; but those which are less, must always remain colder than those which are more compressed. This was Dr Hutton's explanation, and it contains no hypothetical principle whatsoever. After those publications already mentioned had appeared, he resolved to undertake journeys into different parts of Scotland, in order to ascertain whether that conjunction of granite and schistus, which his theory supposed, actually took place. His views were first turned towards the Grampians, which the duke of Athol learning, invited him to accompany him during the shooting season into Glentilt, a tract of country situated under these mountains. On arriving there, he discovered in the bed of the river Tilt, which runs through that glen, many veins of red granite traversing the black micaceous schistus, and producing by a contrast of colour an effect that might be striking even to an unskilful observer. So vivid were the emotions he displayed at this spectacle, that his conductors never doubted his having discovered a vein of gold or silver. Dr Hutton has described the appearances at that spot, in the third volume of the *Edinburgh Transactions*, p. 79, and some excellent drawings of the glen were made by Mr Clark, whose pencil was not less valuable in the sciences than in the arts.



He pursued his observations with unabated ardour, and in the two next years, with his friend Mr Clark, made several excursions into Galloway, the island of Arran, and the neighbourhood of Jedburgh. In all of these he discovered the same conjunction, though not in so complete a manner, as among the Grampians. In 1788, he made some other valuable observations of the same kind. The ridge of the Lammermoor hills in the south of Scotland consists of primary micaceous schistus, and extends from St Abb's head westward, till it joins the metalliferous mountains about the source of the Clyde. The sea-coast affords a transverse section of this Alpine tract at its eastern extremity, and exhibits the change from the primary to the secondary strata, both in the south and in the north. In the latter part of this summer, Dr Hutton accompanied the duke of Athol to the Isle of Man, with the view of making a survey of that island; what he saw there, however, was not much calculated to illustrate any of the leading features in geology. He found the main body of the island to consist of primitive schistus, much inclined, and more intersected with quartzose veins than the corresponding schistus in the south of Scotland. The direction of the primitive strata corresponded very well with that in Galloway, running nearly from east to west. This is all the general information he obtained from that excursion.

Notwithstanding this assiduous attention to geology, he found leisure to speculate on others of a different nature. A more voluminous work from his pen made its appearance soon after the Physical Dissertations:—"An Investigation of the Principles of Knowledge, and the Progress of Reason, from Sense to Science and Philosophy," in three volumes quarto. In this treatise he formed a general system of physics and metaphysics. His opinions on the former subjects were very singular. He deprives matter of those qualities which are *usually* deemed most *essential*, solidity, impenetrability, and the vis inertia. He conceived it to be merely an assemblage of powers acting variously upon each other, and that external things are no more like the perceptions they give, than wine is similar to intoxication, or opium to the delirium it produces. It would be vain in us to attempt to analyse this singular work, which cannot fail to recall to the mind the opinions of the ingenious Dr Berkeley; the two systems agree in many material points, but differ essentially in others, but being little skilled in the subtle mazes of metaphysics, we would rather be inclined to apply to both the caustic lines of Pope:

"Physic, of metaphysic begs defence,  
And metaphysic calls for aid on sense."

In deference to the opinions of so great a man as Dr Hutton, we shall inform our readers of the view taken of the moral tendency of his work by his friend professor Playfair, who no doubt scrutinized very deeply its metaphysical speculations, as he in part, if not altogether, became a convert of the Huttonian system. "Indeed," says he, "Mr Hutton has taken great pains to deduce from his system, in a singular manner, the leading doctrines of morality and natural religion, having dedicated the third volume of his book almost wholly to that object. It is worthy to remark, that while he is thus employed his style assumes a better tone, and a much greater degree of perspicuity than it usually possesses. Many instances might be pointed out, where the warmth of its benevolent and moral feelings, bursts through the clouds that so often veil from us the clearest ideas of his understanding. One, in particular, deserves notice, in which he treats of the importance of the *female character* to society in a state of high civilization. A felicity of expression, and a flow of natural eloquence, inspired by so interesting a subject, make us regret that his pen did not more frequently do justice to his thoughts." Dr Hutton was seized with a severe and dangerous



illness in the summer of 1793, and, although before this time he had enjoyed a long continuance of good health, such was the painful nature of his complaint that he was reduced to great weakness, and confined to his room for many months, where, on his regaining some degree of strength, he amused himself in superintending the publication of the work just mentioned. During his recovery he was roused from his quiet into further exertion by a severe attack made on his *Theory of the Earth*, by Dr Kirwan, in the *Memoirs of the Irish Academy*, rendered formidable by the celebrity of the author. Before this period, Dr Hutton had often been urged to publish the entire work on the *Theory of the Earth*, which he had constantly put off—so much so, that there seemed some danger of its not appearing in his life-time. The very day, however, after Kirwan's paper was put in his hands, he began the revisal of his manuscript and resolved immediately to send it to press. The work was accordingly published in two volumes octavo, in 1795. He next turned his attention to a work on husbandry, on which he had written a great deal, the fruit both of his vast reading and practical experience. He proposed to reduce the whole into a systematic form under the title of "*Elements of Agriculture*." The time, however, was fast approaching which was to terminate the exertions of a mind of such singular activity and ardour in the pursuit of knowledge. In the course of the winter, 1796, he became gradually weaker, and extremely emaciated from the pain he suffered from a recurrence of his former complaint, though he still retained the full activity and acuteness of his mind. "*Saussure's Voyages aux Alps*," which had just reached him that winter, was the last study of one eminent geologist, as they were the last work of another. On Saturday the 26th March, 1797, although in great pain, he employed himself in writing and noting down his remarks on some attempts which were then making towards a new mineralogical nomenclature. In the evening he was seized with shivering fits, and as these continued to increase, he sent for his friend Dr Russel. Before he could arrive, all assistance was in vain. Dr Hutton had just strength left to stretch out his hand to the physician, and immediately expired.

Dr Hutton was possessed of an uncommon activity and ardour of mind, upheld in science by whatever was new, beautiful, or sublime; and that those feelings operated with more intense power in early life, may account for the want of stability he displayed, and the difficulty he felt in settling down to any one fixed pursuit. Geology and mineralogy were to him two of the most sublime branches of physical science. The novelty and grandeur offered by the study to the imagination, the simple and uniform order given to the whole natural history of the earth, and above all, the views opened of the wisdom that governs the universe, are things to which hardly any mind could be insensible, but to him they were matters, not of transient delight, but of solid and permanent happiness.

He studied with an indefatigable perseverance, and allowed no professional, and rarely any domestic arrangement, to interrupt his uniform course. He dined early, almost always at home, ate sparingly, and drank no wine. The evening he spent in the society of friends, who were always delighted and instructed by his animated conversation, which, whether serious or gay, was replete with ingenious and original observation. When he sought relaxation from the studies of the day, and joined the evening party, a bright glow of cheerfulness spread itself over every countenance; and the philosopher who had just descended from the sublimest speculations in metaphysics, or risen from the deepest research in geology, seated himself at the tea-table, as much disengaged from thought, and as cheerful and joyous, as the youngest of the company.

Professor Stewart, in his life of Mr Smith, has alluded to a little society that



then flourished in Edinburgh, called the Oyster Club. Of this, Dr Black, Dr Hutton, and Mr Smith were the founders. When time and opportunity admitted, these distinguished men could unbend one to the other, and on such occasions Dr Hutton delighted in blending the witty and ludicrous in his conversation. Round them soon formed a circle of choice spirits, who knew how to value their familiar and social converse; and it would be vain to look for a company more sincerely united, where every thing favourable to good society was more perfectly cultivated, and every thing opposite more strictly excluded.

Dr Hutton was never married, but lived with his sisters, three amiable women, who managed his domestic affairs. Though he cared little for money, he had accumulated considerable wealth, owing to his moderation and unassuming manner of life, as well as from the great ability with which his long-tried friend, Mr Davie, conducted their joint concern. Miss Isabella Hutton remained to lament her brother's loss, and by her his collection of fossils were given to Dr Black, who presented them to the Royal Society of Edinburgh, under the condition that they should be completely arranged, and kept for ever apart, for the purpose of illustrating the Huttonian Theory of the Earth.

# I.

INGLIS, or ENGLISH, (SIR) JAMES, an ingenious writer of the early part of the sixteenth century, is chiefly known as the supposed author of the "Complaynt of Scotland," a very curious political and fanciful work, published originally at St Andrews in 1548 or 1549, and the earliest Scottish prose work in existence.

Of this learned person, Mackenzie has given an account in his *Lives of Scottish Writers*; but it is so obviously made up of a series of mere conjectures stated as facts, that we must reject it entirely. According to more respectable authority, Inglis was a dignified priest (which accounts for the *Sir* attached to his name), and appears from authentic documents to have been, in 1515, secretary to queen Margaret, widow of James IV. Care must be taken to distinguish him from his contemporary John Inglis, who served James IV. as a manager of plays and entertainments, and who is stated to have been present with Sir David Lindsay in the church of Linlithgow, when that sovereign was warned by a supposed apparition against his expedition into England. Sir James Inglis was, nevertheless, a writer of plays, being the subject of the following allusion in Sir David Lindsay's *Testament of the Papingo*:

"And in the court bin present in thir dayis,  
That ballattis brevis lustely, and layis,  
Quhilkis to our prince daily thay do present,  
Quho can say more than Schir James English says,  
In ballattis, farcis, and in pleasaunt plaies;  
Redd in cunnyng, in prættyk rycht prudent;  
But Culross hath made his pen impotent."

It will be observed that Inglis is here indirectly spoken of as one of the poets who haunted the court of James V. Even in the preceding reign, however, he appears to have been on an intimate footing at court, as a man of learning. James IV. whose devotion to alchymy is well known, writes a letter (extant in the "*Epistole Regum Scotorum*," ) to Mr James Inglis, to the follow-



ing effect: "We have thankfully received your letter, by which you inform us that you are in possession of the abstruse books of the *Sound Philosophy*; which, as certain most deserving persons have begged them of you, you with difficulty preserve for our use, having heard that we are addicted to the study of that art." Of the ballads and plays composed by Inglis, not a vestige now remains, unless a poem attributed to him in the Maitland MS. and as such printed by Hailes and Sibbald, entitled "A General Satire," be held as a specimen of one of those kinds of composition, and be really a production of his pen.

In a charter of 19th February, 1527, Inglis is styled chancellor of the royal chapel of Stirling; and he appears to have been soon after raised to the dignity of abbot of Culross, a promotion which, if we may believe his friend Lindsay, spoiled him as a poet. It was eventually attended with still more fatal effects. Having provoked the wrath of a neighbouring baron, William Blackater of Tulliallan, the abbot of Culross was by that individual cruelly slain, March 1, 1530. The causes of this bloody deed do not appear; but the sensation created by it throughout the community was very great. Sir William Lothian, a priest of the same abbey, who was an accomplice of the principal assassin, was publicly degraded on a scaffold at Edinburgh, in presence of the king and queen, and next day he and the laird of Tulliallan were beheaded.

It would hardly be worth while to advert so minutely to a person, who, whatever was his genius, is not certainly known as the author of any existing composition, if the name were not conspicuous in works of Scottish literary history, and must therefore continue to be inquired for in such compilations as the present. Inglis, if the same individual as this abbot of Culross, could have no pretensions to the honour put upon him by some writers, of having written the "Complaynt of Scotland;" for that curious specimen of our early literature was undeniably written in 1548, eighteen years after the death of the abbot. In the obscurity, however, which prevails regarding the subject of the present notice, we cannot deny that he *may* have been a different person, and *may* have survived even to the date assigned for his death by Mackenzie—1554; in which case he *could* have been the author of the Complaynt. That a Sir James Inglis existed after 1530, and had some connexion with Culross, appears pretty certain from the passage in the Testament of the Papingo, which is understood to have been written in 1538. But, on the other hand, there is no authority for assigning the authorship of the Complaynt to *any* Sir James Inglis, except that of Dr Mackenzie, which rests on no known foundation, and, from the general character of that biographical writer, is not entitled to much respect. Some further inquiries into this subject will be found under the head JAMES WEDDERBURN.

INNES, THOMAS, an historian and critical antiquary, known to the students of early Scottish history by the title of "Father Innes," was a priest of the Scottish college at Paris, during the earlier part of the 18th century. It is not creditable to the literature of our country during the period just mentioned, that the meritorious labours of this highly acute investigator have been so little noticed, and that no one has thought it worth while to leave memorials sufficient to enable posterity to know any thing of his life and character. His labours to discover the true sources of Scottish history proved an ungrateful task; they were unacceptable to the prejudices of the time, and have hardly been appreciated until the memory of the individual who undertook them had quietly sunk into oblivion. In these circumstances any scrap of information which we can procure on the subject is peculiarly valuable. We perceive from a few words in the preface to his Critical Essay, that he received the rudiments of education in Scotland, and that he must have left his native country early in life for a per-



manent residence abroad, probably, if we may judge from slight circumstances, along with the exiled monarch James II. His words are—"Though an honourable gentleman of my own country, and another learned English gentleman, were so kind as to revise the language, and to alter such exotic words or expressions as it was natural should drop from me, I doubt not but the English reader will still meet in this essay with too many marks of my *native language* and *foreign education*." But the most interesting, and indeed the principal notice which we have been able to obtain of this individual, is from the diary of the industrious Wodrow for the year 1724, where we find the laborious antiquary worming his way through libraries in search of materials. It may be remarked, that the work on the Early History of the Church of Scotland, which is mentioned by Wodrow as the subject on which he was engaged, was intended as a second part to the "Critical Essay," but has, unfortunately for our information on a very interesting subject, not been given to the world. The passage we refer to is as follows:—

"There is one father Innes, a priest, brother to father Innes of the Scottish college at Paris, who has been at Edinburgh all this winter, and mostly in the Advocates' library, in the hours when open, looking books and MSS. He is not engaged in politics as far as can be guessed; and is a monkish, bookish person, who meddles with nothing but literature. I saw him at Edinburgh. He is upon a design to write an account of the first settlement of Christianity in Scotland, as Mr Ruddiman informs me, and pretends to show that Scotland was Christianized at first from Rome; and thinks to answer our ordinary arguments against this from the difference between the keeping of easter from the custom of Rome; and pretends to prove that there were many variations as to the day of easter even at Rome, and that the usages in Scotland, pretended to be from the Greek church, are very agreeable to the Romish customs that he thinks were used by the popes, about the time that (he) gives account of our differences as to easter.

"This father Innes, in a conversation with my informer, \* \* \*<sup>1</sup> made an observation which I fear is too true. In conversation with the company, who were all protestants, he said he did not know what to make of those who had departed from the catholic church; that as far as he could observe generally, they were leaving the foundations of Christianity, and scarce deserved the name of Christians. He heard that there were departures and great looseness in Holland. That as he came through England, he found most of the bishops there gone off from their articles, and gone into Doctor Clerk's scheme. That the dissenters were many of them falling much in with the same method, and coming near them. That he was glad to find his countrymen in Scotland not tainted in the great doctrine of the Trinity, and sound."<sup>2</sup>

From the period when we find him rummaging in the Advocates' library, we know nothing of Innes, until the publication of his essay in 1729, when he appears to have been in London, and makes an apology for verbal inaccuracies, on the ground that he writes "to keep pace with the press." He seems previously to this event to have performed an extensive "bibliographical tour," as the manuscripts he quotes are dispersed through various parts of England, Scotland, Ireland, and the continent.

A running sketch of the state of the knowledge of early Scottish history previously to the appearance of this work, may not be unacceptable to those who have not paid particular attention to that subject, as explanatory of the obstacles which the author had to overcome. It is well known that Scotland had a full

<sup>1</sup> The name is in a secret hand.

<sup>2</sup> Wodrow's *Analecta*, MS., Ad. Lib. v. 436.



share of the fabulous early history which it is a proud and pleasing task for savages to frame, and which generally protrudes itself into the knowledge possessed by civilized ages, from the unwillingness of mankind to diminish their own claims to consideration, by lessening the glory of their ancestors. The form and consistence of that genealogy which traced the first of Scottish kings to a period some centuries before the Christian era, seems to have been concocted by the Highland senachies, who sang the descent of our monarchs at their coronation. Andrew Wyntoun and John Fordun soberly incorporated the long line thus framed into their chronicle of the Scottish nation from the commencement of the world. Major followed their example with some variations, and Geoffry of Monmouth and Geoffry Keating, respectively incorporated the whole with English and Irish history, the latter much about the same period when Innes wrote, busying himself with tracing the matter to a period anterior to the deluge. The rich and grotesque garb of fable which the whole assumed under Hector Boëce is known to many, if not in the original crabbed Latin, at least in the simple translation of Bellenden. It is discreditable to the memory of Buchanan, that, instead of directing his acute mind to the discovery of truth, he adopted, in many respects, the genealogy just sanctioned, and prepared lives for the monarchs created by fiction, suited as practical comments on his own political views. The fables had now received the sanction of a classical authority—Scotland was called *κατ' ἐξοχην*, “the ancient kingdom;” and grave Englishmen wondered at the heary antiquity of our line of monarchs. At length, when the antiquity of the race of England had been curtailed, some thought it unfit that that of Scotland should remain untouched—and several English antiquaries, such as Humphry Lhuyd, bishop Usher, bishop Lloyd, and bishop Nicholson, bestowed some calm hints on its improbability, which were speedily drowned by the fierce replies of the Scottish antiquaries, headed by Sir George M’Kenzie.

Such was the state of historical knowledge in Scotland when Innes wrote; and a Scotsman dared to look the line of ancestry claimed by his monarch calmly in the face, and, after due consideration, to strike from it forty crowned heads. The essay is divided into four parts, in which the author successively treats,—of the progress of the Romans in Scotland—of the history of the Maats, the Strathclyde Britons or Welsh, who existed in the southern part of Scotland—of that of the Caledonians or Picts, who inhabited the whole of the northern portion previously to the arrival of the Scots from Ireland—and of the Scots, the ancestors of the present Highlanders. Examining the foundation on which Boëce supports his forty supernumerary kings, he shows, by very good negative evidence, that two chroniclers, on which that author lays the burden of much of his extraordinary matter, named Veremund and Campbell, never existed, and shows that the genealogists had, by an ingenious device, made Fergus the first king of the Scots, Fergus the *second*, and had placed another Fergus sufficiently far behind him in chronology, to admit a complement of kings to be placed betwixt the two. Besides the detection of the fabulous part of our history, this work supplies us with an excellent critical dissertation on the various early inhabitants of the country; and the author has, with much pains and care, added an appendix of original documents, which have been highly useful to inquirers into Scottish history. The language in which the whole is clothed is simple, pleasing, and far more correct than that of most Scotsmen who wrote during the same period; while there is a calm dignity, and a philosophical correctness in the arguments, previously unknown to the subject, and which, it had been well if those who have followed the same track had imitated. Pinkerton, who would allow no man to be prejudiced on the subject of Scotland with impunity except himself, never can mention the work of Innes without some token of respect.



"This work," he says, "forms a grand epoch in our antiquities, and was the first that led the way to rational criticism on them: his industry, coolness, judgment, and general accuracy, recommend him as the best antiquary that Scotland has yet produced."<sup>3</sup> While concurring, however, in any praise which we observe to have been elicited by this too much neglected work, we must remark, that it is blemished by a portion of it being evidently prepared with the political view of supporting the doctrine of the divine right of kings, which Innes as a Jacobite probably respected, and as an adherent of the exiled house, felt himself called on to support.<sup>4</sup> He is probably right in presuming that Buchanan knew well the falsehood of many of the facts he stated, but it was as unnecessary that he should answer the arguments which Buchanan, in the separate treatise, "*De Jure Regni apud Scotos*," may have been *presumed* to have derived from such facts, as it was for Buchanan to erect so great a mass of fable; while the dissertation he has given us on the fruitful subject of the conduct of queen Mary, is somewhat of an excrescence in a dissertation on the early inhabitants of Scotland.

The political bias of this portion of the work is avowed in the preface, where the author observes that the statements of Buchanan, "far from doing any real honour to our country, or contributing, as all historical accounts ought to do, to the benefit of posterity, and to the mutual happiness of king and people, do rather bring a reproach upon the country, and furnish a handle to turbulent spirits, to disturb the quiet and peace, and by consequence the happiness of the inhabitants;"<sup>5</sup> yet even this subject is handled with so much calmness that it may rather be termed a defect, than a fault.

Besides the great work which he wrote, Innes is supposed to have been the compiler of a book of considerable interest and importance. It is pretty well known that a manuscript of the life of king James II., written by himself, existed for some time in the Scots college of Paris, where it was carefully concealed from observation. This valuable work is believed, on too certain grounds, to have been reduced to ashes during the French Revolution; but an abstract of it, which was discovered in Italy, was published by Mr Stanyers Clarke in 1806, and is supposed by well informed persons to have been the work of father Innes.<sup>6</sup> We have been enabled to trace this supposition to no better source than a presumption from the circumstances in which Innes was placed, and to the absence of any other name which can reasonably be assigned. There is, indeed, a document extant, which might afford ground for a contrary supposition. In 1740, Carte, the historian, received an order from James Edgar, secretary to the Pretender, addressed to the Messrs Innes, permitting him to inspect the life writ by Mr Dicconson, in consequence of royal orders, all taken out of and supported by the late king's manuscripts; but it has been urged, on the other hand, that there were at least two copies of the compilation, one of which may have been *transcribed* by Mr Dicconson, while in that published, there are one or two Scotticisms, which point at such a person as Innes. Little can be made of a comparison betwixt the style of this work and that of

<sup>3</sup> Pinkerton's Inquiry, Introduction, 55—7.

<sup>4</sup> We cannot avoid coupling with this feature, the circumstance of our having heard it whispered in the antiquarian world, that a correspondence between Innes and the court of St Germain, lately discovered, shows this to have been the avowed purpose of the author. This we have heard, however, in so vague a manner, that we dare not draw any conclusions against the fair intentions of Innes, farther than as they may be gathered from his own writings.

<sup>5</sup> Preface, 16.

<sup>6</sup> In the Edinburgh Review we discover the following note:—"It is the opinion of the present preserver of the narrative, that it was compiled from original documents by Thomas Innes, one of the superiors of the college, and author of a work entitled '*A Critical Essay on the Ancient Inhabitants of Scotland*.'—*Art. on Fox's Life of James II. Ed. Rev.* xii. 280.



the essay, without an extremely minute examination, as Innes indulged in few peculiarities; but there is to be found in it a general resemblance, certainly more close than what could be caused by mere identity of period.

We are enabled to give but one other notice bearing on the life of this individual. In the portion of the life of James II., transcribed into the chevalier Ramsay's History of Turenne, there is a certificate by the superiors of the Scots college at Paris, dated 24th December, 1734, signed by "Louis Inesse, late principal, Alexander Whiteford, principal, and Thomas Inesse, sub-principal." The Louis Innes who had acted as principal, must be the brother to the historian mentioned by Wodrow.

IRVINE, CHRISTOPHER, an antiquary, philologist, and physician, lived in the seventeenth century, and was a younger son of the family of Irvine of Bonshaw in Lanarkshire. Like his relation, who rendered himself infamous in the cause of royalty by seizing Donald Cargill, Christopher Irvine was a devoted adherent of the Stuarts and of episcopacy. He was turned out of the college of Edinburgh in 1638 or 1639, in consequence of his resisting the national covenant; and by some connexion, the nature of which is not known, with the Irish troubles, which happened not long after, he lost a plentiful patrimony. Of these circumstances he himself informs us, in the address appended to one of his works, as well as of the facts, that "after his travels, the cruel saints were pleased to mortify him seventeen nights with bread and water;" and even after having recalled an act of banishment which they had formerly passed against him, subjected him to the fate of absolute starvation, with only the dubious alternative of "teaching grammar." Having adopted the latter course, we have ascertained from another source<sup>1</sup> that he was schoolmaster first at Leith, and afterwards at Preston. In the course of his exertions in this capacity, he was led to initiate his pupils in Scottish history; and it was out of the information collected for that purpose, along with some notes he received from Mr Alexander Home and Mr Thomas Crawford, formerly professors of humanity in Edinburgh university, that he compiled his Nomenclature of Scottish History, the work by which he is best known. Some time during the commonwealth, he appears to have resumed the profession to which he was bred, and practised first as a surgeon, and finally as a physician in Edinburgh, at the same time that he held a medical appointment in the army of general Monk, by which Scotland was then garrisoned.

We have not been able to discover any earlier publication of Christopher Irvine than a small and very rare volume, entitled *Bellum Grammaticale*, which appeared at Edinburgh in 1650, but of the nature of which, not having seen it, we cannot speak. His second performance was a small volume, now also very rare, having the following elaborate title: "*Medicina Magnetica; or the rare and wonderful art of curing by sympathy, laid open in aphorisms, proved in conclusions, and digested into an easy method drawn from both; wherein the connexion of the causes and effects of these strange operations, are more fully discovered than heretofore. All cleared and confirmed, by pithy reasons, true experiments, and pleasant relations, preserved and published as a master-piece in this skill, by C. de Iryngio, chirurgo-medicine in the army. Printed in the year 1656.*" The dedication, which is dated from Edinburgh, June 3, 1656, and is signed "C. Irvine," is addressed to general Monk, as "chief captain of those forces among whom for diverse years *I have served and prospered*;" and speaking of the kindness of the commander toward his inferiors, he continues—"This is observed by all; this hath been my experience so oft as I had need of favour and protection." We may from these passages argue, that, at the period

<sup>1</sup> Sibbald's *Bibliotheca Scotica*, MS. Adv. Lib.



when he composed this book, Irvine himself was a man of respectable standing as to years, and had not found it inconsistent with his loyalist principles to take office under Cromwell. The work itself is a true literary curiosity. The monstrous and fanciful doctrines which crowd the pages of Paracelsus and Cardan, and which had begun at that period to sink before the demand for logical proof and practical experience, which more accurate minds had made, are here revived, and even exaggerated; while the imagination of the writer seems to have laboured in all quarters of nature, to discover grotesque absurdities. The book, it will be remarked, is a treatise on animal magnetism. We would give his receipt for the method of manufacturing "an animal magnet," did we dare, but propriety compels us to retain our comments for the less original portion of the work. The principles of the author, *de omnibus rebus et quibusdam aliis*, are laid down in "an hundred aphorisms," which are of such a nature as the following: "Neither souls, nor pure spirits, nor intelligencies can work upon bodies, but by means of the spirit; for two extremes cannot be joined together without a mean, therefore," it is justly and conclusively argued, "demons appear not but after sacrifices used."—"He that can join a spirit impregnat with the virtue of one bodie with another, that is now disposed to change, may produce many miracles and monsters."—"He that can by light draw light out of things, or multiply light with light, he knoweth how to adde the universal spirit of life to the particular spirit of life, and by this addition do wonders," &c. Nor is his method of supporting his aphorisms by proof less original and conclusive. The readers of Hudibras will recollect the story taken from Helemont, of the man who, having lost his nose, procured a new one to be cut from the limb of a porter, on whose death the unfortunate nose grew cold and fell off. The reasoning of Mr Christopher Irvine on this matter is peculiarly metaphysical. "Is not," he says, "all our doctrine here confirmed clearer than the light? was not the insititious nose as animated at the first, so still informed with the soul of the porter? Neither had it any from the man whose nose now it was made, but only nourishment; the power of the assimilation which it hath from its proper form, it took it not from him but from the porter, of whom it was yet truly a part; and who dying, the nose became a dead nose, and did immediately tend to corruption. But who doth not here see, most openly and evidently, a concatenation? otherwise, how could the nose of one that was at Polonia, enform the nose of one that was at Brussels, but by means of a concatenation?" The curiosity of the matter, presenting a specimen of the speculations in which several Scottish philosophers at that period indulged, may excuse these extracts.

The work to which Irvine's name is most frequently attached, is the "*Historiæ Scotiæ Nomenclatura Latino-Vernacula*;" an explanatory dictionary of the Latin proper names made use of in Scottish history, published at Edinburgh in 1682, and re-published in 1819. The editor of the reprint observes, that he "intended, along with the present edition, to have given the public a short sketch of the life of the author; but this intention he has been obliged to relinquish from want of materials. To numerous enquiries, in many directions, no satisfactory answer was procured, and the editor mentions with regret, that he knows nothing more of this eminent literary character, and profound philologist, than can be collected from his address to the reader." The dedication is to the duke of York; and if we had not been furnished with vast specimens of the capacity of royal stomachs at that period for flattery, we might have suspected Mr Christopher of a little quizzing, when he enlarges on the moderation, the generosity, the kindness to friends, the forgiveness to enemies, displayed by the prince, and especially on his having "so firmly on solid grounds established the protestant religion." Among the other eulogiums is one which may be inter-



puted as somewhat apologetical on the part of the author, in as far as respects his own conduct. "The neglected sufferer for loyalty is now taken into care and favour, and they that have *recovered better principles, are not reproached nor passed by; their transgressions are forgot, and time allowed to take off their evil habit.*" The Nomenclature is a brief general biographical and topographical dictionary of Scotland. With a firm adherence to the fabulous early history, the author shows vast general reading; but, like most authors of the age, he seems to have considered Scotland the centre of greatness, and all other transactions in the world as naturally merging into a connexion with it. Thus in juxtaposition with Argyle, we find "Argivi, Argos, and Ariei." And the Dee is discussed beside the Danube.

From the address attached to this volume, we learn that its publication was occasioned by his recent dismissal from the king's service. "And now," he says, "being, as it seemeth by a cruel misrepresentation, turned out of my public employment and livelihood, which the defender of the sincere will return, I have at the desire of the printer, in this interval, revised, &c." Taking the dedication in connexion with this circumstance, there can be little doubt as to the particular object of that composition; and from another document it would appear that he was not unsuccessful in his design. An act of parliament, dated three years later than the publication of the Nomenclature, and ratifying an act of privy council, which had reserved to Irvine the privilege of acting as a physician, independent of the College of Physicians of Edinburgh, just established, proceeds upon a statement by the learned man himself, that "he has been bred liberally in these arts and places that fit men for the practice of physick and chirurgery, and has received all the degrees of the schools that give ornament and authority in these professions, and has practised the same the space of thertie years in the eminentest places and among very considerable persons in this island, and has, by vertue of commissions from his royal master, exerceed the dutie of cherurgeon of his guards of horse twenty-eight years together, and has had the charge of chief physician and chirurgeon of his armie."<sup>2</sup> He then states, that he wishes to practise his profession in peace, in the city of Edinburgh, of which he is a burgess, and hopes the council "would be pleased not to suffer him, by any new gift or patent to be stated under the partial humors or affronts of (a) new incorporation or college of physicians, composed of men that are altogether his juniors (save doctor Hay) in the studies of phylosophie and practise of physick."

## J.

JACK, or JACHÆUS, GILBERT, an eminent metaphysician and medical writer, and professor of philosophy at Leyden, was born at Aberdeen, as has been asserted, (although there seems but slight ground for fixing the date so precisely,) in the year 1578. Early in life, and apparently before he had commenced a regular series of literary study, he lost his father, and was committed by his mother to the private tuition of a person named Thomas Cargill. He afterwards studied under Robert Howie: and as that individual was made principal of Marischal college, on its erection into a university, in 1593, it is probable that Jack obtained a portion of his university education at Aberdeen, although he is mentioned by Freher as having studied philosophy at St Andrews,

<sup>2</sup> Acts of the Scottish parliament, viii. 530-531.



where he was under the tuition of Robert Hay, an eminent theologist.<sup>1</sup> By the advice of his tutor, who probably detected in his mind the dawning of high talent, Jack continued his studies in the universities on the continent. He remained for some time at the colleges of Herborn and Helmstadt; when, incited by the high fame of the university of Leyden, he removed thither, and sought employment as a private teacher, in expectation of eventually obtaining a professorship. His ambition was at length gratified, by his appointment, in 1604, to what has been in general terms called the philosophical chair of that celebrated institution. Scotland, which seems to have acquired a permanent celebrity from the numerous persevering and ambitious men it has dispersed through the world, was at no time so fruitful in its supply of eminent men as during the life-time of the subject of our memoir. Adolphus Vorstius, a person known to fame chiefly from his tributes to the memory of some eminent friends, and colleague of Jack in the university of Leyden, in a funeral oration to his memory, from which the materials for a memoir of Jack are chiefly derived, mentions that at the period we allude to, there was scarcely a college in Europe of any celebrity, which did not number a Scotsman among its professors: and whether from the meagre tuition in our own universities, or other causes, most of the Scotsmen celebrated for learning at that period—and they were not a few—began their career of fame abroad. In the works, or correspondence of the continental scholars of the seventeenth century, we frequently meet with names of Scotsmen now forgotten in their native country, and that of Jack frequently occurs, accompanied with many indications of respect. He is said to have been the first who taught *metaphysics* at Leyden, a statement from which we may at least presume, that he opened new branches of inquiry, and was celebrated for the originality of the system he inculcated. During his professorship at Leyden he studied medicine, and took his degree in that science in 1611.

In 1612, appeared his first work, "*Institutiones Physicæ, Juventutis Lugdunensis Studiis potissimum dicatæ*," republished with notes in 1616. This treatise is dedicated to Matthew Overbeguius (Overbeke), and is in the usual manner prefaced by laudatory addresses, which are from the pens of men of celebrity—Daniel Heinsius, Greek professor of Leyden, (who appropriately uses his professional language,) Gaspard Barleius, the professor of logic at Leyden, and Theodore Schrevelius (probably father to the Lexicographer Cornelius). This work, notwithstanding its title, will be readily understood to be generally metaphysical, and the portion tending to that species of discussion is that from which a modern student will derive most satisfaction. It consists of nine books. The first is introductory, containing definitions, &c., the second is *De Natura*, the third *De Motu*, the fourth *De Tempore*, the fifth *De Cælo*, the sixth *De Corpore Misto*, the seventh *De Meteoris*, the eighth *De Anima*, and the ninth *De Anima Rationali*. Apart from the doctrines now called vulgar errors, for an adherence to which the limited bounds of our own knowledge must teach us to excuse our forefathers, this work may be perused with interest and even profit. To have departed from the text of Aristotle might have been considered equal in heresy, to a denial of any of the evident laws of nature; but if Jack was like others, a mere commentator on the great lawgiver of philosophers, he frequently clothes original views in correct, clear, and logical language; his discussions on time and motion might not be ungrateful to a student of Hutcheson or Reid; and though almost unknown to his country, and forgotten in his native city, he is no contemptible member of the class of common-sense philosophers of

<sup>1</sup> Freheri Theatrum virorum eruditione clarorum, ii, 1353. Jactis utriusque lingue fundamentis, ad academiam Andream ablegatus, philosophia operam navavit, preceptore usus Roberto Havæo Theologo exitio.



whom Scotland has boasted. In 1724, Jack published another work, entitled "*Institutiones Medicæ*," republished in 1631. About this period his celebrity had reached the British isles; and, like his illustrious friend and comrade Vosins, the author of the History of Pelagianism, he was invited to fill the chair of civil history at Oxford, a proffer he declined. This eminent man died on the 17th day of April, 1628, leaving behind him a widow and ten children. He seems to have been on terms of intimate and friendly familiarity with the greatest men of the age. He is said to have been a hard student, to have possessed vast powers of memory, and to have been more attentive to the elegancies of life, and to his personal appearance, than scholars then generally were.

JACK, or JACHEUS, THOMAS, a classical scholar of eminence, and author of the "*Onomasticon Poeticum*." The period of the birth of this author is unknown: Dr M'Crie has with his usual industry made investigations into his history, but excepting the circumstances to be discovered from the dedication to his work, none but a few barren facts have been found, which must have ill repaid the labours of the search. He was master of the grammar school at Glasgow, but at what period he entered that seminary is unknown. He relinquished the situation in 1574, and became minister of the neighbouring parish of Eastwood, from which, in the manner of the time, he dates his book "*ex sylva vulgo dicta orientali*;" his work is entitled "*Onomasticon Poeticum, sive propriorum quibus in suis monumentis usi sunt veteres Poetæ, brevis descriptio Poetica*;" it is neatly printed in quarto, by Waldegrave, 1592, and is now very rare. It may be described as a versified topographical dictionary of the localities of classical poetry, expressing in a brief sentence, seldom exceeding a couple of lines, some characteristic, which may remind the student of the subject of his readings. He mentions that he has found the system advantageous by experiment; and most of our readers will be reminded of the repeated attempts to teach the rules of grammar, and other matters necessary to be committed to memory, in a similar manner. The subject did not admit of much elegance, and the chief merit of the author will be acknowledged in the perseverance which has amassed so many references to subjects of classical research. A quotation of the first few lines may not be unacceptable:

"Caucaseus vates Abaris ventura profatur,  
Argivum bis sextus Albas rex, martis in armis  
Acer, Hypermnestra Lynceoque parentibus ortus;  
Hinc et Abantiadum series dat jura Pelasgis.  
Ex nube Ixion Centaurum gignit Abantem.  
Æneas comitem quo nomine clarus habebat  
Ægypti ad fines Abatos jacet Insula dives:  
Quam arcum armavit lino natura tenaci,  
Armiferae Thracis quondam urbs Abdera celebris."

This passage contains the accounts of Abaris, Abantiadæ, Abas, Abatos, and Abdera.

In the dedication, which is addressed to James, eldest son of Claud Hamilton, commendator of Paisley, a pupil of the author, Jack complacently mentions, that he had been induced to publish by the recommendation of Andrew Melville and Buchanan, and that the latter eminent person had revised the work, and submitted to a counter revision of works of his own. Prefixed to the *Onomasticon* are encomiastic verses by Robert Pollock, Hercules Pollock, Patrick Sharpe, Andrew Melville, and Sir Thomas Craig. Dr M'Crie has discovered that Thomas Jack, as minister of Rutherglen, was one of those who, in 1582, opposed the election of Ro-



bert Montgomery as archbishop of Glasgow. He appears to have been a member of the General Assembly in 1590; he is mentioned in 1593, as a minister within the bounds of the presbytery of Paisley, and must have died in 1596, as appears from the Testament Testamentar of "Euphame Wylie, relict of unquhill Mr Thomas Jak, min<sup>r</sup> at Eastwod."

JAMES I., king of Scots, and illustrious both in political and literary history, was born at Dunfermline in the year 1394. He was the third son of Robert III., king of Scots, (whose father, Robert II., was the first sovereign of the Stuart family,) by his consort Annabella, or Annaple Drummond, daughter of Sir John Drummond of Stobhall, ancestor of the noble family of Perth. It appears that John Stuart, for such was the real name of Robert III., had married Annaple Drummond at a period antecedent to the year 1358; as in 1357, he and his wife received a charter of the earldom of Athol from David II. The unusual period of thirty-seven years at least, must thus have elapsed between the marriage of the parents and the birth of their distinguished son. Their eldest child, David, born in 1373, and created duke of Rothesay, was starved to death by his uncle the duke of Albany in 1402; a second son, John, died in infancy. The inheritance of the crown was thus opened upon prince James at the age of eight years, but under circumstances which rendered the prospect less agreeable than dangerous. The imbecility of Robert III. had permitted the reins of government to be assumed by his brother the duke of Albany, who meditated a transference of the sovereignty to his own family, and scrupled at no measures which might promise to aid him in his object. There was the greatest reason to apprehend that prince James, as well as his elder brother the duke of Rothesay, would be removed by some foul means, through the machinations of Albany; after which, the existence of the king's female children would present but a trifling obstacle to his assuming the rights of heir presumptive.

The education of prince James was early confided to Wardlaw, bishop of St Andrews, the learned and excellent prelate, who, in founding the university in his metropolitan city, became the originator of that valuable class of institutions in Scotland. Sinclair, earl of Orkney, and Sir David Fleming of Cumbernauld, were among the barons who superintended the instruction of the prince in martial and athletic exercises. For the express purpose of saving him from the fangs of his uncle, it was resolved by the king, in 1405, to send him to the court of Charles VI. of France, where he might at once be safer in person, and receive a superior education to what could be obtained in his own country. With this view the young prince was privately conducted to East Lothian, and embarked on board a vessel at the isle of the Bass, along with the earl of Orkney and a small party of friends. It would appear that he thus escaped his uncle by a very narrow chance, as Sir David Fleming, in returning from the place of embarkation, was set upon at Long-Hermandstone by the retainers of that wicked personage, and cruelly slain.

James pursued his voyage towards France, till, cruising along the coast of Norfolk, his vessel was seized by a squadron of armed merchantmen, commanded by John Jolyff, and belonging to the port of Clay. Though this event took place in the time of a truce between the two countries, (April 12, 1405,) Henry IV. of England reconciled his conscience to the detention of the prince, for which, indeed, it is highly probable he had made some arrangements previously with the duke of Albany, his faithful ally, and the imitator of his conduct. When the earl of Orkney presented a remonstrance against such an unjustifiable act, asserting that the education of the prince was the sole object of his voyage to France, he turned it off with a jest, to the effect, that he was as well acquainted with the French language, and could teach it as well as the king of



France,<sup>1</sup> so that the prince would lose nothing by remaining where he was. He soon showed, however, the value which he attached to the possession of the prince's person, by shutting him up in the castle of Pevensey in Sussex. The aged king of Scotland sank under this new calamity; and, dying April 4, 1406, left the nominal sovereignty to his captive son, but the real power of the state to his flagitious brother, the duke of Albany, who assumed the title of governor.

Having no design against the mind of his captive, Henry furnished him in a liberal manner with the means of continuing his education. Sir John Pelham, the constable of Pevensey castle, and one of the most distinguished knights of the age, was appointed his governor; and masters were provided for instructing him in various accomplishments and branches of knowledge. To quote the words of Mr Tytler,<sup>2</sup> "In all athletic and manly exercises, in the use of his weapons, in his skill in horsemanship, his speed in running, his strength and dexterity as a wrestler, his firm and fair aim as a joister and tourneyer, the young king is allowed by all contemporary writers to have arrived at a pitch of excellence which left most of his own age far behind him; and as he advanced to maturity, his figure, although not so tall as to be majestic or imposing, was, from its make, peculiarly adapted for excellence in such accomplishments. His chest was broad and full, his arms somewhat long and muscular, his flanks thin and spare, and his limbs beautifully formed; so as to combine elegance and lightness with strength. In throwing the hammer, and propelling, or, to use the Scottish phrase, 'putting' the stone, and in skill in archery, we have the testimony of an ancient chronicle, that none in his own dominions could surpass him. \* \* \* To skill in warlike exercises, every youthful candidate for honour and for knighthood was expected to unite a variety of more pacific and elegant accomplishments, which were intended to render him a delightful companion in the hall, as the others were calculated to make him a formidable enemy in the field. The science of music, both instrumental and vocal; the composition and recitation of ballads, roundelays, and other minor pieces of poetry; an acquaintance with the romances and the writings of the popular poets of the times—were all essential branches in the system of education which was then adopted in the castle of any feudal chief; and from Pelham, who had himself been brought up as the squire of the duke of Lancaster, we may be confident that the Scottish king received every advantage which could be conferred by skilful instructors, and by the most ample opportunities of cultivation and improvement. Such lessons and exhibitions, however, might have been thrown away upon many, but James had been born with those natural capacities which fitted him to excel in them. He possessed a fine and correct musical ear; a voice which was rich, flexible, and sufficiently powerful for chamber music; and an enthusiastic delight in the art, which, unless controlled by strong good sense, and a feeling of the higher destinies to which he was called, might have led to a dangerous devotion to it. \* \* Cut off for a long and tedious period from his crown and his people, James could afford to spend many hours each day in the cultivation of accomplishments to which, under other circumstances, it would have been criminal to have given up so much of his time. And this will easily account for that high musical excellence to which he undoubtedly attained, and will explain the great variety of instruments upon which he performed. \* \* He was acquainted with the Latin language, as far, at least, as was permitted by the rude and barbarous condition in which it existed previous to the revival of letters. In theology, oratory, and grammar—

<sup>1</sup> It will be recollected that French was the common language of the court of England, and of all legal and public business, till the age following that of Henry IV.

<sup>2</sup> *Lives of Scottish Worthies*, ii. 263.



in the civil and canon laws, he was instructed by the best masters; and an acquaintance with Norman-French was necessarily acquired at a court where it was still currently spoken and highly cultivated. Devoted, however, as he was to these pursuits, James appears to have given his mind with a still stronger bias to the study of English poetry, choosing Chaucer and Gower for his masters in the art, and entering with the utmost ardour into the great object of the first of these illustrious men—the improvement of the English language, the production of easy and natural rhymes, and the refinement of poetical numbers from the rude compositions which had preceded him.”

Thus passed years of restraint, unmarked by any other incident than removal from one place of captivity to another, till the death of Henry IV. in 1411. On the very day after this event, the “gallant” Henry V. ordered his royal prisoner to be removed to close confinement in the Tower. In general, however, the restraint imposed upon the young king was not inconsistent with his enjoyment of the pleasures of life, among which one of the most agreeable must have been the intercourse which he was allowed to hold with his Scottish friends. It is the opinion of Mr Tytler, that the policy of the English kings in this matter was much regulated by the terror in which they held a mysterious person residing at the Scottish court, under the designation of king Richard, and who was the object of perpetual conspiracies among the enemies of the house of Lancaster. It is at least highly probable that Albany kept up that personage as a kind of bugbear, to induce the English monarch to keep a close guard over his nephew.

The duke of Albany died in 1419, and was succeeded as governor by his eldest son Murdoch, who was as weak as his father had been energetic and ambitious. About the same time, a large party of Scottish knights and their retainers proceeded, under the command of the earl of Buchan, second son of Albany, to assist the French king in repelling the efforts which Henry V. of England was making to gain the sovereignty of France. In the hope, perhaps, of gaining his deliverance, James was persuaded by king Henry to accompany him to France, and to join with him in taking the opposite side to that which was assumed by this party of his subjects. But of this part of his life no clear account is preserved; only the consideration which he attained with the English king is amply proved by his acting (1422) as chief mourner at his funeral. This, however, was an event which he had little reason to regret, as it opened a prospect of his obtaining his liberty, a circumstance which would scarcely have taken place during the life of Henry; or, at least, while that prince lived, James could not look forward to any definite period for the termination of his captivity.

The duke of Bedford, who was appointed protector of England on the death of Henry, adopting a wiser policy with regard to Scotland than that monarch had pursued, offered to deliver up the Scottish king on payment of a ransom of forty thousand pounds, to be paid within six years by half yearly payments, and that hostages should be given for the faithful liquidation of the debt. The English, disavowing the term ransom as derogatory, in this instance, to the national character and dignity, alleged that the pecuniary consideration was demanded as payment of the king's maintenance while in England; but as Henry V. allowed only £700 a-year for this purpose, and the term of James's captivity was about nineteen years, giving thus an amount of something more than £13,000 altogether, it is pretty evident that they did not intend to be losers by the transaction—though, as the money was never paid, they certainly were not gainers. After a good deal of delay, and much discussion on both sides, the arrangement for the liberation of the king was finally adjusted by the Scottish commissioners, who proceeded to London for that purpose, on the 9th of March,



1423; and amongst other securities for the stipulated sum, tendered that of the burghs of Edinburgh, Perth, Dundee, and Aberdeen. Previously to his leaving England, James married Joanna, daughter of the duchess of Clarence, niece of Richard II. To this lady the Scottish monarch had been long attached. Her beauty had inspired his muse, and was the frequent theme of his song. Amongst the poems attributed to the royal poet, there is one, entitled "A Sang on Absence," beginning "Sen that the eyne that workis my weifair," in which he bewails, in strains breathing the warmest and most ardent attachment, the absence of his mistress; and in the still more elaborate production of the "King's Quain," he thus speaks of her:—

"Of hir array, the form gif I sall write  
Toward her goldin haire and rich atyre,  
In fret wise couchit with perlis white;  
And grete balas lemyng as the fire,  
With many ane emérant and saphire;  
And on hir hide a chaplet fresh of hewe  
Of plumys partit rede, and white, and blue."

In this beautiful poem the enamoured king describes himself as having first fallen in love with his future queen, as she was walking in the gardens under the tower at Windsor in which he was confined.

It is probable that he lost no time in making his fair enslaver aware of the conquest she had made, and it is also likely that her walks under the tower were not rendered less frequent by the discovery. The splendour of Joanna's dress, as described in this poem, is very remarkable. She seems to have been covered with jewels, and to have been altogether arrayed in the utmost magnificence; not improbably, in the consciousness of the eyes that were upon her. The result, at all events, shows that the captive prince must have found means sooner or later of communicating with the fair idol of his affections.

The marriage ceremony was performed at the church of St. Mary's Overy in Southwark; the king receiving with his bride as her marriage portion, a discharge for ten thousand pounds of his ransom money!

James was in the thirtieth year of his age when he was restored to his liberty and his kingdom. Proceeding first to Edinburgh, where he celebrated the festival of Easter, he afterwards went on to Scone, accompanied by his queen, where they were both solemnly crowned; Murdoch duke of Albany, as earl of Fife, performing the ceremony of installing the sovereign on the throne.

Immediately after the coronation, James convoked a parliament in Perth, and by the proceedings of that assembly, gave intimation to the kingdom of the commencement of a vigorous reign. Amongst many other wise and judicious ordinations, this national council enacted, that the king's peace should be firmly held, and no private wars allowed, and that no man should travel with a greater number of retainers than he could maintain; that a sufficient administration of law be appointed throughout the realm; and that no extortion from churchmen or farmers in particular be admitted. James had early been impressed with the necessity of arresting with a vigorous and unsparing hand, the progress of that system of fraud and rapine to which the country had been a prey during the regencies that preceded his accession to the throne. A policy which, perhaps, though both necessary and just, there is some reason to believe he carried too far, or at least prosecuted with a mind not tempered by judicious and humane considerations. When first informed, on his arrival in the kingdom, of the lawlessness which prevailed in it, he is said to have exclaimed, "By the help of God, though I should myself lead the life of a dog, I shall make the key keep



the castle, and the bush secure the cow." Than such a resolution as this, nothing could have been wiser or more praiseworthy, and he certainly did all he could, and probably more than he ought, to accomplish the desirable end which the sentiment proposes; but he seems to have been somewhat indiscriminating in his vengeance. This indiscrimination may be only apparent, and may derive its character from the imperfectness of the history of that period; but as we judge of the good by what is upon record, we are bound to judge of the bad by the same rule; and it would be rather a singular mischance, if error and misrepresentation were always and exclusively on the side of the latter. It is, at any rate, certain, that a remarkable humanity, or any remarkable inclination to the side of mercy, were by no means amongst the number of James's good qualities, numerous though these assuredly were. With the best intentions towards the improvement of his kingdom, and the bettering of the condition of his subjects, James had yet the misfortune to excite, at the commencement of his reign, a very general feeling of dissatisfaction with his government.

This, amongst the aristocracy, proceeded from the severity with which he threatened to visit their offences; and amongst the common people, from his having imposed a tax to pay the ransom money stipulated for his release from captivity. This tax was proposed to be levied at the rate of twelve pennies in the pound on all sorts of produce, on farms and annual rents, cattle and grain, and to continue for two years. The tax was with great difficulty collected the first year, but in the second the popular impatience and dissatisfaction became so general and so marked, that the king thought it advisable to abandon it; and the consequence was, as already remarked, that the debt was never discharged. The reluctance of the nation to pay the price of their prince's freedom may appear ungenerous, and as implying an indifference towards him personally; but this is not a necessary, nor is it the only conclusion which may be inferred from the circumstance. It is probable that they may have considered the demand of England unreasonable and unjust, and it certainly was both, seeing that James was no prisoner of war, but had been made captive at a time when the two kingdoms were at peace with each other. To make him prisoner, therefore, and make him pay for it too, seems indeed to have been rather a hard case, and such it was probably esteemed by his subjects. The policy which James proposed to adopt, was not limited to the suppression of existing evils or to the prevention of their recurrence in time to come, but extended to the punishing of offences long since committed, and of which, in many instances, though we are told the results, we are left uninformed of the crime. At the outset of his reign he had ordered the arrest of Walter, eldest son of Murdoch, duke of Albany, the late regent, together with that of Malcolm Fleming of Cumbernault, and Thomas Boyd of Kilmarnock; and soon afterwards, taking advantage of the circumstance of a meeting of parliament at Perth, which he had convoked probably for the purpose of bringing them within his reach, he ordered the arrest of Murdoch himself, his second son, Alexander Stewart, the earls of Douglas, Angus, and March, and twenty other gentlemen of note.

The vengeance, however, which gave rise to this proceeding, was followed out only in the case of Albany; at least his punishment only is recorded in the accounts given by our historians of this transaction, while all the others are allowed to drop out of sight without any further notice of them in connexion with that event. Indeed the whole of this period of Scottish history is exceedingly obscure; much of it is confused, inconsistent, and inexplicable, and is therefore indebted almost wholly to conjecture for any interest it possesses, and perhaps no portion of it is more obscure than that which includes the occurrence which has just been alluded to. The king's vengeance is said to have been



exclusively aimed at Albany. Then, wherefore the arrest of the others? Because, it is said they were the friends of the late regent, and might have defeated the ends of justice had they been left at liberty, or at least might have been troublesome in the event of his condemnation. But how is this to be reconciled with the fact, that several of those arrested with Albany were of the jury that found him guilty on his trial, which took place a few weeks afterwards? All that we certainly know of this matter, is, that Murdoch was committed a close prisoner to Carlaveroc castle, while his duchess, Isabella, shared a similar fate in Tantallon, and that the king immediately after seized upon, and took possession of his castles of Falkland in Fife, and Downe in Menteith; that soon afterwards, Albany, with his two sons, Walter and Alexander, together with the aged earl of Lennox, were brought to trial, condemned to death, and beheaded. The principal offence, so far as is known, for on this point also, there is much obscurity, charged against those unfortunate persons, was their having dilapidated the royal revenues while the king was captive in England. The fate of the two sons of the regent, who were remarkably stout and handsome young men, excited a good deal of commiseration. The moment their sentence was pronounced, they were led out to execution. Their father and Lennox were beheaded on the following day. The scene of this tragedy was a rising ground immediately adjoining Stirling castle.

It is not improbable, that circumstances unknown to us may have warranted this instance of sanguinary severity on the part of the king; but it is unfortunate for his memory, that these circumstances, if they did exist, should be unknown; for as it now stands, he cannot be acquitted of cruelty in this case, as well as some others, otherwise than by alleging, that he was incapable of inflicting an unmerited punishment,—a defence more generous than satisfactory. The parliaments, however, which James convoked, continued remarkable for the wisdom of their decrees, for the number of salutary laws which they enacted, and for the anxiety generally which they discovered for the prosperity of the kingdom. Amongst the most curious of their laws is one which forbids any man who has accused another, from being of the jury on his trial! It is not easy to conceive what were the notions of jurisprudence which permitted the existence of the practice which this statute is meant to put an end to. The allowing the accuser to be one of the jury on the trial of the person he has accused, seems an absurdity and impropriety too palpable and gross to be apologized for, even by the rudeness and barbarity of the times. Another curious statute of this period enacts, that no traveller shall lodge with his friends, but at the common inn. The object of this was to encourage these institutions, only about this time first established in Scotland. They seem, however, very soon to have become popular, as it was shortly afterwards enjoined by act of parliament, that no one should remain in taverns after nine o'clock at night. This of course was meant only to apply to those who resided near the spot, and not to travellers at a distance from their homes.

The subjugation of the Highlands and Isles next occupied the attention of the stern and active monarch. These districts were in the most lawless state, and neither acknowledged the authority of the parliament nor the king. With the view of introducing a better order of things into these savage provinces, and of bringing to condign punishment some of the most turbulent chieftains, James assembled a parliament at Inverness, and specially summoned the heads of the clans to attend it. The summons was obeyed, and about fifty chieftains of various degrees of note and power arrived at Inverness at the appointed time, and were all made prisoners; amongst the rest, Alexander, lord of the Isles. Several of them were instantly beheaded after a summary trial, the others were



distributed throughout the different prisons of the kingdom, or kept in ward at the castles of the nobility. The greater part of them were afterwards put to death, and the remainder finally restored to liberty. With a degree of cruelty which the case does not seem to warrant, the countess of Ross, the mother of the lord of the Isles, was made a prisoner along with her son, and was long detained in captivity in the island of Inch Combe in the Firth of Forth. Alexander, after a year's confinement, was allowed to return to his own country, on condition that he would in future refrain from all acts of violence; his mother in the mean time being held a hostage for his good conduct.

Equally regardless, however, of his promises and the predicament of his parent, he, soon after regaining his liberty, with a large body of followers attacked and burned the town of Inverness. James, to revenge this outrage, instantly collected an army and marched against the perpetrator, whom he overtook in the neighbourhood of Lochaber. A battle ensued, in which the lord of the Isles, who is said to have had an army of ten thousand men under him, was totally defeated. Humbled by this misfortune, Alexander soon after made an attempt to procure a reconciliation with the king, but failing in this, he finally resolved to throw himself upon the mercy of the sovereign. With this view he came privately to Edinburgh, and attired only in his shirt and drawers, he placed himself before the high altar of Holyrood church, and on his knees, in presence of the queen and a number of nobles, presented his naked sword to the king. For this act of humiliation and humble submission, his life was spared; but he was ordered into close confinement in the castle of Tantallon. Some curious and interesting considerations naturally present themselves when contemplating the transactions just spoken of. Amongst these a wonder is excited to find the summons of the king to the fierce, lawless chieftains of the Highlands so readily obeyed. To see them walk so tamely into the trap which was laid for them, when they must have known, from the previous character of the king, that if they once placed themselves within his reach, they might be assured of being subjected to punishment. Supposing, again, that they were deceived as to his intentions, and had no idea that he meant them any personal violence, but were inveigled within his power by faithless assurances; it then becomes matter of astonishment, that in the very midst of their clans, in the heart of their own country, and in the immediate neighbourhood of their inaccessible retreats, the king should have been able, without meeting with any resistance, to take into custody and carry away as prisoners, no fewer than fifty powerful chieftains, and even to put some of them to death upon the spot. This wonder is not lessened by finding that the lord of the Isles himself could bring into the field ten thousand men, while the greater part of the others could muster from five hundred to five thousand each; and it might be thought that, however great was their enmity to each other, they would have made common cause in such a case as this, and have all united in rescuing their chiefs from the hands of him who must have appeared their common enemy; but no such effort was made, and the whole Highlands as it were looked quietly on and permitted their chief men to be carried away into captivity. In the midst of these somewhat inexplicable considerations, however, there is one very evident and remarkable circumstance; this is the great power of the king, which could thus enable him to enforce so sweeping an act of justice in so remote and barbarous a part of his kingdom; and perhaps a more striking instance of the existence of that extraordinary power, and of terror inspired by the royal name, is not to be found in the pages of Scottish history.

The parliament of James, directed evidently by the spirit of the monarch, continued from time to time to enact the most salutary laws. In 1427 it was



decreed, that a fine of ten pounds should be imposed upon burgesses who, being summoned, should refuse to attend parliament, without showing satisfactory cause for their absence; and in the same year several acts were passed for the punishment of murder and felony. The first of these acts, however, was repealed in the following year, by introducing a new feature into the legislature of the kingdom. The attendance of small barons or freeholders in parliament was dispensed with, on condition that each shire sent two commissioners, whose expenses were to be paid by the freeholders. Another singular decree was also passed this year, enjoining the successors and heirs of prelates and barons to take an oath of fidelity to the queen. This was an unusual proceeding, but not an unwise one, as it was evidently a provision for the event of the king's death, should it happen during the minority of his heir and successor. It did so happen; and though history is silent on the subject, there is reason to believe that the queen enjoyed the advantage which the act intended to secure to her.

In the year 1428, James wisely strengthened the Scottish alliance with France, by betrothing his eldest daughter, Margaret, but yet in her infancy, to the dauphin, afterwards Louis XI., also at this time a mere child. This contract, however, was not carried into effect until the year 1436, when the dauphin had attained his thirteenth year, and his bride her twelfth. The marriage eventually proved an exceedingly unhappy one. The husband of the Scottish princess was a man of the worst dispositions, and unfortunately there were others about him no less remarkable for their bad qualities. One of these, Jamet de Villy, impressed him, by tales which were afterwards proven to be false, with a suspicion of the dauphiness's fidelity. Though innocent, the unhappy princess was so deeply affected by the infamous accusations which were brought against her, that she took to bed, and soon after died of a broken heart, exclaiming before she expired, "Ah! Jamet, Jamet, you have gained your purpose;" such mild but affecting expressions being all that her hard fate and the malice of her enemies could elicit from the dying princess. Jamet was afterwards proven, in a legal investigation which took place into the cause of the death of Margaret, to be a "scoundrel" and "common liar." The death of this princess took place nine years after the marriage, and seven after the death of her father; who, had he been alive, would not, it is probable, have permitted the treatment of his daughter to have passed without some token of his resentment.

The short remaining portion of James's life, either from the defectiveness of the records of that period, or because they really did not occur, presents us with few events of any great importance. Amongst those worthy of any notice, are, a commercial league of one hundred years, entered into between Scotland and Flanders; the passing of a sumptuary law, forbidding any one but lords and knights, their eldest sons and heirs, from wearing silks and furs; a decree declaring all Scotsmen traitors who travel into England without the king's leave. Another enjoined all barons and lords having lands on the western or northern seas, particularly those opposite to the islands, to furnish a certain number of galleys, according to their tenures; an injunction which was but little attended to. In 1431, James renewed the treaty of peace with England, then just expiring, for five years. In this year also, a desperate encounter took place at Inverlochy, between Donald Balloch, and the earls of Mar and Caithness, in which the former was victorious. The earl of Caithness, with sixteen squires of his family, fell in this sanguinary engagement. Another conflict, still more deadly, took place about the same time in Strathnavern, between Angus Duff, chief of the Mackays of that district, and Angus Moray. There were twelve hundred men on either side, and it is said, that on the termination of the fight there were scarcely nine left alive.



James, in the mean time, proceeded with his system of hostility to the nobles, availing himself of every opportunity which presented itself of humbling them, and of lessening their power. He threw into prison his own nephews, the earl of Douglas, and Sir John Kennedy, and procured the forfeiture of the estates of the earl of March. The reasons for the first act of severity are now unknown. That for the second was, that the earl of March's father had been engaged in rebellion against the kingdom during the regency of Albany. The policy of James in arraying himself against his nobles, and maintaining an attitude of hostility towards them during his reign, seems of very questionable propriety, to say nothing of the apparent character of unmerited severity which it assumes in many instances. He no doubt found on his arrival in the kingdom, many crimes to punish amongst that class, and much feudal tyranny to suppress; but it is not very evident that his success would have been less, or the object which he aimed at less surely accomplished, had he done this with a more lenient hand. By making the nobles his friends in place of his enemies, he would assuredly have established and maintained the peace of the kingdom still more effectually than he did. They were men, rude as they were, who would have yielded a submission to a personal affection for their prince, which they would, and did refuse to his authority as a ruler. James erred in aiming at governing by fear, when he should have governed by love. A splendid proof of his error in this particular is presented in the conduct of his great grand-son, James IV. who pursued a directly opposite course with regard to his nobles, and with results infinitely more favourable to the best interests of the kingdom. Only one event now of any moment occurs until the premature death of James; this is the siege of Roxburgh. To revenge an attempt which had been made by the English to intercept his daughter on her way to France, he raised an army of, it has been computed, two hundred thousand men, and marching into England, besieged the castle of Roxburgh; but after spending fifteen days before that stronghold, and expending nearly all the missive arms in the kingdom, he was compelled to abandon the siege, and to return with his army without having effected any thing at all commensurate with the extent of his preparations, or the prodigious force which accompanied him. The melancholy catastrophe in which his existence terminated was now fast approaching,—the result of his own harsh conduct and unforgiving disposition.

The nobles, wearied out with his oppressions, seem latterly to have been restrained only by a want of unanimity amongst themselves from revenging the injuries they had sustained at his hands, or by a want of individual resolution to strike the fatal blow. At length one appeared who possessed the courage necessary for the performance of this desperate deed. This person was Sir Robert Graham, uncle to the earl of Strathern. He also had been imprisoned by James, and was therefore his enemy on personal as well as general grounds.

At this crisis of the dissatisfaction of the nobles, Graham offered, in a meeting of the latter, to state their grievances to the king, and to demand the redress of these grievances, provided those who then heard him would second him in so doing. The lords accepted his offer, and pledged themselves to support him. Accordingly, in the very next parliament Graham rose up, and having advanced to where the king was seated, laid his hand upon his shoulder, and said "I arrest you in the name of all the three estates of your realm here assembled in parliament, for as your people have sworn to obey you, so are you constrained by an equal oath to govern by law, and not to wrong your subjects, but in justice to maintain and defend them." Then turning round to the assembled lords, "Is it not thus as I say?" he exclaimed;—but the appeal remained unanswered. Either awed by the royal presence, or thinking that Graham had gone



too far, the lords meanly declined to afford him the support which they had promised him. That Graham had done a rash thing, and had said more than his colleagues meant he should have said, is scarcely an apology for their deserting him as they did in the hour of trial. They ought at least to have afforded him some countenance, and to have acknowledged so much of his reproach as they were willing should have been administered; and there is little doubt that a very large portion of its spirit was theirs also, although they seem to have lacked the courage to avow it. Graham was instantly ordered into confinement, and was soon after deprived of all his possessions and estates, and banished the kingdom. Brooding over his misfortunes, and breathing vengeance against him who was the cause of them, the daring exile retired to the remotest parts of the Highlands, and there arranged and perfected his plans of revenge. He first wrote letters to the king, renouncing his allegiance and defying his wrath, upbraiding him with being the ruin of himself, his wife, and his children, and concluded with declaring that he would put him to death with his own hand, if opportunity should offer. The answer to these threats and defiance was a proclamation which the king immediately issued, promising three thousand deniers of gold, of the value of half an English noble each, to any one who should bring in Graham dead or alive.

The king's proclamation, however, was attended with no effect. The object of it not only remained in safety in his retreat, but proceeded to mature the schemes of vengeance which he meditated against his sovereign. He opened a correspondence with several of the nobility, in which he unfolded the treason which he designed, and offered to assassinate the king with his own hand.

The general dislike which was entertained for James, and which was by no means confined to the aristocracy, for his exactions had rendered his government obnoxious also to the common people, soon procured for Graham a powerful co-operation; and the result was, that a regular and deep-laid conspiracy, and which included even some of the king's most familiar domestics, was speedily formed. In the mean time, the king, unconscious of the fate which was about to overtake him, had removed with his court to Perth to celebrate the festival of Christmas. While on his way thither, according to popular tradition, he was accosted by a soothsayer, who forewarned him of the disaster which was to happen him. "My lord king," she said, for it was a prophetess who spoke, "if ye pass this water," (the Forth) "ye shall never return again alive." The king is said to have been much struck by the oracular intimation, and not the less so that he had read in some prophecy a short while before, that in that year a king of Scotland should be slain. The monarch, however, did not himself deign on this occasion to interrogate the soothsayer as to what she meant, but deputed the task to one of the knights, whom he desired to turn aside and hold some conversation with her. This gentleman soon after rejoined the king, and representing the prophetess as a foolish inebriated woman, recommended to his majesty to pay no attention to what she had said. Accordingly no further notice seems to have been taken of the circumstance. The royal party crossed the water and arrived in safety at Perth; the king, with his family and domestics, taking up his residence at the Dominicans' or Blackfriars' monastery. The conspirators, in the mean time, fully informed of his motions, had so far completed their arrangements as to have fixed the night on which he should be assassinated. This was, according to some authorities, the night of the second Wednesday of lent, or the 27th day of February: by others, the first Wednesday of lent, or between the twentieth or twenty-first of that month, in the year 1437; and the latter is deemed the more accurate date. James spent the earlier



part of the evening in playing chess with one of his knights, whom, for his remarkable devotion to the fair sex he humorously nicknamed the King of Love. The king was in high spirits during the progress of the game, and indulged in a number of jokes at the expense of his brother king; but the dark hints which he had had of his fate, seemed, as it were in spite of himself, to have made an impression upon him, and were always present to him even in his merriest moods, and it was evidently under this feeling that he said—more in earnest than in joke, though he endeavoured to give it the latter character—to his antagonist in the game, “Sir King of Love, it is not long since I read a prophecy which foretold that in this year a king should be slain in this land, and ye know well, sir, that there are no kings in this realm but you and I. I therefore advise you to look carefully to your own safety, for I give you warning that I shall see that mine is sufficiently provided for.” Shortly after this a number of lords and knights thronged into the king’s chamber, and the mirth, pastime, and joke went on with increased vigour. In the midst of the revelry, however, the king received another warning of his approaching fate. “My lord,” said one of his favourite squires, tempted probably by the light tone of the conversation which was going forward, “I have dreamed that Sir Robert Graham should have slain you.” The earl of Orkney, who was present, rebuked the squire for the impropriety of his speech, but the king, differently affected, said that he himself had dreamed a terrible dream on the very night of which his attendant spoke.

In the mean time, the night wore on, and all still remained quiet in and around the monastery; but at this very moment, Graham, with three hundred fierce Highlanders, was lurking in the neighbourhood, waiting the midnight hour to break in upon the ill-fated monarch. The mirth and pastime in the king’s chamber continued until supper was served, probably about nine o’clock at night. As the hour of this repast approached, however, all retired excepting the earl of Athol and Robert Stuart, the king’s nephew, and one of his greatest favourites,—considerations which could not bind him to the unfortunate monarch, for he too was one of the conspirators, and did more than any one of them to facilitate the murderous intentions of his colleagues, by destroying the fastenings of the king’s chamber door. After supper the amusements of the previous part of the evening were resumed, and chess, music, singing, and the reading of romances, wiled away the next two or three hours. On this fatal evening another circumstance occurred, which might have aroused the suspicions of the king, if he had not been most unaccountably insensible to the frequent hints and indirect intimations which he had received of some imminent peril hanging over him. The same woman who had accosted him before crossing the firth again appeared, and knocking at his chamber door at a late hour of the night, sought to be admitted to the presence of the king. “Tell him,” she said to the usher who came forth from the apartment when she knocked, “that I am the same woman who not long ago desired to speak with him when he was about to cross the sea, and that I have something to say to him.” The usher immediately conveyed the message to the king, but he being wholly engrossed by the game in which he was at the instant engaged, merely ordered her to return on the morrow. “Well,” replied the disappointed soothsayer, as she at the first interview affected to be, “ye shall all of you repent that I was not permitted just now to speak to the king.” The usher laughing at what he conceived to be the expressions of a fool, ordered the woman to begone, and she obeyed. The night was now wearing late, and the king, having put an end to the evening’s amusements, called for the parting cup. This drunk, the party broke up, and James retired to his bed-chamber, where he found the queen and her ladies amusing themselves with cheerful conversation. The king, now in his



night-gown and slippers, placed himself before the fire, and joined in the badinage which was going forward. At this moment the king was suddenly startled by a great noise at the outside of his chamber door, or rather in the passage which led to it. The sounds were those of a crowd of armed men pressing hurriedly forward. There was a loud clattering and jingling of arms and armour, accompanied by the gleaming of torches. The king seems to have instantly apprehended danger, a feeling which either he had communicated to the ladies in the apartment, or they had of themselves conceived, for they immediately rushed to the door with the view of securing it, but they found all the fastenings destroyed, and a bar which should have been there removed.

This being intimated to the king, he called out to the ladies to hold fast the door as well as they could, until he could find something wherewith to defend himself; and he flew to the window of the apartment and endeavoured to wrench away one of the iron staunchions for this purpose, but the bar resisted all his efforts. In this moment of horror and despair, the unhappy monarch next seized the tongs, which lay by the fireside, and by their means, and with some desperate efforts of personal strength, he tore up a portion of the floor, and instantly descending through the aperture into a mean receptacle which was underneath the chamber, drew the boards down after him to their original position. In the mean time the ladies had contrived to keep out the conspirators, and, in this effort, it is said, Catharine Douglas had one of her arms broken, by having thrust it into the wall in place of the bar which had been removed. The assassins, however, at length forced their way into the apartment; and here a piteous scene now ensued. The queen stood in the middle of the floor, hereft of speech and of all power of motion by her terror, while her ladies, several of whom were severely hurt and wounded, filled the apartment with the most lamentable cries and shrieks.

One of the ruffians on entering inflicted a severe wound on the queen, and would have killed her outright, but for the interference of one of the sons of Sir Robert Graham, who, perceiving the dastard about to repeat the blow, exclaimed "What would ye do to the queen? for shame of yourself, she is but a woman; let us go and seek the king." The conspirators, who were all armed with swords, daggers, axes, and other weapons, now proceeded to search for the king. They examined all the beds, presses, and other probable places of concealment, overturned forms and chairs, but to no purpose; the king could not be found, nor could they conceive how he had escaped them. The conspirators, baulked in their pursuit, dispersed themselves throughout the different apartments to extend their search. This creating a silence in the apartment immediately above the king, the unfortunate monarch conceived the conspirators had entirely withdrawn, and in his impatience to get out of his disagreeable situation, called out to the ladies to bring him sheets for that purpose. In the attempt which immediately followed to raise him up by these means, Elizabeth Douglas, another of the queen's waiting-maids, fell into the hole in which the king was concealed. At this moment, Thomas Chambers, one of the assassins, and who was also one of the king's domestics, entered the apartment, and perceiving the opening in the floor, he immediately proceeded towards it, and looking down into the cellar, with the assistance of his torch discovered the king.

On descriing the object of his search, Chambers exultingly called out to his companions, "Sirs, the bride is found for whom we sought, and for whom we have caroled here all night." The joyful tidings instantly brought a crowd of the conspirators to the spot, and amongst the rest, Sir John Hall, who, with a large knife in his hand, hastily descended to the king's hiding-place. The latter, however, who was a man of great personal strength, instantly seized the assassin and threw him down at his feet; and his brother, who followed, shared



the same treatment—the king holding them both by their throats, and with such a powerful grasp, that they bore marks of the violence for a month afterwards. The unfortunate monarch now endeavoured to wrest their knives from the assassins, and in the attempt had his hands severely cut and mangled.

Sir Robert Graham, who had hitherto been merely looking on, now seeing that the Halls could not accomplish the murder of the king, also descended, and with a drawn sword in his hand. Unable to cope with them all, and exhausted with the fearful struggle which he had maintained with the two assassins; weaponless and disabled in his hands, the king implored Graham for mercy. "Cruel tyrant," replied the regicide, "thou hadst never mercy on thy kindred nor on others who fell within thy power, and therefore, thou shalt have no mercy from me." "Then I beseech thee, for the salvation of my soul, that thou wilt permit me to have a confessor," said the miserable prince. "Thou shalt have no confessor but the sword," replied Graham, thrusting his victim through the body with his weapon. The king fell, but the stroke was not instantly fatal. He continued in the most piteous tones to supplicate mercy from his murderer, offering him half his kingdom if he would but spare his life. The heart-rending appeals of the hapless monarch shook even Graham's resolution, and he was about to desist from doing him further injury, when his intentions being perceived by the conspirators from above, they called out to him that if he did not complete the deed, he should himself suffer death at their hands. Urged on by this threat, the three assassins again attacked the king, and finally despatched him, having inflicted sixteen deadly wounds on his chest, besides others on different parts of his body. As if every circumstance which could facilitate his death had conspired to secure that event, it happened that the king, some days before he was murdered, had directed that an aperture in the place where he had concealed himself, and by which he might have escaped, should be built up, as the balls with which he played at tennis in the court yard were apt to be lost in it. After completing the murder of the king, the assassins sought for the queen, whom, dreading her vengeance, they proposed to put also to death; but she had escaped. A rumour of the tragical scene that was enacting at the monastery having spread through the town, great numbers of the citizens and of the king's servants, with arms and torches hastened to the spot, but too late, to the assistance of the murdered monarch. The conspirators, however, all escaped for the time, excepting one, who was killed by Sir David Dunbar, who had himself three fingers cut off in the contest. This brave knight had alone attacked the flying conspirators, but was overpowered and left disabled.

In less than a month, such was the activity of the queen's vengeance, all the principal actors in this appalling tragedy were in custody, and were afterwards put to the most horrible deaths. Stuart and Chambers, who were the first taken, were drawn, hanged, and quartered, having been previously lacerated all over with sharp instruments. Graham was carried through the streets of Edinburgh in a cart, in a state of perfect nudity, with his right hand nailed to an upright post, and surrounded with men, who, with sharp hooks and knives, and red hot irons, kept constantly tearing at and burning his miserable body, until he was completely covered with wounds. Having undergone this, he was again thrown into prison, and on the following day brought out to execution. The wretched man had, when released from his tortures, wrapped himself in a coarse woollen Scottish plaid, which adhering to his wounds, caused him much pain in the removal. When this operation was performed, and it was done with no gentle hand, the miserable sufferer fainted, and fell to the ground with the agony. On recovering, which he did not do for nearly a quarter of an hour, he said to those around him, that the rude manner in which the mantle had



been removed, had given him greater pain than any he had yet suffered. To increase the horrors of his situation, his son was disembowelled alive before his face.

James I. perished in the forty-fourth year of his age, after an actual reign of thirteen years. His progeny were, a son, his successor, and five daughters. These were, Margaret, married to the dauphin; Isabella, to Francis, duke of Bretagne; Eleanor, to Sigismund, archduke of Austria; Mary, to the count de Boucquan; and Jean, to the earl of Angus, afterwards earl of Morton.

JAMES IV., king of Scots, was the eldest son of James III. by Margaret, daughter of Christiern, king of Denmark; and was born in the month of March, 1472. Of the manner of his education no record has been preserved; but it was probably good, as his father, whatever might be his faults, appears to have been a monarch of considerable taste and refinement. In the year 1488, a large party of nobles rebelled against James III. on account of various arbitrary proceedings with which they were displeased; and the king, on going to the north to raise an army for their suppression, left his son, the subject of the present memoir, in the keeping of Shaw of Sauchie, governor of Stirling castle. While the king was absent, the confederate nobles prevailed on Shaw to surrender his charge; and the prince was then set up as their nominal, but, it would appear, involuntary leader. The parties met, July 11, at Sauchie, near Stirling; and the king fell a victim to the resentment of his subjects. The subject of the present memoir then mounted the throne, in the sixteenth year of his age.

Neither the precise objects of this rebellion, nor the real nature of the prince's concern in its progress and event, are distinctly known. It is certain, however, that James IV. always considered himself as liable to the vengeance of heaven for his share, voluntary or involuntary, in his father's death; and accordingly wore a penitential chain round his body, to which he added new weight every year; and even contemplated a still more conspicuous expiation of his supposed offence, by undertaking a new crusade. Whatever might be the guilt of the prince, the nation had certainly no cause to regret the death of James III., except the manner in which it was accomplished, while they had every thing to hope from the generous young monarch who was his successor.

James possessed in an eminent degree every quality necessary to render a sovereign beloved by his subjects; and perhaps no prince ever enjoyed so large a portion of personal regard, of intense affection, as did James IV. of Scotland. His manner was gentle and affable to all who came in contact with him, whatever might be their rank or degree. He was just and impartial in his decrees, yet never inflicted punishment without strong and visible reluctance. He listened willingly and readily to admonition, and never discovered either impatience or resentment while his errors were placed before him. He took every thing in good part, and endeavoured to amend the faults pointed out by his advisers. He was generous, even to a fault; magnificent and princely in all his habits, pursuits, and amusements. His mind was acute, and dignified, and noble. He excelled in all warlike exercises and manly accomplishments; in music, horsemanship, and the use of sword and spear. Nor was his personal appearance at variance with this elevated character. His form, which was of the middle size, was exceedingly handsome, yet stout and muscular, and his countenance had an expression of mildness and dignity that instantly predisposed all who looked upon it to a strong attachment to its possessor.

His bravery, like his generosity, was also in the extreme: it was romantic. Altogether, he was unquestionably the most chivalrous prince of his day in Europe. A contemporary poet bears testimony to this part of his character:—



" And ye Christian princes, whosoever ye be,  
 If ye be destitute of a noble captayne,  
 Take James of Scotland for his audacitie  
 And proved manhood, if ye will laude attayne;  
 Let him have the forward, have ye no dislayne,  
 Nor indignation; for never king was borne  
 That of ought of warr can shewe the unicorn.

For if that he take once his speare in hand,  
 Against these Turkes strongly with it to ride,  
 None shall be able his stroke for to withstande  
 Nor before his face so hardy to abide;  
 Yet this his manhood increaseth not his pride,  
 But ever sheweth he meknes and humilitie,  
 In word or dede, to hye and lowe degree. "

A neglected education left him almost totally ignorant of letters, but not without a high relish for their beauties. He delighted in poetry, and possessed a mind attuned to all its finer sympathies.

The design of the rebel lords in taking arms against their sovereign, James III., being merely to free themselves from his weak and tyrannical government, without prejudice to his heirs, his son James IV. was, immediately after the death of his father, proclaimed king, and was formally invested with that dignity at Scone. However violent and unlawful were the proceedings which thus prematurely elevated James to the throne, the nation soon felt a benefit from the change which these proceedings effected, that could scarcely have been looked for from an administration originating in rebellion and regicide. The several parliaments which met after the accession of the young king, passed a number of wise and salutary laws, encouraging trade, putting down turbulence and faction, and enjoining the strict execution of justice throughout the kingdom.

The prince and his nobles placed the most implicit confidence in each other, and the people in both. This good understanding with the former, the king encouraged and promoted, by inviting them to frequent tournaments and other amusements, and warlike exercises, in accordance with his own chivalrous spirit, and adapted to their rude tastes and habits. These tournaments were exceedingly splendid, and were invested with all the romance of the brightest days of chivalry. Ladies, lords, and knights, in the most gorgeous attire crowded round the lists, or from draperied balconies, witnessed the combats that took place within them. James himself always presided on these occasions, and often exhibited his own prowess in the lists; and there were few who could successfully compete with him with spear, sword, or battle axe. Stranger knights from distant countries, attracted by the chivalric fame of the Scottish court, frequently attended and took part in these tournaments, but, it is said, did not in many instances prove themselves better men at their weapons than the Scottish knights. One of the rules of these encounters was, that the victor should be put in possession of his opponent's weapon; but when this was a spear, a purse of gold, a gift from the king, was attached to the point of it. These trophies were delivered to the conqueror by the monarch himself. The people were delighted with these magnificent and warlike exhibitions, and with their generous and chivalrous author. Nor were the actors themselves, the nobles, less gratified with them, or less affected by the high and princely spirit whence they emanated. They brought them into frequent and familiar contact with their sovereign, and nothing more was necessary in the case of James to attach them warmly and devotedly to his person. His kind and affable manner accomplished the rest.



By such means he was not only without a single enemy amongst the aristocracy, but all of them would have shed the last drop of their blood in his defence, and a day came when nearly all of them did so. In short, the wisest policy could not have done more in uniting the affections of prince and peers, than was accomplished by those warlike pastimes, aided as they were by the amiable manners of the monarch.

Not satisfied with discharging his duty to his subjects, from his high place on the throne, James frequently descended, and disguising his person—a practice to which his successor was also much addicted—roamed through the country unarmed and unattended, inquiring into his own reputation amongst the common people, and endeavouring to learn what faults himself or his government were charged with. On these occasions he lodged in the meanest hovels, and encouraged the inmates to speak their minds freely regarding their king; and there is little doubt, that, as his conduct certainly merited it, so he must have been frequently gratified by their replies. The young monarch, however, was charged with stepping aside occasionally in his rambles from this laudable though somewhat romantic pursuit, and paying visits to any of his fair acquaintances whose residence happened to be in his way; and it is alleged that he contrived they should very often be so situated.

Unfortunately for his courtiers, James conceived that he possessed, and not improbably actually did possess considerable skill in surgery and medicine, but there is reason to believe, that the royal surgeon's interference in cases of ailment was oftener dreaded than desired, although Lindsay says, that "thair was none of that profession (the medical) if they had any dangerous cure in hand but would have craved his adwyse." Compliments, however, to a king's excellence in any art or science are always suspicious, and this of Lindsay's is not associated with any circumstances which should give it a claim to exemption from such a feeling.

One of the greatest faults of the young monarch was a rashness and impetuosity of temper. This frequently led him into ill-timed and ill-judged hostilities with the neighbouring kingdom, and, conjoined with a better quality, his generosity, induced him to second the pretensions of the impostor Perkin Warbeck to the crown of England. That adventurer arrived at James's court (1496), attended by a numerous train of followers, all attired in magnificent habits, and sought the assistance of the Scottish king to enable him to recover what he represented as his birth-right. Prepossessed by the elegant manner and noble bearing of the impostor, and readily believing the story of his misfortunes, which was supported by plausible evidence, the generous monarch at once received him to his arms, and not only entertained him for some time at his court, but, much against the will of his nobles, mustered an army, and, with Warbeck in his company, marched at the head of it into England, to reinstate his protégé in what he believed to be his right, at the point of the sword,—a project much more indicative of a warm and generous heart, than of a prudent head. The enterprise, as might have been expected, was unsuccessful. James had counted on a rising in England in behalf of the pretender, but being disappointed in this, he was compelled to abandon the attempt and to return to Holyrood. The king of England did not retaliate on James this invasion of his kingdom; but he demanded from him the person of the impostor. With this request, however, the Scottish king was much too magnanimous to comply; and he not only refused to accede to it, but furnished Warbeck with vessels and necessaries to carry him to Ireland, whither he now proceeded. James is fully relieved from the charge of credulity which might appear to be against him for so readily confiding in Warbeck's representations, by the extreme



plausibility which was attached to them, and by the strongly corroborative circumstances by which they were attended. He is also as entirely relieved from the imputation of conniving in the imposture—an accusation which has been insinuated against him—by the circumstance of his having given a near relation of his own, Catharine Gordon, a daughter of lord Huntly's, in marriage to the impostor, which it cannot for a moment be believed he would have done had he known the real character of Warbeck.

The species of roving life which the young monarch led, was now about to be circumscribed, if not wholly terminated, by his entering into the married state. This he avoided as long as he possibly could, and contrived to escape from it till he had attained the thirtieth year of his age. Henry of England, however, who had always been more desirous of James's friendship than his hostility, and had long entertained views of securing the former by a matrimonial connexion with his family, at length succeeded in procuring James's consent to marry his daughter Margaret, an event which took place in 1503.

Whatever reluctance the monarch might have had to resign his liberty, he was not wanting in gallantry to his fair partner when she came to claim it. He first waited upon her at Newbattle, where he entertained her with his own performance on the clarichords and lute, listened to specimens of her own skill in the same art on bended knee, and altogether conducted himself like a true and faithful knight. He also exhibited a care and elegance in his dress on this occasion, sufficiently indicative of his desire to please. He was arrayed in a black velvet jacket, bordered with crimson velvet, and furred with white; and when he afterwards conducted his bride from Dalkeith to Edinburgh, which he did, strange to tell, seated on horseback behind him, he appeared in a jacket of cloth of gold, bordered with purple velvet, furred with black, a doublet of violet satin, scarlet hose, the collar of his shirt studded with precious stones and pearls, with long gilt spurs projecting from the heels of his boots.

By the terms of the marriage contract, the young queen, who was only in her fourteenth year when she was wedded to James, was to be conducted to Scotland at the expense of her father, and to be delivered to her husband or to persons appointed by him, at Lamberton kirk. The latter was to receive with her a dowry of thirty thousand pieces of gold; ten thousand to be paid at Edinburgh eight days after the marriage, other ten thousand at Coldingham a year afterwards, and the last ten thousand at the expiry of the year following. The marriage was celebrated with the utmost splendour and pomp. Feastings, tourneyings, and exhibitions of shows and plays, succeeded each other in one continued and uninterrupted round for many days, James himself appearing in the lists at the tournaments in the character of the "Savage Knight." But there is no part of the details of the various entertainments got up on this occasion that intimates so forcibly the barbarity of the times, as the information that real encounters between a party of Highlanders and Borderers, in which the combatants killed and mangled each other with their weapons, were exhibited for the amusement of the spectators.

A more grateful and more lasting memorial of the happy event of James's marriage than any of these, is to be found in Dunbar's beautiful allegorical poem, the "Thistle and the Rose," composed on that occasion, and thus aptly and emblematically entitled from the union being one between a Scottish king and English princess. In this poem, Dunbar, who then resided at the court, hints at the monarch's character of being a somewhat too general admirer of the fair sex, by recommending him to reserve all his affections for his queen.

"Nor hauld no other flower in sic denty  
As the fresche rose, of cullor reid and white;



For gif thou dois, hurt is thine honesty,  
Considering that no flower is so perfyt."

It is said to have been at the rude but magnificent court of this monarch, that the character of a Scottish courtier first appeared; this class, so numerous at all the other courts of Europe, having been hitherto unknown in Scotland. These raw courtiers, however, made rapid progress in all the acquirements necessary to their profession, and began to cultivate all their winning ways, and to pay all that attention to their exterior appearance, on which so much of the hopes of the courtier rests. A finely and largely ruffled shirt, the especial boast and delight of the ancient Scottish courtier, a flat little bonnet, russet hose, perfumed gloves, embroidered slippers that glittered in the sun or with candle light, a handkerchief also perfumed and adorned with a golden tassel at each corner, with garters knotted into a huge rose at the knee—were amongst the most remarkable parts of the dress of the hangers-on at the court of James IV. In one important particular, however, these gentlemen seemed to have wonderfully resembled the courtier of the present day. "Na Kindness at Court without Sil-ler," is the title of a poem by Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington, who had every opportunity of knowing personally what was the character of that of his native sovereign.

One of the stipulations of the marriage treaty between the king and the daughter of Henry the VII., having secured an inviolable peace between the two monarchs and their subjects, the nation enjoyed for several years after that event the most profound tranquillity. This leisure James employed in improving the civil polity of his kingdom; in making efforts to introduce civilization, and an obedience to the laws, into the Highlands and Isles, by establishing courts of justice at Inverness, Dingwall, and various other places throughout these remote districts; in enlarging and improving his navy, and, in short, in doing every thing that a wise prince could do to promote the prosperity of his kingdom. In all these judicious proceedings, James was cordially supported by his parliament, a department of the legislature in which he was perhaps more fortunate than any of his predecessors had ever been, and certainly more than were any of his immediate successors. The acts of the parliament of James are distinguished by the most consummate wisdom, and by a constant aiming at the improvement and prosperity of the kingdom, whether by suppressing violence, establishing rules for the dispensation of justice, or in encouraging commerce; and they are no less remarkable for a spirit of cordiality towards the sovereign, amounting to a direct and personal affection, which breathes throughout the whole. How much of this good feeling, and of this happy co-operation in good works, depended upon the king, and how much upon the parliaments themselves, it would not be easy to determine, but it is certain, that much of the merit which attaches to it must be awarded to the sovereign.

This peaceful and prosperous state of the kingdom, however, after enduring for upwards of nine years, at length drew to a close, and finally terminated in one of the most disastrous events recorded in the pages of her history. Henry VII. died, and was succeeded by Henry VIII. Besides the change which this occurrence effected in the relationship between the sovereigns of England and Scotland, the feelings and policy of the new monarch towards the latter kingdom were totally dissimilar to those of his predecessor. He seems, indeed, to have brought with him to the throne a feeling of hostility towards Scotland; and this feeling, the sensitive, warm tempered, and impetuous monarch, against whom it was entertained, was not long in discovering. The consequence was, that, after some slight mutual offences, which, under any other circumstances, might have been easily atoned for, war was proclaimed between the two king-



doms, and both made the most formidable preparations for deciding their differences on the field of battle. James summoned the whole array of his kingdom, including all the western isles and the most remote parts of the Highlands, to assemble on the Burrow muir within twenty days, each, as was usual on such occasions, to come provided with forty days' provisions. Though the impending war was deprecated by James's council, and was by all considered imprudent, yet such was his popularity, such the general affection for the high-spirited and generous monarch, that no less than one hundred thousand men appeared in arms at the place of muster; disapproving, indeed, of the object for which they were brought together, but determined to shed the last drop of their blood in their sovereign's quarrel—because it was his, and because he had determined on bringing it to the issue of the sword. Deeply imbued with the superstition of the period, James spent much of his time, immediately before setting out with his army, in the performance of religious rites and observances. On one of these occasions, and within a few days of his marching on his expedition, a circumstance occurred which the credulity of the times has represented as supernatural, but in which it is not difficult to detect a design to work on the superstitious fears of the king, to deter him from proceeding on his intended enterprise. While at his devotions in the church of Linlithgow, a figure, clothed in a blue gown secured by a linen girdle and wearing sandals, suddenly appeared in the church, and calling loudly for the king, passed through the crowd of nobles, by whom he was surrounded, and finally approached the desk at which his majesty was seated at his devotions. Without making any sign of reverence or respect for the royal presence, the mysterious visitor now stood full before the king, and delivered a commission as if from the other world. He told him that his expedition would terminate disastrously, advised him not to proceed with it, and cautioned him against the indulgence of illicit amours. The king was about to reply, but the spectre had disappeared, and no one could tell how. The figure is represented as having been that of an elderly grave-looking man, with a bald uncovered head, and straggling grey locks resting on his shoulders. There is little doubt that it was a stratagem of the queen's, and that the lords who surrounded the king's person were in the plot. Some other attempts of a similar kind were made to alarm the monarch, and to deter him from his purpose, but in vain. Neither superstition nor the ties of natural affection could dissuade him from taking the field. Resisting all persuasion, and even the tears and entreaties of his queen, who, amongst the other arguments which her grief for the probable fate of her husband suggested, urged that of the helpless state of their infant son; the gallant but infatuated monarch took his place at the head of his army, put the vast array in marching order, and proceeded on that expedition from which he was never to return. The Scottish army having passed the Tweed began hostilities by taking some petty forts and castles, and amongst the latter that of Ford; here the monarch found a Mrs Heron, a lady of remarkable beauty, and whose husband was at that time a prisoner in Scotland. Captivated by this lady's attractions—while his natural son, the archbishop of St Andrews, who accompanied him, acknowledged those of her daughter—James spent in her society that time which he should have employed in active service with his army. The consequence of this inconceivable folly was, that his soldiers, left unemployed, and disheartened by a tedious delay, gradually withdrew from his camp and returned to their homes, until his army was at length reduced to little more than thirty thousand men. A sense of honour, however, still detained in his ranks all the noblemen and gentlemen who had first joined them, and thus a disproportionate number of the aristocracy remained to fall in the fatal field which was soon afterwards fought. In the mean time the earl of Surrey, lieutenant-



general of the northern counties of England, advanced towards the position occupied by James's forces, with an army of thirty-one thousand men.

On the 7th of September, 1513, the latter encamped at Woolerhaugh, within five miles of Flodden hill, the ground on which the Scottish army was encamped. On the day following they advanced to Banmore wood, distant about two miles from the Scottish position, and on the 9th presented themselves in battle array at the foot of Flodden hill. The Scottish nobles endeavoured to prevail upon the king not to expose his person in the impending encounter, but he rejected the proposal with disdain, saying, that to outlive so many of his brave countrymen would be more terrible to him than death itself. Finding they could not dissuade him from his purpose of sharing in the dangers of the approaching fight, they had recourse to an expedient to lessen the chances of a fatal result. Selecting several persons who bore a resemblance to him in figure and stature, they clothed them in a dress exactly similar to that worn by the monarch, and dispersed them throughout the ranks of the army. The English army, when it presented itself to the Scots, was drawn up in three large divisions; Surrey commanding that in the centre, Sir Edward Stanley and Sir Edmund Howard those on the right and left, while a large body of cavalry, commanded by Dacre, was posted in the rear. The array of the Scots was made to correspond to this disposition, the king himself leading on in person the division opposed to that commanded by Surrey, while the earls of Lennox, Argyle, Crawford, Montrose, Huntly, and Home, jointly commanded those on his right and left. A body of cavalry, corresponding to that of Dacre's, under Bothwell, was posted immediately behind the king's division. Having completed their dispositions, the Scots, with their long spears levelled for the coming strife, descended from the hill, and were soon closed with the enemy. The divisions commanded by Huntly and Home, on the side of the Scots, and by Howard on the side of the English, first met, but in a few minutes more all the opposing divisions came in contact with each other, and the battle became general.

The gallant but imprudent monarch himself, with his sword in his hand, and surrounded by a band of his no less gallant nobles, was seen fighting desperately in the front of his men, and in the very midst of a host of English bill-men. After various turns of fortune, the day finally terminated in favour of the English, though not so decisively as to assure them of their success, for it was not till the following day, that Surrey, by finding the field abandoned by the Scots, ascertained that he had gained the battle. In this sanguinary conflict, which lasted for three hours, having commenced at four o'clock in the afternoon and continued till seven, there perished twelve earls, thirteen lords, five eldest sons of peers, about fifty gentlemen of rank and family, several dignitaries of the church, and about ten thousand common men. Amongst the churchmen who fell, were the king's natural son, the archbishop of St Andrews, Hepburn, bishop of the Isles, and the abbots of Kilwinning and Inchaffray. James himself fell amidst a heap of his slaughtered nobles, mortally wounded in the head by an English bill, and pierced in the body with an arrow. It was long believed by the common people that the unfortunate monarch had escaped from the field, and that he had gone on a pilgrimage to Palestine, where tradition represented him to have ended his days in prayer and penitence for his sins, and especially for that of his having borne arms against his father. This belief was strengthened by a rumour that he had been seen between Kelso and Dunse after the battle was fought. That he actually fell at Flodden, however, has been long since put beyond all doubt, and the fate of his body is singular. It appears to have been carried to London, and to have been embalmed there, but by whom or by whose orders is unknown. In the reign of Elizabeth, some



sixty or seventy years afterwards, the shell in which the body was deposited, and still containing it, was found in a garret amongst a quantity of lumber by a slater while repairing the roof of a house. The body was still perfectly entire, and emitted a pleasant fragrance from the strong aromas which had been employed in its preservation. Looking on it as a great curiosity, though unaware whose remains it was, the slater chopped off the head, carried it home with him, and kept it for several years. Such was the fate of the mortal part of the noble-minded, the high-souled monarch, James IV. of Scotland. He was in the forty-first year of his age, and the twenty-sixth of his reign, when he fell on Flodden field.

At this distance of time, every thing relating to that celebrated, but calamitous contest—the most calamitous recorded in the pages of Scottish history—possesses a deep and peculiar interest; but of all the memorials which have reached us of that fatal event, there is not one perhaps so striking and impressive as the proclamation of the authorities of Edinburgh. The provost and magistrates were in the ranks of the king's army, and had left the management of the town's affairs in the hands of deputies. On the day after the battle was fought, a rumour had reached the city that the Scottish army had met with a disaster, and the following proclamation—the one alluded to—was in consequence issued. The hopes, fears, and doubts which it expresses, now that all such feelings regarding the event to which it refers have long since passed away, cannot be contemplated without a feeling of deep and melancholy interest. “The 10th day of September the year above written, (1513) we do zow to witt. Forasmeikle as thair is ane grait rumour now laitlie rysin within this toun, touching oure soverane lord and his army, of the quhilk we understand thair is cum in na veritie as yet. Quhairfore we charge straitely, and commandis in oure said soverane lord the kingis name, and the presidentis for the provost and bailies within this burgh, that all manner of personis, nychtbours within the samyn, have riddye thair fensabill geir and wappenis for weir, and compeir thairwith to the said presidents at jowing of the commoun bell, for the keiping and defense of the toun aganis thame that wald invaid the samin. And als chairgis that all wemen, and especiallie vagaboundis, that thair pass to thair labouris and be nocht sene upoun the gait clamorand and cryand, under the pane of banising of thair personis, but favouris, and that the uther women of gude repute pass to the kirk and pray quhaue tyme requiris for our soverane lord, and his army and nychtbours being thairat, and hald thame at thair previe labouris of the gait within thair housis as efferis.”

James left behind him only one legitimate child, James V. His natural issue were, Alexander, born eight months after his father's death, and who died in the second year of his age; Alexander, archbishop of St Andrews; Catharine, wedded to the earl of Morton; James, earl of Murray; Margaret, wedded to the heir of Huntly; and Jean, married to Malcolm, lord Fleming.

JAMES V. of Scotland, son of James IV., and of Margaret, eldest daughter of Henry VII., king of England, was born at Linlithgow in the month of April, 1512. This prince, on the death of his father, was not more than a year and a half old. The nation had, therefore, to look forward to a long minority, and to dread all the evils which in these turbulent times were certain to attend a protracted regency.

Scarcely any event could have been more disastrous to Scotland, than the premature death of James IV. The loss of the battle of Flodden, the immense number of Scottish noblemen and gentlemen who fell in that fatal field, were calamities of no ordinary magnitude; but the death of James himself was more fatal to the peace and prosperity of the kingdom than all. By the latter event,



Scotland was thrown open to foreign influence and intrigue, and left to the ferocious feuds of its own turbulent and warlike chieftains, who did not fail to avail themselves of the opportunity which the death of the monarch afforded them, of bringing their various private quarrels to the decision of the sword. It might have been expected, that the overwhelming disaster of Flodden field, which brought grief and mourning into almost every house of note in the land by the loss of some member of its family, would have extinguished, for a time at least, all personal animosities between them, and that a common sympathy would have prevented the few that were left from drawing their swords upon each other ; but it had no such effect. Sanguinary contests and atrocious murders daily occurred throughout the whole country. They invaded each other's territories with fire and sword, burned with indiscriminating vengeance the cottage as well as the castle ; despoiled the lands of corn and cattle ; and retired only when driven back by a superior force, or when there was nothing more left to destroy or carry away. For us, who live in so totally different and so much happier times, it is not easy to conceive the dreadful and extraordinary state of matters which prevailed in Scotland during such periods as that of the minority of James V., when there was no ruler in the land to curb the turbulence and ambition of its nobles. In their migrations from one place to another, these proud chieftains were constantly attended by large bodies of armed followers, whom they kept in regular pay, besides supplying them with arms and armour. Thus troops of armed men, their retainers being generally on horseback, were constantly traversing the country in all directions, headed by some stern chieftain clad in complete armour, and bent on some lawless expedition of revenge or aggression ; but he came thus prepared as well to the feast as to the fray, for he did not know how soon the former might be converted into the latter. There existed always a mutual distrust of each other, which kept them in a constant dread of treachery, and no outward signs of friendship could throw them for a moment off their guard. Thus they were compelled to have frequent recourse to stratagem to destroy an enemy ; and numerous instances of the basest and most cowardly assassinations, accomplished by such means, occur in the pages of Scottish history. The number of armed retainers by which the chieftain was attended, was proportioned to his means. The Douglasses are said to have seldom gone abroad with fewer than fifteen hundred men at arms behind them ; and Robertson of Strowan, a chief of no great note, in the year 1504, was attended by a band of no less than eight hundred followers when he went to ravage the lands of Athol. The earl of Angus on one occasion entered Edinburgh with five hundred men in his train, all " well accompanied and arrayed with jack and spear," for which they found sufficient employment before they left the city. Angus had come to Edinburgh with this formidable force to prevent the success of an attempt which the earl of Arran, then also in the town, was at that instant making to deprive the queen dowager of the regency. So soon as Arran got notice that Angus was in the city, he ordered the gates to be shut to secure him, but unaware, that he had also shut up with him five hundred well-armed followers. In the morning some of Angus's friends waited upon him, and informed him of the measures which Arran had taken for his apprehension, they also told him that if he did not instantly appear on the open street where he might defend himself, he would be taken prisoner.

Angus lost no time in buckling on his armour, and summoning his followers around him. He then formed in battle array, immediately above the Netherbow, and after a fruitless attempt on the part of Gavin Douglas, archbishop of St Andrews, to prevent bloodshed, the retainers of the two hostile noblemen encountered each other ; and after a sanguinary conflict of long continuance,



on the public street, in which great numbers were killed and wounded on both sides, Arran's party gave way, and he himself with difficulty escaped through the North Loch. This encounter was afterwards distinguished by the name of Cleanse the Causey, from its having been fought upon the street or causey. Such was the condition of Scotland during nearly the whole period of the minority of James; and by merely substituting one noble name for another, and shifting from time to time the scene of their endless squabbles and skirmishes, adding an interminable and scarcely intelligible story of intrigues, duplicity, and deception, we have the history of the kingdom for the fifteen years immediately succeeding the battle of Flodden field. During this period, we occasionally find the queen and her second husband, the earl of Angus, and sometimes the duke of Albany, cousin of the late king, in possession of the nominal regency. At length the young monarch comes upon the stage; and it is not until that event occurs, that the interest of the story is resumed. It then becomes a connected and intelligible tale, and is at once relieved of the cumbrous and fatiguing narration of occurrences, digressive, episodic, and parenthetical, with which it was previously disfigured and obscured.

In the mean time, the young monarch, unconscious of the storm that was raging without, was pursuing his studies in the castle of Edinburgh, where he had been placed for safety, under the tuition of Gavin Dunbar. The apartments appropriated to the youthful sovereign in this ancient fortress, seem to have been in but a very indifferent condition; his master, Dunbar, though afterwards refunded, having been obliged to repair, at his own cost, in the first instance, the chamber in which the king received his lessons, one particular room having been set apart for that purpose. Indeed, during the whole of Albany's regency, the wants of the young monarch seem to have been very little attended to: even his personal comfort was so much neglected, that it was with great difficulty he could procure a new doublet or a new pair of hose; and he at one time must have gone without even them, but for the kindness of his natural sister, the countess of Morton, who, from time to time, supplied him with articles of wearing apparel. The treasurer, too, frequently refused to pay the tailor for the making of his clothes, when the material instead of the dress happened to be sent him. Though placed in the castle for security, this consideration does not seem to have precluded the indulgence of going abroad occasionally. A mule was kept for him, on which he rode out during the intervals of his study, and when the town and surrounding country were reckoned sufficiently quiet and peaceful as to admit of his doing so with safety. The appearance, character, and temper of the young monarch during his nonage, are spoken of in warm terms by his contemporaries. In personal appearance he is said to have borne a strong resemblance to his uncle Henry VIII. of England; who, tyrant though he was, had certainly a very noble and kingly presence. James's countenance was oval, of a mild and sweet expression; his eyes blue, and beaming at once with gentleness and intelligence without effeminacy; a head of yellow hair completes the picture. He was of an exceedingly affectionate disposition, and of a generous though somewhat hasty temper. "There is not in the world," says the queen his mother, in a letter to Surrey, "a wiser child, or a better-hearted, or a more able." This is the language of a parent indeed; but, when corroborated as it is by other evidence, there is no occasion to suspect it of partiality. James was about this time in the eleventh or twelfth year of his age. With his other good qualities he discovered a shrewdness and sagacity superior to his years. Surrey, speaking of him to Wolsey, says, "he speaks *sure*, for so young a thing." The young monarch was much addicted to all manly sports and exercises, and in all excelled. He rode gracefully, was passionately fond of the



chase, and took much delight in hawks, hounds, and all the other appurtenances belonging to that amusement. He also sang and danced well, and even in his boyish years felt much of that "stern joy" which noble minds feel in possessing and handling implements of war. He was delighted with arms and armour; and could draw a sword a yard long before the hilt, when buckled to his side, as well as a full grown man. His own weapon was of this length when he was only twelve years of age. James was altogether at this period of his life a noble and princely boy. His amusements were all of a manly character. His mind was generous and elevated, his mein and carriage gallant and dignified. In short, imagination cannot conceive a more striking image of a youthful monarch in a rude and warlike age, than is presented to us in the person and character of James the V. of Scotland. There is some reason, however, to believe, that the royal colt was a little wild, and that he was fully as fond of tilting with the spear, or making the forest of Ettrick ring with his bugle notes, as of studying his humanities, for his Latinity was found to be sadly defective.

He seems to have kept Stirling castle, the place where he last resided before assuming the reins of government, in something like an uproar while he lived in it, with his sports and amusements. He was generally joined in these by his domestics; and as they were pretty numerous, we may readily conceive what a noise and turmoil they would create, led on in their wild and obstreperous frolics by their bold and lively young leader. Pelting each other with eggs is known to have been a favourite pastime, and it is one certainly, which must have given rise to many of the most ludicrous scenes. Although the estates of the kingdom had fixed the eighteenth year of his age as that which should terminate the minority of James, and put him in full and uncontrolled possession of the sovereignty of the kingdom, he was called upon to take his seat on the throne at a much earlier period of life.

The lords themselves, whose feuds and quarrels had filled the country with slaughter and rapine, saw no other way of terminating the frightful scene but by calling on the king, young as he was, to assume the royal dignity. The ambition of his mother, who hoped to possess herself of the real power and authority, also contributed to facilitate the event; and, accordingly, the boy king, for he was only twelve years of age, was brought, escorted by a numerous train of nobles, from Stirling castle to Holyrood house. On first learning the resolution which the lords had come to of investing him with the royal character, he expressed much delight, and seemed filled with the most joyful anticipations. "He was weill content," says Lindsay, "to leive correctioun at the scooles, and pas to his lordis at libertie."

Amongst the first things which the young monarch did on arriving at Holyrood, was to change all the officers of the royal household, from the treasurer down to the carvers. Three noblemen, the earl of Lennox, the lords Hamilton and Angus, and archbishop Beaton, were appointed as his guardians and advisers. For a year after his arrival in Edinburgh and assumption of the royal dignity, the king and his guardians lived happily, and Lindsay says, merrily together; but at the end of that period, a "benefice vaiket," a temptation came in the way, and destroyed the harmony of the association; each claimed it from the king, and each thought he had a better right to it than his fellow. Angus said, that he was always scarce of hay and horse corn when he came to Edinburgh, and that therefore it should be given to him. The vacant benefice was attached to Holyrood house. Whether it was the force of this appeal, or the superior influence of Angus over the royal mind that decided the point, is left unexplained; but that nobleman carried off the prize, to the great disappointment and displeasure of the other three, who shortly after retired in disgust



from the court. Lennox, who had got nothing at all, returned, in despair of gaining any thing by the royal favour, to his own country; and Hamilton, though he had procured the abbacy of Paisley for his son, thinking that he had not got enough, followed his example. Beaton, who lived then in a house of his own in the Friars Wynd, refrained afterwards from going near the court, but when expressly sent for.

Although James was now placed upon the throne, and surrounded with all the insignia of royalty, he neither of himself assumed nor was permitted to assume the functions of the royal state. He was much too young to be capable of holding the reins of government, and there were those around him who were not desirous that he should. Nor does it appear that the young monarch cared much about the matter, so long as he was permitted to enjoy himself; and there is no reason to believe that the defection of his grave guardians sank very deep into his mind. As the king advanced in years, however, this indifference to the power and authority of his elevated station gradually gave way to the natural ambition of enjoying them; and he at length determined to rid himself of the thralldom under which he was kept by the earl of Angus, who had for several years exercised the royal authority in his name. The house of Douglas, however, was too powerful, and their influence too extensive, to admit of his effecting his emancipation by any open effort, he therefore determined to have recourse to secret measures in the first instance.

The young king was now in the seventeenth year of his age, and when he carried his design into execution, was residing at Falkland, a favourite hunting place of the kings of Scotland. Here he was attended as usual by the earl of Angus and several of his kindred, all of whom were united in the design of keeping the king as it were to themselves. A Douglas was captain of his guard; a Douglas was treasurer; and a Douglas was guardian and adviser. Great numbers of that name, besides, filled subordinate situations in the royal household, and the king's guard, consisting of a hundred gentlemen, were all in the interest of the earl of Angus and his family. Thus encompassed, the young monarch had no other resource than to endeavour to elude their vigilance. He was under no personal restraint, nor was he debarred from any enjoyment or amusement with which he chose to occupy himself. On the contrary, they all led an exceedingly merry and joyous life together; were almost daily out hunting and hawking and feasting with the neighbouring noblemen and gentlemen, and amongst the rest with the archbishop of St Andrews, who entertained the king and his attendants with great "mirrines" for several days together; but it was necessary that a Douglas should always be present on these occasions. Hunting, hawking, or feasting, still a Douglas must be there. An opportunity such as the young monarch had long and anxiously looked for of escaping from this annoying surveillance at length presented itself, and he availed himself of it. The earl of Angus left Falkland for a few days, to transact some private business of his own in the Lothians, leaving the king in charge of his uncle, Archibald Douglas, and his brother George. These two, however, availing themselves probably of the earl's absence, also left the palace on different errands; the former, it is hinted, to visit a mistress in Dundee, and the latter to arrange some business with the archbishop of St Andrews. There was still, however, a fourth left, whom it was necessary the king should dispose of before he could effect his escape; this was James Douglas of Parkhead, the captain of the guard, to whom the absentees in the last resort had confided the safe keeping of the young monarch. In order to get rid of him, the king gave out that he intended to go a-hunting early on the following morning, and having sent for James Douglas to his bed-room, he called for liquor, and drinking to his guest, re-



marked that he should see good hunting on the morrow. Douglas, little dreaming of the equivoque, saw the king safely to bed, and retired to his own by the advice of his master, much earlier than usual, that he might be up by times in the morning, the king having ordered dejeuner to be served at four o'clock. It is not improbable that his majesty, moreover, had made him take an extra cup before they parted. As soon as all was quiet in the palace, the king got up, disguised himself by putting on the dress of one of his own grooms, and descended to the stables, where "Jockie Hart," a yeoman of the stable, with another trusty servant, also in the secret, were ready prepared with saddled horses for the intended flight.

They all three instantly mounted, and escaping all notice from the wardens, took the road for Stirling at full gallop. On reaching the castle, which he did by break of day, the king ordered the gates to be shut, and that no one should be permitted to enter without his special order. This done, he retired to bed, much fatigued with his long and rapid ride. His escape from Falkland was not discovered until the following morning. George Douglas had returned to the palace at eleven o'clock at night, about an hour after the king's departure, but having learned from the porters that his majesty was asleep in his own apartment, he, without further inquiry, retired to bed; and it was not until he was roused at an early hour of the morning, by Patrick Carmichael, baillie of Abernethy, who had recognized the king in his flight, and who came with all manner of despatch to inform him of it, that he knew any thing at all about the matter. He would not at first believe it, but rushed in great alarm to the king's chamber, which he found locked, and it was only when he had burst up the door and found the apartment unoccupied, that he felt assured of the dreadful truth. The king must have already acquired some little reputation for that gallantry amongst the ladies which afterwards so much distinguished him, for on this occasion he was at first suspected to have gone off on a nocturnal visit to a lady at Bambrigh, some miles distant from Falkland.

Immediately after his arrival in Stirling, the king summoned a great number of his lords to join him there, to assist him with their advice and counsel. The summons was readily obeyed, both from personal attachment to the king, and a jealousy and dislike of his late guardian the earl of Angus. In a few days, James was surrounded with nearly a score of the noblest names in the land, all ready to perish in his defence, and to assert and maintain his rights at the point of the sword.

He seems to have resented highly the restraint in which he had been kept by Angus and his kindred, for it was now, he said, addressing the assembled lords, "I avow that Scotland shall not hold us both till I be revenged on him and his." The earl of Angus and all his immediate friends were now put to the horn, and the former deprived of all his public offices. It is therefore at this period that the actual reign of James commences, and not before. He was now freed from the influence of the Douglasses, surrounded by his nobles, who paid him a ready and willing homage, and was in every respect an independent and absolute sovereign, capable and at liberty to judge and to act for himself.

James's appearance and character were as interesting as his situation at this period of his life. He was now, as stated before, in the seventeenth year of his age, of a robust constitution, which enabled him to encounter any bodily fatigue. His speech and demeanour were mild and conciliating. His stature was of middling height, but handsomely formed, and "the fient a pride, nae pride had he." He spoke at all times affably to the meanest of his subjects, and would partake of the humblest repast of the humblest peasant in his dominions, with a glee and satisfaction which evinced the most amiable kindness



of disposition. These qualities rendered him exceedingly beloved by the common people, of whom he was always besides so steady and effective a friend, as procured for him the enviable title of King of the Poor.

Amongst the first cares of James, after his becoming possessed of the actual sovereignty of the kingdom, was to subdue the border thieves and marauders, who were carrying matters with a high hand, and had so extended their business during the lawless period of his minority, and so systematized their proceedings, that Armstrong of Kilnockie—the celebrated Johnnie Armstrong of the well-known old ballad—one of the most noted leaders of these predatory bands, never traveled abroad, even on peaceful purposes, without a train of six and twenty gentlemen well mounted, well armed, and always handsomely dressed in the gayest and most chivalrous garb of the times. As James, however, knew that he would have little chance of laying hold of these desperadoes if he sought them with openly hostile intentions, their predatory habits and intimate knowledge of the localities of the country rendering it easy for them to evade any such attempt, he had recourse to stratagem. He gave out that he intended to have a great hunting match on the borders, and really did combine both sport and business in the expedition which followed. As was usual with the Scottish kings on hunting occasions, he summoned all the noblemen and gentlemen in the country, who could find it convenient, to attend him with their dogs on a certain day at Edinburgh, and, what was not so customary, to bring each a month's victuals along with him. Such a provision was always required when an army of common men were called together, but not in the case of convocations of men above that rank. The expedition in this case, however, was to be both warlike and sportive; and the former might prevent the latter from affording them a sufficiency of game for their subsistence. The summons of the king for the border hunting was so willingly obeyed, that a host amounting to twelve thousand assembled in Edinburgh against the appointed time; and amongst these, some chieftains from very distant parts of the country, such as Huntly, Argyle, and Athol, all of whom brought their large, fierce Highland deer dogs along with them to assist in the chase. It was in the month of June, 1529, that this prodigious host of sportsmen, headed by the king in person, set out towards the borders. The greater part of them were well armed, and were thus prepared for any thing that might occur. On all such occasions pavilions, tents, bedding, &c. for the accommodation of the sportsmen, were despatched some days previous to the ground selected for the first day's amusement, and were afterwards moved from place to place as the scene of action was shifted. The king's pavilion was very splendid, and might readily be distinguished from all others by its superior richness and elegance. His dogs, too, were elevated above all the dogs of meaner men, as well by their extrinsic ornaments as by their intrinsic merits. Their collars were gilt, or were of purple velvet adorned with golden studs, while the royal hawks were provided with collars and bells of the same metal. The cavalcade having reached Meggotland, on the southern border of Peeblesshire, a favourite hunting place of James's, and which was always reserved exclusively for the king's hunting—the sport began, and in a few days no less than three hundred and sixty deer were slain. Soon after this, Armstrong of Kilnockie, little dreaming of the fate that awaited him, made his appearance among the sportsmen, at a place called Caerlanrig, it is said by invitation, but whether it was so or not he seems to have calculated on at least a civil, if not a cordial reception from the king, being in total ignorance of the real object of the king's visit to the borders. Armstrong was not altogether unreasonable in such an expectation, for his robberies had always been confined to England, and he was rather looked upon as a protector than otherwise by his



own countrymen, none of whose property he was ever known to have meddled with. He always "quartered upon the enemy," and thought that by doing so he did good service to the state; but not being consulted in the various treaties of peace which occasionally took place between the sovereigns of the two kingdoms, he did not always feel himself called upon to recognize them, and accordingly continued to levy his black-mail from the borders, all the way, it is said, unto Newcastle. Though the king had made peace with England, Johnnie Armstrong had not; and he therefore continued to carry on the war in defiance of all those treaties and truces to which he was not a party. On this occasion the daring borderer, expecting a gracious reception from the king, and desirous of appearing before his sovereign in a manner becoming what he conceived to be his own rank, presented himself and his retainers, all magnificently appareled, before his majesty. The king, who did not know him personally, at first mistook him for some powerful nobleman, and returned his salute; but on learning his name, he instantly ordered him and all his followers to be taken into custody and hanged upon the spot. "What wants that knave that a king should have," exclaimed James, indignantly struck with the splendour of Armstrong's and his followers' equipments, and, at the same time, turning round from them on his heel as he spoke. The freebooter at first pled hard for his life, and endeavoured to bribe the king to spare him. He offered his own services and that of forty men at any time, when the king should require it, free of all expense to his majesty. He further offered to bring to him any subject of England—duke, earl, lord, or baron, against any given day, either dead or alive, whom his majesty might desire either to destroy or to have as a captive. Finding that all he could say and all he could offer had no effect in moving the king from his determination. The bold borderer, seeing the die was cast, and his fate sealed, instantly resumed the natural intrepidity of his character,—“I am but a fool,” he said, raising himself proudly up, “to look for grace in a graceless face. But had I known, sir, that you would have taken my life this day, I should have lived upon the borders in despite of both king Henry and you; and I know that the king of England would down-weigh my best horse with gold to be assured that I was to die this day.” No further colloquy took place; Armstrong and all his followers were led off to instant execution. A popular tradition of the borders, where his death was much regretted, says, that the tree on which Armstrong was executed, though it continued to vegetate, never again put forth leaves. After subjecting several other notorious offenders to a similar fate, the king returned to Edinburgh on the 24th of July. In the following summer, he set out upon a similar expedition to the north, with that which he had conducted to the south, and for similar purposes—at once to enjoy the pleasures of the chase and to bring to justice the numerous and daring thieves and robbers with which the country was infested.

This practice of converting the amusement of hunting into a means of dispensing justice throughout the kingdom, was one to which James had often recourse, for on these occasions he took care always to be attended with an armed force, sufficiently strong to enforce the laws against the most powerful infringer; and he did not spare them when within his reach. For thieves and robbers he had no compassion; common doom awaited them all, whatever might be their rank or pretensions. In this particular he was stern and inflexible to the last degree; and the times required it. There was no part of his policy more beneficial to the kingdom than the resolute, incessant, and relentless war which he waged against all marauders and plunderers.

On the expedition which he now undertook to the north, he was accompanied by the queen mother, and the papal ambassador, then at the Scottish court. The



earl of Athol, to whose country the royal party proposed first proceeding, having received intelligence of the visit which he might expect, made the most splendid preparation for their reception. On the arrival of the illustrious visitors, they found a magnificent palace, constructed of boughs of trees, and fitted with glass windows, standing in the midst of a smooth level park or meadow. At each of the four corners of this curious structure, there was a regularly formed tower or block-house; and the whole was joisted and floored to the height of three stories. A large gate between two towers, with a formidable portcullis, all of green wood, defended the entrance; while the whole was surrounded with a ditch sixteen feet deep and thirty feet wide, filled with water, and stocked with various kinds of fish, and crossed in front of the palace by a commodious draw-bridge. The walls of all the apartments were hung with the most splendid tapestry, and the floors so thickly strewn with flowers, that no man would have known, says Lindsay, but he had been in "ane greine gardeine." The feasting which followed was in keeping with this elaborate and costly preparation. Every delicacy which the season and the country could supply was furnished in prodigious quantities to the royal retinue. The choicest wines, fruits, and confections, were also placed before them with unsparing liberality; and the vessels, linen, beds, &c., with which this fairy mansion was supplied for the occasion, were all of the finest and most costly description. The royal party remained here for three days, at an expense to their noble host of as many thousand pounds. Of all the party there was not one so surprised, and so much gratified with this unexpected display of magnificence and abundance of good living, as his reverence the pope's ambassador. The holy man was absolutely overwhelmed with astonishment and delight to find so many good things in the heart of a wild, uncivilized, and barbarous country. But his astonishment was greatly increased when, on the eve of their departure, he saw a party of Highlanders busily employed in setting fire to that structure, within which he had fared so well and been so comfortably lodged, and which had cost so much time, labour, and expense in its erection. "I marvel, sir," he said, addressing the king, "that ye should suffer yon fair palace to be burned, that your grace has been so well entertained in." "It is the custom of our Highlandmen," replied James, smiling, "that be they never so well lodged at night they will burn the house in the morning." The king and his retinue now proceeded to Dunkeld, where they remained all night. From thence they went next day to Perth, afterwards to Dundee and St Andrews, in all of which places they were sumptuously entertained—and finally returned to Edinburgh.

James, who had now passed his twentieth year, was in the very midst of that singular career of frolic and adventure in which he delighted to indulge, and which forms so conspicuous a feature in his character. Attended only by a single friend or two, and his person disguised by the garb of a gentleman of ordinary rank, and sometimes, if traditionary tales tell truth, by that of a person of a much lower grade, he rode through the country in search of adventures, or on visits to distant mistresses; often on these occasions passing whole days and nights on horseback, and putting up contentedly with the coarsest and scantiest fare which chance might throw in the way. Sleeping in barns on "clean pease strae," and partaking of the "gude wife's" sheep head, her oaten cakes, and ale, or whatever else she might have to offer, was no uncommon occurrence in the life of James. Such visits, however, were not always prompted by the most innocent motives. A fair maiden would at any time induce the monarch to ride a score of miles out of his way, and to pass half the night exposed to all its inclemency for an hour's interview.

James was no niggard in his gallantries: where money was required, he gave



it freely and liberally; where it was not, his munificence took the shape of presents,—such as rings, chains, &c. of gold and other descriptions of jewellery. In one month he gave away in this way to the value of upwards of four hundred pounds. The roving monarch, however, made even his vagrancies subservient to his great object of extirpating thieves and robbers. During his wanderings he frequently fell in with numerous bands of them, or sought them out; and on such occasions never hesitated to attack them, however formidable they might be, and however few his own followers.

As the roving propensities of the king thus frequently put his life in jeopardy, and as his dying without lawful issue would have left the country in all probability, a prey to civil war, the nation became extremely anxious for his marriage, an event which, after many delays, arising from political objections to the various connexions from time to time proposed, at length took place. The Scottish ambassadors in France concluded, by James's authority, a marriage treaty with Marie de Bourbon, daughter of the duke of Vendome. On the final settlement of this treaty, the young monarch proceeded to Vendome, to claim in person his affianced bride; but here his usual gallantry failed him, for on seeing the lady he rejected her, and annulled the treaty.

Whether it was the result of chance, or that James had determined not to return home without a wife, this occurrence did not doom him, for any length of time, to a single life. From Vendome he proceeded to Paris, was graciously received by Francis I., and finally, after a month or two's residence at that monarch's court, married his daughter Magdalene. The ceremony, which took place in the church of Notre Dame, was celebrated with great pomp and splendour. The whole city rang with rejoicings, and the court with sounds of revelry and merriment. The marriage was succeeded by four months of continued feasting, sporting, and merry making. At the end of that period James and his young bride, who was of an exceedingly sweet and amiable disposition, returned to Scotland; the former loaded with costly presents from his father-in-law, and the latter with a dowry of a hundred thousand crowns, besides an annual pension of thirty thousand livres during her life.

The royal pair arrived at Leith on Whitsun-eve, at ten o'clock at night. On first touching Scottish ground, the pious and kind-hearted young queen dropped on her knees, kissed the land of her adoption, and after thanking God for the safe arrival of her husband and herself, prayed for happiness to the country and the people. The rejoicings which the royal pair had left in France were now resumed in Scotland. Magdalene was every where received by the people with the strongest proofs of welcome and regard, and this as much from her own gentle and affable demeanour as from her being the consort of their sovereign.

Never queen made such rapid progress in the affections of a nation, and few ever acquired during any period so large a proportion of personal attachment as did this amiable lady. The object, however, of all this love, was not destined long to enjoy it. She was in a bad state of health at the time of her marriage, and all the happiness which that event brought along with it could not retard the progress of the disease which was consuming her. She daily became worse after her arrival in Scotland, and finally expired within forty days of her landing. James was for a long time inconsolable for her loss, and for a time buried himself in retirement, to indulge in the sorrow which he could not restrain.

Policy required, however, that the place of the departed queen should, as soon as propriety would admit, be supplied by another; and James fixed upon Mary of Guise, daughter of the duke of that name, and widow of the duke of Longueville, to be the successor of Magdalene. An embassy having been dispatched to France to settle preliminaries, and to bring the queen consort to



Scotland; she arrived in the latter kingdom in June, 1538. Mary landed at Balcomie in Fife, where she was received by the king, surrounded by a great number of his nobles. From thence the royal party proceeded to Dundee, St Andrews, then to Stirling; from that to Linlithgow; and lastly to Edinburgh. In all of these places the royal pair were received with every demonstration of popular joy, and were sumptuously entertained by the magistrates and other authorities of the different towns. James, by a long and steady perseverance in the administration of justice, without regard to the wealth or rank of the culprits, and by the wholesome restraint under which he held the turbulent nobles, had now secured a degree of peace and prosperity to the country which it had not enjoyed for many years before. His power was acknowledged and felt in the most remote parts of the Lowlands of Scotland, and even a great part of the Highlands. But the western isles, and the most northern extremity of the kingdom, places then difficult of access, and comparatively but little known, were still made the scenes of the most lawless and atrocious deeds by the fierce and restless chieftains, and their clans, by whom they were inhabited. James, however, resolved to carry and establish his authority even there. He resolved to "beard the lion in his den;" to bring these desperadoes to justice in the midst of their barbarous hordes; and this bold design he determined to execute in person. He ordered twelve ships, well provided with artillery to be ready against the fourteenth day of May. The personal preparations of the king, and those made for his accommodation in the ship in which he was himself to embark on this expedition, were extensive and multifarious. His cabin was hung with green cloth, and his bed with black damask. Large quantities of silver plate, and culinary utensils, with stores for cooking, were put on board; and also a vast number of tents and pavilions, for the accommodation of his suite, when they should land in the isles. The monarch himself was equipped in a suit of red velvet, ornamented with gold embroidery, and the ship in which he sailed was adorned with splendid flags, and numerous streamers of red and yellow serge.

The expedition, which had been delayed for fourteen days beyond the time appointed, by the advanced state of the queen's pregnancy, finally set sail for its various destinations in the beginning of June.

The royal squadron, on reaching the western shores, proceeded deliberately from island to island, and from point to point of the mainland, the king landing on each, and summoning the various chieftains to his presence. Some of these he executed on the spot, others he carried away with him as hostages for the future peaceful conduct of their kinsmen and followers; and thus, after making the terror of his name and the sternness of his justice felt in every glen in the Highlands, he bent his way again homewards. James himself landed at Dunbarton, but the greater part of his ships, including those on board of which were the captured chieftains, were sent round to Leith.

Having now reduced the whole country to such a state of tranquillity, and so effectually accomplished the security of private property every where, that it is boasted, that, at this period of his reign, flocks of sheep were as safe in Ettrick forest as in the province of Fife, he betook himself to the improvement of his kingdom by peaceful pursuits. He imported superior breeds of horses to improve the native race of that animal. He promoted the fisheries, and invited artisans and mechanics of all descriptions to settle in the country, encouraging them by the offer of liberal wages, and, in many cases, by bestowing small annual pensions. With every promise of a long and happy reign, and in the midst of exertions which entitled him to expect the latter, the cup was suddenly dashed from his lips. Misfortune on misfortune crowded on the ill-starred



monarch, and hurried him to a premature grave. Two princes who were born to him by Mary of Guise, died in their infancy within a few days of each other, a calamity which sank deep in the heart of their royal parent. His uncle, the king of England, with whom he had hitherto been on a friendly footing, for reasons now not very well known, invaded his dominions with an army of twenty thousand men, under the command of the duke of Norfolk. James gave orders to assemble an army of thirty thousand men on the Burrow muir, and with this force he marched to oppose them. The hostile armies met at Solway moss, but with little disposition on the part of the leaders of the Scottish army to maintain the credit of their sovereign by their arms. James had never been friendly to the aristocracy, and they now retaliated upon him by a lukewarmness in his cause in the hour of need. The unfortunate monarch himself increased this spirit of defection at this critical juncture by appointing Oliver Sinclair, a mean favourite, and a man of no ability, to the command of his army. The intelligence of this appointment excited the utmost indignation in the Scottish army. All declared that they would rather submit to be taken prisoners by the English than be commanded by such a general; and the whole army was thrown into such a state of commotion by this infatuated proceeding of their sovereign, that the English general perceived the disorder, and taking advantage of it, attacked the Scottish army with a few hundred light horse. The former making no resistance were instantly put to flight. James was at Carlawarock, about twelve miles distant, when this disaster took place. When informed of the disgraceful flight of his army, he sank into a state of dejection and melancholy from which nothing could rouse him. His proud spirit could not brook the disgrace which had befallen his arms, and the conduct of his nobles excited a degree of irritation which soon threw him into a violent fever. In this state of despondency he retired to Falkland. Here he took to bed and refused all sustenance. While in this condition intelligence was brought him that the queen, then at Linlithgow, was delivered of a girl. "It came with a lass and it will go with a lass," said the dying monarch, reckoning it another misfortune, that it was not a male heir that had been given to him.

A little before his death, which was now fast approaching, he was heard muttering the words "Solway moss," the scene of that disaster which was now hurrying him to the grave. On the day of his death, which happened previous to the 13th of December, 1542, but within two or three days of it, although the precise day is not known, he turned round to the lords who surrounded his bed, and with a faint but benignant smile, held out his hand to them to kiss, and in a few minutes thereafter expired. James died in the 31st year of his age, leaving the unfortunate Mary, then an infant, to succeed to his dignities and to more than his misfortunes. Besides Mary, his only surviving legitimate child, James left six natural children. These were—James, abbot of Kelso and Melrose; the regent Murray; Robert, prior of Holyroodhouse; John, prior of Coldingham; Janet, wife of the earl of Angus; and Adam, prior of the Chartraux at Perth.

JAMES VI. of Scotland, and I. of England, was born in the castle of Edinburgh, June 19, 1566. He was the son of the reigning sovereign Mary, by her husband, Henry, lord Darnley, who was nominally associated with her in the government, and was the eldest son of the existing earl of Lennox. Both by his father and mother, James was the great-grandson of Henry VII. of England, and, failing queen Elizabeth and his own mother, stood nearest to the throne of that kingdom, at the same time that he was heir-apparent to the Scottish crown. The character of his parents and their previous history are so well known, that it is unnecessary to touch upon them here. It may only be mentioned, that



while the royal infant brought with him into the world pretensions the most brilliant that could have befallen a mortal creature, he also carried in his constitution a weakness of the most lamentable nature, affecting both his body and his mind. About three months before his birth, his father headed a band of conspirators, who broke violently into the privacy of his mother's chamber, and in her presence slew her favourite counsellor, David Riccio. The agitation of the mother on that occasion, took effect upon the child, who, though intended apparently to be alike strong in mental and bodily constitution, showed through life many deficiencies in both respects, though, perhaps, to a less extent than has been represented by popular history.

It is well known that a confederation of the Scottish nobles dethroned Mary about a year after the birth of her son. While this ill-fated princess was condemned to imprisonment in Lochleven castle, her son was taken to Stirling, and there crowned at the age of thirteen months and ten days. The real government was successively administered by the regents Moray, Lennox, Mar, and Morton, under the secret direction of the English queen, by whom, in time, her rival Mary was put to death. James, after a weakly infancy, was placed under the care of the celebrated Buchanan, whose religious principles and distinguished scholarship seemed to qualify him peculiarly for the task of educating a protestant prince. It would appear that the young king received at the hands of his master a great deal more learning, classical and theological, than he was able to digest, and thus became liable to as much of the fault of pedantry, as consists in a hoarding of literature for its own sake, or for purposes of ostentation, accompanied by an inability to turn it to its only true use in the ordinary purposes of life. A pliability of temper, subject alike to evil and to good influences; a sly acuteness in penetrating the motives of men, without the power to make it of any practical advantage; and a proneness to listen to the flattering counsellors who told him he was a king, and ought to have the power of one, were other characteristics of this juvenile monarch; whose situation, it must at the same time be acknowledged, was one of such difficulty, as to render a fair development of the best faculties of the mind, and the best tendencies of the heart, hardly to be expected.

Though made and upheld as a king, in consequence of a successful rebellion against the monarchical principle, James was early inspired with a high sense of his royal powers and privileges, probably by some of those individuals who are never wanting around the persons of young princes, let their education be ever so carefully conducted. Even before attaining the age of twelve, he had become the centre of a little knot of courtiers, who clustered about him at his residence in Stirling castle, and plotted schemes for transferring the reins of government into his own hands. Morton permitted himself to be surprised in 1578 by this party, who for some time conducted the affairs of state in the name of the king, as if he had been in full possession of his birth-right. Morton, however, soon after regained nearly all his wonted ascendancy, and it was not till two or three years later that the king became completely emancipated from this powerful agent of the English queen. A young scion of nobility, named captain Stuart, from his commanding the king's guards, and Esme, earl of Lennox, the king's cousin, were his chief instruments in obtaining the sovereign power, and in raising that prosecution against Morton, which ended in his execution, June 2, 1581. The former is represented as a profligate adventurer, who studied only how, by flattering the king and enforcing his despotic views, to promote his own interest. Lennox was a gentler and worthier person, but was obnoxious to popular odium, on account of his professing the catholic faith. The protestant and English interest soon rallied, and, in August, 1582, took



place the celebrated Raid of Ruthven, by which a few presbyterian nobles, headed by the earl of Gowrie, were enabled to take possession of the royal person, and use his authority for some time in behalf of liberal government and their own religious principles, while Stuart and Lennox were forbidden his presence.

It was not till June, 1583, that James emancipated himself from a control which, however well he appeared to bear it, was far from agreeable to him. Lennox had now been banished to France, where he died of a broken heart; Stuart was created earl of Arran on the ruins of the Hamilton family, and became almost sole counsellor to the young monarch. The nobles who had seized the king at Ruthven, were pardoned; but Gowrie, having soon after made a second and unsuccessful attempt, was beheaded at Stirling. During the interval between June, 1583, and November, 1585, the government was of a decidedly anti-popular and anti-presbyterian character,—Arran being permitted to act entirely as he pleased. The presbyterian nobles, however, who had fled into England, were, at the latter period, enabled by Elizabeth to invade their own country, with such a force as overturned the power of the unworthy favourite, and re-established a system agreeable to the clergy and people, and more closely respondent to the wishes of Elizabeth. In this way James grew up to man's estate.

In 1584, when eighteen years of age, he made his first appearance as an author, by publishing a small thin quarto, entitled "*Essayes of a Prentice in the Divine Art of Poesie, with the Rewlis and Cauteles to be pursued and avoided.*" This work consists of a mixture of poetry and prose; the poems being chiefly a series of sonnets, which bear very much the appearance of school exercises; while the prose consists of a code of laws for the construction of verse according to the ideas of that age. There is little in the king's style or his ideas to please the present age; yet, compared with the efforts of contemporary authors, these poems may be said to bear a respectable appearance.

The main effect of the late revolution was to re-establish the English influence, which had been deranged by the ascendancy of captain Stuart. In June, 1586, James entered into an arrangement with Elizabeth, by which, in consideration of a pension of five thousand pounds, rendered necessary by his penurious circumstances, he engaged to support England against the machinations of the catholic powers of Europe. It was also part of this treaty, that a correspondence which he had entered into with his mother, should be broken off; and he even submitted so far to the desires of his new superior, as to write a disrespectful letter to that unhappy princess, who replied in an eloquent epistle, threatening to denounce him as a usurper, and load him with a parent's curse. James, in reality, during the whole of his occupancy of the Scottish throne, was a mere tool in the hands of one party or another; and had no personal influence or independence whatever till the advanced age of Elizabeth gave him near hopes of the English crown. Great care is therefore to be taken in judging of his actions, lest that be attributed to his own vicious will, which was only the dictate of a political system, of which he was the apparent head, but the real slave. In the winter of 1586-7, he had to endure the painful reflection, that his mother was threatened with, and ultimately brought to the scaffold, without his being able to make the least movement in her favour. It is but justice to him to say, that so far from his manifesting the levity on this subject attributed to him by several writers, he appears from documents of respectable authority,<sup>1</sup> to have manifested the highest indignation, and a degree of grief hardly to be expected from him,

<sup>1</sup> See the Life of James I., forming two volumes of Constable's Miscellany, by the editor of the present work



considering that he was not conscious of having ever seen his parent. Mary, in her last prayer in the hall of Fotheringay, while stretched before the block, entreated the favour of God towards her son; which shows that she had not ultimately found proper cause for putting her threat into execution.

In 1588, while the shores of England were threatened with the Spanish armada, James fulfilled, as far as he could, the treaty into which he had entered with Elizabeth, by using his best exertions to suppress the movements of a powerful catholic party among his own subjects, in support of the invasion. In return for this, Elizabeth permitted him to take a wife; and his choice ultimately fell upon the princess Anne of Denmark, second daughter of the deceased Frederick the second. He was married by proxy in August, 1589; but the princess having been delayed in Norway by a storm, which threatened to detain her for the winter, he gallantly crossed the seas to Upslo, in order to consummate the match. After spending some months at the Danish court, he returned to Scotland in May, 1590; when the reception vouchsafed to the royal pair was fully such as to justify an expression used by James in one of his letters, that "a king with a new married wyfe did not come hame every day."

The king had an illegitimate cousin, Francis, earl of Bothwell, who now for some years embittered his life by a series of plots and assaults for which there is no parallel even in Scottish history. Bothwell had been spared by the king's goodness in 1589, from the result of a sentence for treason, passed on account of his concern in a catholic conspiracy. Soon after James returned from Denmark, it was discovered that he had tampered with professing witches to take away the king's life by necromancy. He at first proposed to stand a trial for this alleged offence, but subsequently found it necessary to make his escape. His former sentence was then permitted to take effect, and he became, in the language of the times, a broken man. Repeatedly, however, did this bold adventurer approach the walls of Edinburgh, and even assail the king in his palace; nor could the limited powers of the sovereign either accomplish his seizure, or frighten him out of the kingdom. He even contrived at one time to regain his place in the king's council, and remained for several months in the enjoyment of all his former honours, till once more expelled by a party of his enemies. The king appears to have purposely been kept in a state of powerlessness by his subjects; even the strength necessary to execute the law upon the paltriest occasions was denied to him; and his clergy took every opportunity of decrying his government, and diminishing the respect of his people,—lest, in becoming stronger or more generally revered, he should have used his increased force against the liberal interest, and the presbyterian religion. If he could have been depended upon as a thorough adherent of these abstractions, there can be no doubt that his Scottish reign would have been less disgraced by the non-execution of the laws. But then, was his first position under the regents and the protestant nobles of a kind calculated to attach him sincerely to that party? or can it be decidedly affirmed that the zeal of the clergy of those rough and difficult times, was sufficiently tempered with human kindness, to make a young prince prefer their peculiar system to one which addressed him in a more courteous manner, and was more favourable to that regal power, the feebleness of which had hitherto seemed the cause of all his distresses and all his humiliation?

In 1585, while under the control of Arran, he had written a paraphrase and commentary on the Revelation of St John, which, however, was not completed or published for some years after. In 1591, he produced a second volume of verse, entitled "Poetical Exercises;" in the preface to which he informs the reader, as an apology for inaccuracies, that "scarcelie but at stolen moments had



he leisure to blenk upon any paper, and yet nocht that with free unvexed spirit." He also appears to have at this time proceeded some length with his translation of the Psalms into Scottish verse. It is curious that, while the king manifested, in his literary studies, both the pure sensibilities of the poet and the devout aspirations of the saint, his personal manners were coarse, his amusements of no refined character, and his speech rendered odious by common swearing.

It is hardly our duty to enter into a minute detail of the vacillations of the Scottish church, during this reign, between presbytery and episcopacy. In proportion as the king was weak, the former system prevailed; and in proportion as he gained strength from the prospect of the English succession, and other causes, the episcopal polity was re-imposed. We are also disposed to overlook the troubles of the catholic nobles—Huntly, Errol, and Angus, who, for some obscure plot in concert with Spain, were persecuted to as great an extent as the personal favour of the king, and his fear of displeasing the English papists, would permit. The leniency shown by the king to these grandees procured him the wrath of the church, and led to the celebrated tumult of the 17th of December, 1596, in which the clergy permitted themselves to make so unguarded an appearance, as to furnish their sovereign with the means of checking their power, without offending the people.

In February, 1594, a son, afterwards the celebrated prince Henry, was born to the king at Stirling castle; this was followed some years after by the birth of a daughter, Elizabeth, whose fate, as the queen of Bohemia, and ancestress of the present royal family of Britain, gives rise to so many varied reflections. James wrote a treatise of counsel for his son, under the title of "*Basili-con Doron*," which, though containing some passages offensive to the clergy, is a work of much good sense, and conveys, upon the whole, a respectable impression at once of the author's abilities, and of his moral temperament. It was published in 1599, and is said to have gained him a great accession of esteem among the English, for whose favour, of course, he was anxiously solicitous.

Few incidents of note occurred in the latter part of the king's Scottish reign. The principal was the famous conspiracy of the earl of Gowrie and his brother, sons of the earl beheaded in 1584, which was developed—if we may speak of it in such a manner—on the 5th of August, 1600. This affair has of late been considerably elucidated by Robert Pitcairn, Esq., in his laborious work, the "*Criminal Trials of Scotland*," though it is still left in some measure as a question open to dispute. The events, so far as ascertained, were as follows.

Early on the morning of the 5th of August, 1600, Alexander, Master of Ruthven, with only two followers, Andrew Henderson and Andrew Ruthven, rode from Perth to Falkland, where king James was at that time residing. He arrived there about seven o'clock, and stopping at a house in the vicinity of the palace, sent Henderson forward to learn the motions of the king. His messenger returned quickly with the intelligence, that his majesty was just departing for the chase. Ruthven proceeded immediately to the palace, where he met James in front of the stables. They spoke together for about a quarter of an hour. None of the attendants overheard the discourse, but it was evident from the king's laying his hand on the master's shoulder, and clapping his back, that the matter of it pleased him. The hunt rode on, and Ruthven joined the train; first, however, despatching Henderson to inform his brother that his majesty was coming to Perth with a few attendants, and to desire him to cause dinner to be prepared. A buck was slain about ten o'clock, when the king desired the duke of Lennox and the earl of Mar to accompany him to Perth, to speak with the



earl of Gowrie. The master of Ruthven now despatched his other attendant to give the earl notice of the king's approach; and immediately afterwards James and he set off at a rate that threw behind the royal attendants, who lost some time in changing horses. When the duke of Lennox overtook them, the king, with great glee, told him that he was riding to Perth to get a *pose* (treasure). He then asked the duke's opinion of Alexander Ruthven, which proving favourable, he proceeded to repeat the story which that young man had told him, of his having the previous evening surprised a man with a large sum of money on his person. The duke expressed his opinion of the improbability of the tale, and some suspicion of Ruthven's purpose; upon which the king desired him to follow when he and Ruthven should leave the hall—an order which he repeated after his arrival in the earl of Gowrie's house.

Meantime, Henderson, on his arrival at Perth, found the elder Ruthven in his chamber, speaking upon business with two gentlemen. Gowrie drew him aside the moment he entered, and asked whether he brought any letter or message from his brother. On learning that the king was coming, he took the messenger into his cabinet, and inquired anxiously in what manner the master had been received, and what persons were in attendance upon his majesty. Returning to the chamber, he made an apology to the two gentlemen, and dismissed them. Henderson then went to his own house. When he returned, in about an hour, the earl desired him to arm himself, as he had to apprehend a Highlander in the Shoe-gate. The master of the household being unwell, the duty of carrying up the earl's dinner devolved upon Henderson. He performed this service about half past twelve; and afterwards waited upon the earl and some friends who were dining with him. They had just sat down when Andrew Ruthven entered, and whispered something in the earl's ear, who, however, seemed to give no heed. As the second course was about to be set upon the table, the master of Ruthven, who had left the king about a mile from Perth, and rode on before, entered and announced his majesty's approach. This was the first intelligence given the inhabitants of Gowrie house of the king's visit, for Gowrie had kept not only his coming, but also the master's visit to Falkland, a profound secret. The earl and his visitors, with their attendants, and some of the citizens among whom the news had spread, went out to meet the king.

The street in which Gowrie house formerly stood runs north and south, and parallel to the Tay. The house was on the side next the river, built so as to form three sides of a square, the fourth side, that which abutted on the street, being formed by a wall, through which the entry into the interior court, or close, was by a gate. The scene of the subsequent events was the south side of the square. The interior of this part of the edifice contained, in the first story, a dining-room, looking out upon the river, a hall in the centre, and a room at the further end looking out upon the street, each of them occupying the whole breadth of the building, and opening into each other. The second story consisted of a gallery occupying the space of the dining-room and hall below, and at the street end of this gallery, a chamber, in the north-west corner of which was a circular closet, formed by a turret which overhung the outer wall, in which were two long narrow windows, the one looking towards the spy-tower, (a strong tower built over one of the city-gates,) the other looking out upon the court, but visible from the street before the gate. The access to the hall and gallery was by a large turnpike stair in the south-east corner of the court. The hall likewise communicated with the garden, which lay between the house and the river, by a door opposite to that which opened from the turnpike, and an outward stair. The access to the chamber in which was the round closet, was either



through the gallery, or by means of a smaller turnpike (called the black turnpike) which stood half-way betwixt the principal one and the street.

The unexpected arrival of the king caused a considerable commotion in Gowrie's establishment. Craigingelt, the master of the household, was obliged to leave his sick bed, and bestir himself. Messengers were despatched through Perth to seek, not for meat, for of that there seems to have been plenty, but for some delicacy fit to be set upon the royal table. The bailies and other dignitaries of Perth, as also some noblemen who were resident in the town, came pouring in,—some to pay their respects to his majesty, others to stare at the courtiers. Amid all this confusion, somewhat more than an hour elapsed before the repast was ready. To judge by the king's narrative, and the eloquent orations of Mr Patrick Galloway, this neglect on the part of the earl seems to have been regarded as not the least criminal part of his conduct: and with justice; for his royal highness had been riding hard since seven o'clock, and it was past two before he could get a morsel, which, when it did come, bore evident marks of being hastily slubbered up.

As soon as the king was set down to dinner, the earl sent for Andrew Henderson, whom he conducted up to the gallery, where the master was waiting for them. After some short conversation, during which Gowrie told Henderson to do any thing his brother bade him, the younger Ruthven locked this attendant into the little round closet within the gallery chamber, and left him there. Henderson began now, according to his own account, to suspect that something wrong was in agitation, and set himself to pray, in great perturbation of mind. Meanwhile, the earl of Gowrie returned to take his place behind the chair of his royal guest. When the king had dined, and Lennox, Mar, and the other noblemen in waiting, had retired from the dining-room to the hall to dine in their turn, Alexander Ruthven came and whispered to the king, to find some means of getting rid of his brother the earl, from whom he had all along pretended great anxiety to keep the story of the found treasure a secret. The king filled a bumper, and, drinking it off, desired Gowrie to carry his pledge to the noblemen in the hall. While they were busy returning the health, the king and the master passed quietly through the hall, and ascended the great stair which led to the gallery. They did not, however, pass altogether unobserved, and some of the royal train made an attempt to follow them, but were repelled by Ruthven, who alleged the king's wish to be alone. From the gallery they passed into the chamber at the end of it, and the door of this room Ruthven appears to have locked behind him.

When the noblemen had dined, they inquired after their master, but were informed by Gowrie that he had retired, and wished to be private. The earl immediately called for the keys of the garden, whither he was followed by Lennox and part of the royal train; whilst Mar, with the rest, remained in the house. John Ramsay, a favourite page of the king, says in his deposition, that, on rising from table, he had agreed to take charge of a hawk for one of the servants, in order to allow the man to go to dinner. He seems, while thus engaged, to have missed Gowrie's explanation of the king's absence, for he sought his majesty in the dining-room, in the garden, and afterwards in the gallery. He had never before seen this gallery, which is said—we know not upon what authority—to have been richly adorned with paintings by the earl's father, and he staid some time admiring it. On coming down stairs, he found the whole of the king's attendants hurrying towards the outer gate, and was told by Thomas Cranstone, one of the earl's servants, that the king had rode on before. Ramsay, on hearing this, ran to the stable where his horse was. Lennox and Mar, who had also heard the report of the king's departure, asked the



porter, as they were passing the gate, whether the king were indeed forth. The man replied in the negative. Gowrie checked him with considerable harshness, and affirmed that the king had passed out by the back gate. "That is impossible, my lord," answered the porter, "for it is locked, and the key is in my pocket." Gowrie, somewhat confused, said he would return and learn the truth of the matter. He came back almost instantly, affirming positively that the king had ridden out by the back gate. The greater part of the company were now assembled on the High Street, in front of the house, waiting for their horses, and discussing how they were to seek the king. At this moment, the king's voice was heard, crying—"I am murdered! Treason! My lord of Mar, help! help!" Lennox and Mar, with their attendants, rushed through the gateway into the court, and up the principal stair. Sir Thomas Erskine and his brother James, seized the earl of Gowrie, exclaiming, "Traitor! this is thy deed!" Some of the earl's servants rescued their master, who was, however, thrown down in the scuffle, and refused admittance to the inner court. On recovering his feet, he retired a short way; then drawing his sword and dagger, he cried, "I will be in my own house, or die by the way."

During these proceedings, the king had found himself rather critically circumstanced. Alexander Ruthven, having locked the door of the gallery chamber, led the way to the round closet. James was not a little astonished when, instead of the captive he expected, he saw a man armed at all points except his head. He was more astonished when the master, putting on his hat, drew the man's dagger, and presented it to his breast, saying, "Sir, you must be my prisoner! remember my father's death!" James attempted to remonstrate, but was interrupted with "Hold your tongue, sir, or by Christ you shall die!" But here Henderson wrenched the dagger from Ruthven's hand, and the king, then resuming his remonstrances, was answered that his life was not what was sought. The master even took off his hat when the king, who, amid all his perturbation, forgot not his princely demeanour, reminded him of the impropriety of wearing it in his presence. He then requested James to give him his word not to open the window, nor call for assistance, whilst he went to bring his brother, the earl, who was to determine what farther should be done. Ruthven then left the closet, locking the door behind him; but, according to Henderson's belief, went no farther than the next room. This is more than probable; for, by the nearest calculation, Ramsay must have been at that time still in the gallery. The master re-entered, therefore, almost instantly, and telling the king there was now but one course left, produced a garter, with which he attempted to bind his majesty's hands. James freed his left with a violent exertion, exclaiming, "I am a free prince, man! I will not be bound!" Ruthven, without answering, seized him by the throat with one hand, while he thrust the other into his mouth, to prevent his crying. In the struggle which ensued, the king was driven against the window which overlooked the court, and, at that moment, Henderson thrust his arm over the master's shoulder and pushed up the window, which afforded the king an opportunity of calling for assistance. The master, thereupon, said to Henderson, "Is there no help in thee? Thou wilt cause us all to die!" and tremblingly, between excitement and exertion, he attempted to draw his sword. The king, perceiving his intent, laid hold of his hand; and thus clasped in a death-wrestle, they reeled out of the closet into the chamber. The king had got Ruthven's head under his arm; whilst Ruthven, finding himself held down almost upon his knees, was pressing upwards with his hand against the king's face, when, at this critical moment, John Ramsay, the page, who had heard from the street the king's cry for help, and who had got before Mar and Lennox, by running up the black turnpike formerly mentioned, while



they took the principal staircase, rushed against the door of the chamber and burst it open. The king panted out, when he saw his page, "Fy! strike him low! he has secret armour on." At which Ramsay, casting from him the hawk which still sat upon his hand, drew his dagger and stabbed the master. The next moment, the king, exerting all his strength, threw him from him down stairs. Ramsay ran to a window, and called upon Sir Thomas Erskine, and one or two who were with him, to come up the turnpike. Erskine was first, and as Ruthven staggered past him on the stair, wounded and bleeding, he desired those who followed to strike the traitor. This was done, and the young man fell, crying, "Alas! I had not the wyte of it."

The king was safe for the mean time, but there was still cause for alarm. Only four of his attendants had reached him; and he was uncertain whether the incessant attempts of Mar and Lennox's party to break open the door by which the chamber communicated with the gallery, were made by friend or foe. At this moment the alarm bell rang out, and the din of the gathering citizens, who were as likely, for any thing the king knew, to side with their provost, Gowrie, as with himself, was heard from the town. There was, besides, a still more immediate danger.

Gowrie, whom we left attempting to force his way into the house, was met at the gate by the news that his brother had fallen. Violet Ruthven, and other women belonging to the family, were already wailing his death, screaming their curses up to the king's party in the chamber, and mixing their shrill execrations with the fierce din which shook the city. The earl, seconded by Cranstone, one of his attendants, forced his way to the foot of the black turnpike, at which spot lay the master's body, "Whom have we here?" said the retainer, for the face was turned downwards. "Up the stair!" was Gowrie's brief and stern reply. Cranstone, going up before his master, found, on rushing into the chamber, the swords of Sir Thomas Erskine, and Herries, the king's physician, drawn against him. They were holding a parley in this threatening attitude, when Gowrie entered, and was instantly attacked by Ramsay. The earl fell after a smart contest. Ramsay immediately turned upon Cranstone, who had proved fully a match for the other two, and having wounded him severely, forced him finally to retreat.

All this time they who were with the duke of Lennox had kept battering at the gallery-door of the chamber with hammers, but in vain. The partition was constructed of boards, and as the whole wall gave way equally before the blows, the door could not be forced. The party with the king, on the other hand, were afraid to open, lest they should thus give admission to enemies. A servant was at last despatched round by the turnpike, who assured his majesty that it was the duke of Lennox and the earl of Mar who were so clamorous for admission. The hammers were then handed through below the door, and the belts speedily displaced. When these noblemen were admitted, they found the king unharmed, amid his brave deliverers. The door, however, which entered from the turnpike, had been closed upon a body of Gowrie's retainers, who were calling for their master, and striking through below the door with their pikes and halberds. The clamour from the town continued, and the voices from the court were divided,—part calling for the king, part for their provost, the earl of Gowrie. Affairs, however, soon took a more decided turn. They who assaulted the door grew tired of their ineffectual efforts, and withdrew; and almost at the same moment the voices of baillies Ray and Young were heard from the street, calling to know if the king were safe, and announcing that they were there, with the loyal burgesses of Perth, for his defence. The king gratified them by showing himself at the window, requesting them to still the tumult. At the



command of the magistrates the crowd became silent, and gradually dispersed. In the course of a few hours, peace was so completely re-established, that the king and his company were able to take horse for Falkland.

This bird's-eye view of the occurrences of the fifth of August, will be found correct in the main. Although some details have been necessarily omitted, they are sufficient to establish a preconcerted scheme between the brothers against the king, but of what nature, and to what purpose, it would be difficult, without further evidence, to say. Of all the people that day assembled in Gowrie's house, not one seems to have been in the secret. Henderson, to whom an important share in the execution of the attempt had been assigned, was kept in ignorance to the last moment, and then he counteracted, instead of furthering their views. Even with regard to Cranstone, the most busy propagator of the rumour of the king's departure, it is uncertain whether he may not have spread the report in consequence of the asseverations of his master; and we have his solemn declaration, at a time when he thought himself upon his death-bed, that he had no previous knowledge of the plot. The two Ruthvens of Freeland, Eviot, and Hugh Moncrieff, who took the most active share in endeavouring to stir the citizens up to mutiny to revenge the earl and his brother, may have been actuated, for any evidence we have to the contrary, solely by the feelings of reckless and devoted retainers, upon seeing their master's fall in an affray whose origin and cause they knew not. To this evidence, partly negative, and partly positive, may be added the deposition of William Rynd, who said, when examined at Falkland, that he had heard the earl declare,—“He was not a wise man, who, having intended the execution of a high and dangerous purpose, should communicate the same to any but himself; because, keeping it to himself, it could not be discovered nor disappointed.” Moreover, it does not sufficiently appear, from the deportment of the master, that they aimed at the king's life. He spoke only of making him prisoner, and grasped his sword only when the king had made his attendants aware of his situation. At the same time, it was nowhere discovered that any measures had been taken for removing the royal prisoner to a place of security; and to keep him in a place so open to observation as Gowrie-house, was out of the question. Without some other evidence, therefore, than that to which we have as yet been turning our attention, we can scarcely look upon these transactions otherwise than as a fantastic dream, which is incoherent in all its parts, and the absurdity of which is only apparent when we reflect how irreconcilable it is with the waking world around us.

The letters of Logan of Restalrig, which were not discovered till eight years afterwards, throw some further light upon the subject, though not so much as could be wished. Of their authenticity little doubt can be entertained, when we consider the number and respectability of the witnesses who swore positively to their being in Logan's handwriting. It appears from these letters that Gowrie and Logan had agreed in some plot against the king. It appears, also, that Logan was in correspondence with some third person who had assented to the enterprise. It would almost seem, from Logan's third letter, that this person resided at Falkland: “If I kan nocht win to Falkland the first nycht, I sall be tymelie in St Johnestoun on the morne.” And it is almost certain from the fifth letter, that he was so situated as to have oral communication with Gowrie, the master of Ruthven: “Pray let his lo. be qwik, and bid M. A. remember on the sport he tald me.” It does not appear, however, that any definite plan had been resolved upon. The sea excursion, which Mr Lawson, in his History of the Gowrie Conspiracy, supposes to have been contemplated with the design of conveying James to Fast castle, was only meant to afford facilities for a meeting of the conspirators with a view to deliberation.



Logan's fifth letter is dated as late as the last of July, and yet it does not appear that the writer knew at that time of the Perth project. Taking these facts in conjunction with the hare-brained character of Gowrie's attempt, it seems highly probable, that although some scheme might be in agitation with Logan, and perhaps some other conspirators, the outrage of the fifth of August was the rash and premature undertaking of two hot-blooded fantastical young men, who probably wished to distinguish themselves above the rest of their associates in the plot.

The very scanty information that we possess respecting the character and previous habits of these two brothers, is quite in accordance with this view of the matter, and goes a good way to corroborate it. They are allowed, on all hands, to have been men of graceful exterior, of winning manners, well advanced in the studies of the times, brave, and masters of their weapons. It is not necessary surely to prove at this time of day, how compatible all these qualifications are with a rash and headlong temper, completely subject to the control of the imagination—a turn of mind bordering upon frenzy. A man of quick perception, warm feeling, and ungoverned fancy, is, of all others, the most fascinating, when the world goes smoothly; but he is of all others the most liable, having no guiding reason, to err most extravagantly in the serious business of life: being “unstable as water,” he is easily irritated and lashed into madness by adverse circumstances. How much Gowrie was the dupe of his imagination, is evident from the fondness with which he clung to the delusions of the cabala, natural magic, and astrology. Armed (according to his own belief) with powers beyond the common race of man, doomed by his stars to achieve greatness, he laughed at danger, and was ready to neglect the calculations of worldly prudence alike in his aims, and the means by which he sought their attainment. The true state of his brother's mind is pourtrayed, incidentally, by Logan, in his first letter:—“Bot incase ye and M. A. R. forgader, because he is somqhat consety, for Godis saik be very var with his rakelese toyis of Padoa: fior he tald me ane of the strangest taillis of ane nobill man of Padoa that ever I hard in my lyf, resembling the lyk purpose.” This suggests at once the very picture of a young and hot-blooded man, whose brain had been distracted, during his residence in Italy, with that country's numerous legends of wild vengeance. Two such characters, brooding conjointly over real or fancied wrongs, were capable of projecting schemes, against which the most daring would remonstrate; and irritated by the coldness of their friends, were, no doubt, induced to undertake the execution alone, and almost unassisted.

It only remains to inquire what was the object which Gowrie proposed to himself, in his mad and treasonable attempt, and upon whose seconding he was to depend, suppose his design had succeeded? These two inquiries are inseparably connected, and have been rendered more interesting, by a late attempt to implicate the presbyterian party in the earl's guilt. We are not a little astonished that such an attempt should have been made at this late period, when we recollect, that notwithstanding all the ill odour in which the presbyterian clergymen stood at court, not one of the thousand idle rumours to which Gowrie's enterprise gave birth, tried to direct suspicion towards them. The sole grounds upon which such an accusation can rest for support, are the facts,—that Gowrie's father was a leader among the presbyterians, and his son strictly educated in that faith; that shortly after his arrival in Italy, he wrote one letter to a presbyterian minister; and that some of the Edinburgh clergymen manifested considerable obstinacy in throwing discredit upon the reality of the conspiracy. The two former are of themselves so weak, that we pass them over, the more willingly, that we shall immediately point out the motives from which



Gowrie acted, and the sort of assistance upon which he really relied. 'The conduct of the clergymen admits of an easy explanation. James, whose perception was nearly as acute as his character was weak, was fully sensible of the ridicule to which he had exposed himself, by allowing his desire of money to lead him into so shallow a device as Ruthven's. In addition to this, he wished, upon all occasions, to appear as much of the hero as possible. The consequence was, that his edition of the story was so dressed up, as to render it inconsistent; first, with his well-known character; secondly, with the most distant possibility of his having been deceived with the master's pretences; and, thirdly, with the depositions of the witnesses. Inconsistencies so startling were sufficient to justify some preliminary scepticism; and if ever there was an occasion, where it was allowable openly to call a king's word in question, it was when James demanded, not merely that his party should hypocritically profess a belief which they did not entertain, but that they should, daringly and blasphemously, mix up this falsehood in the solemn services of devotion. A short time, however, was sufficient to convince the most incredulous of the truth of the conspiracy, stripped of the adventitious circumstances which the king linked with it; and the obstinate recusancy of Bruce the clergyman is sufficiently accounted for, by James's insisting upon prescribing the manner in which he was to treat the matter, and by that individual's overstrained notions of the guilt incurred by a minister, who allowed any one to dictate to him concerning the mode in which he was to conduct public worship.

But Gowrie relied upon the support of no faction, religious or political. His sole motive seems to have been a fantastic idea of the duty incumbent upon him to revenge his father's death. He is reported, on one occasion, when some one directed his attention to a person who had been employed as an agent against his father, to have said, "*Aquila non captat muscas.*" Ruthven also expressly declared to the king, when he held him prisoner in the closet, that his only object was to obtain revenge for the death of his father. The letters of Logan (except in one solitary instance, where a scheme of aggrandisement is darkly hinted at, and that as something quite irrelevant to the purpose they had on hand) harp on this string alone, proving that Gowrie and his friends seek only "for the revange of that cause." The only members of the conspiracy who are known to us, are men likely enough to engage in such a cause, but most unlikely to be either leaders or followers in a union, where the parties were bound together by an attachment to certain political principles. The three conspirators are, the earl and his brother, such as we have already described them, and Logan of Restalrig, a broken man—a retainer and partisan of Bothwell—a maintainer of thieves and sorners—a man who expressly objects to communicating their project to one who he fears "vill dissuade us fra ousr purpose w' ressones of religion, *quhilk I can never abyde.*" And if any more evidence were required to show how little Gowrie relied upon the presbyterians, we might allude to his anxiety that Logan should sound his brother, lord Home—a catholic.

In short, every thing leads us to the opinion we have already announced, that the Ruthvens were instigated to their enterprise by feelings of private revenge alone, and that they did not seek to make any political party subservient to their purposes. It is to this isolated nature of their undertaking—its utter want of connexion with the political movements of the period—that we attribute the circumstance of its history having so long remained unknown, and are satisfied that much of that history must ever remain a riddle. It is with it, as with the adventures of the Iron Mask, and that whole class of events which seem political, merely because they befall persons who rank high in the state. They



generally appear more mysterious than they really are; because, if no chance unveils them at the time, they stand too far apart from all other transactions, to receive any reflected light from them.<sup>1</sup>

On the 9th of November, 1600, was born Charles, James's second son, afterwards Charles I. of England. With that country the king now carried on a close correspondence; first, with the earl of Essex, whom, on hearing of his imprisonment, he besought Elizabeth to spare, and afterwards, with the earl of Northumberland, Sir Robert Cecil, and other influential men, on the subject of his title to the English succession, which was generally acknowledged by the distinguished men connected with the English court.

On the 28th of March, 1603, Elizabeth expired, having named James as her successor, who was accordingly proclaimed king of England. His claim to the succession arose from his relationship to Margaret, daughter of Henry VII., who married James IV. of Scotland, great-grandfather of James VI. Immediately after Elizabeth's decease, Sir Robert Carey, who had formerly been kindly entertained by James, set off on a private expedition to Scotland, to convey to the new sovereign the message. Leaving London on Thursday morning, and stopping at his estate of Witherington on the way, from which he issued orders for proclaiming James at several places in the north of England, he reached Edinburgh on Saturday night, when the king had gone to bed, but, gaining admission, saluted him as king of England. Next morning Carey was created gentleman of the bed-chamber, and was at last elevated by Charles I. to the title of earl of Monmouth. The regular messengers to James, announcing his succession, soon arrived. One of the attendants, called Davis, the king recognized as the author of a poem on the immortality of the soul, which seems to have given him high satisfaction, and promised him his patronage, which he afterwards faithfully bestowed. Indeed, James, as a patron of literary merit, is entitled to respectful observation. He had already acted a munificent part in the foundation of the university of Edinburgh.

On the Sunday after his accession, the king attended at the High church, and, after sermon, addressed the audience on his affection for his Scottish subjects; and after committing his children to the care of trusty nobles, and making arrangements for the management of Scottish business, he set off, with a small number of attendants, from his ancient kingdom, over which he had reigned for thirty-five years. The reception he met with on the way was very magnificent, especially at Sir Robert Cecil's, Sir Anthony Mildmay's, and Mr Oliver Cromwell's.<sup>2</sup> In his progress, many petitions were presented and granted—volumes of poems were laid before him by the university of Cambridge, and the honour of knighthood was conferred on no fewer than two hundred and thirty-seven individuals. Even in these circumstances, however, he displayed his notions of royal prerogative, by ordering the recorder of Newark to execute a cut-purse, apprehended on the way. On reaching London, he added to the privy council six Scottish favourites, and also lord Montjoy, and lords Thomas and Henry Howard, the son and brother of the late duke of Norfolk; and, on the 20th of May, created several peers. Numerous congratulations flowed in upon the king. The marquis de Rosni, afterwards duke of Sully, arrived on the 15th of June. The following sketch of James as he appeared on this occasion to the marquis, is strong and striking:—"He was upright and conscientious; he had eloquence and even erudition—but less of these than of penetra-

<sup>1</sup> In this account of the conspiracy and summary of the evidence, we use a masterly condensation of the matter of Mr Pitcairn's documents which appeared in the *Edinburgh Literary Journal*.

<sup>2</sup> Uncle of the Protector.



tion and of the show of learning. He loved to hear discourses on matters of state, and to have great enterprises proposed to him, which he discussed in a spirit of system and method, but without any idea of carrying them into effect—for he naturally hated war, and still more to be personally engaged in it—was indolent in all his actions, except hunting, and remiss in affairs,—all indications of a soft and timid nature, formed to be governed.” The king entertained the marquis and his attendants at dinner; when he spoke with contempt of Elizabeth—a circumstance which probably arose from the control which he was conscious she had exercised over him, and especially the idea, which he expresses in one of the documents in the negotiations on an alliance with Spain, that she was concerned in the attempts of his Scottish enemies against him—and also of a double marriage he desired, between the French and English royal families.

The queen followed James a few weeks after his arrival, having on the eve of her departure quarreled with the earl of Mar, to whom James had committed the care of prince Henry, and whose letter to her, advising her not to treat him with disrespect, excited the passion of that high-spirited woman. She was crowned, along with her husband, on the 25th of July, by archbishop Whitgift, with all the ancient solemnity of that imposing ceremony. He soon after, by proclamation, called upon his subjects to solemnize the 5th of August in honour of his escape from the Gowrie conspiracy.

At the commencement of the following year was held the famous Hampton-court conference. On the first day, a few select individuals only were admitted to the king; on the following, four puritan ministers, chosen by the king himself, appeared—and his majesty presided as moderator. He conversed in Latin, and engaged in dispute with Dr Reynolds. In answer to an objection against the Apocrypha started by that learned divine, the king interpreted one of the chapters of Ecclesiasticus, according to his own ideas. He also pronounced an unmeasured attack on presbytery, which he said, “agreed as well with monarchy as God and the devil.”—“Stay,” he added, “I pray, for one seven years, before you demand; and then, if you find me grown pursy and fat, I may perchance hearken unto you. For that government will keep me in breath, and give me work enough.” On this occasion, Bancroft, bishop of London, flattered him as “such a king, as, since Christ’s time, the like had not been,”—and Whitgift professed to believe that his majesty spoke under the special influence of the Holy Spirit. With such flattery, is it to be greatly wondered at, that the king esteemed himself an accomplished theological disputant? Indeed, the whole conference seems to have been managed in a most unreasonable manner. It was followed by a proclamation enforcing conformity, and a number of puritans, both clergy and laity, severely suffered.

In March, 1604, the king, the queen, and the prince, rode in splendid procession from the Tower to Whitehall; and, at the meeting of parliament, a few days after, James delivered his first speech to that assembly. One part of it excited general disapprobation—that in which he expressed himself willing to favour the Roman catholics—a feeling on his part which probably arose from the prospects afforded him of friendship with countries so powerful as France and Spain, and also, perhaps, from some degree of attachment to the Romish faith, as that of his royal ancestors. At this meeting of parliament, the king also brought forward his favourite proposal of a union betwixt England and Scotland, the result of which was the appointment of a committee for drawing up articles of union; one of the most zealous members of which was Sir Francis Bacon. To this great man James showed great attachment; and, even if Sir Francis had not proved himself to be devoted with peculiar ardour to the king, it may be supposed that he would have been regarded by the latter with peculiar



pride, from that splendid series of publications which he had already begun to publish, and of which "The Advancement of Learning," with a very flattering dedication to the king, came forth in 1605.

A great part of the summer following the meeting of parliament, the king devoted to his favourite sport of hunting—his attachment to which continued through life, even when corpulence, arising from excess in drinking, which was a noted fault of James, had unfitted him for every active exercise. About this time, we find him engaged in arranging a marriage between Sir Philip Herbert and lady Susan Vere; writing from Royston to the council, that hunting was the only means to maintain his health, desiring them to take the charge and burden of affairs, and foresee that he should not be interrupted nor troubled with too much business; and inquiring into the case of Haddock, called *the sleeping preacher*, from his being said to deliver excellent sermons, and speak excellent Greek and Hebrew in the midst of sleep, although very stupid when awake, who was brought by the king to confess that the whole was an imposture. But James was soon placed in a more serious situation, by the celebrated Gunpowder Plot, which was discovered on the 5th of November, for that day parliament had been summoned. A letter was found, supposed to have been written by the sister of lord Monteagle, who, though approving of the conspiracy, and the wife of one of the conspirators, wished to preserve her brother from the meditated ruin. On examination, barrels of gunpowder were found deposited below the place where parliament was just about to meet, and the very train and match for the discharge of their contents were in readiness. The conspirators were, with considerable difficulty, discovered, and were found to comprehend some Jesuits; and to have been united by their common attachment to the Roman catholic religion, which in England had been lately treated with increased severity. Indeed there is much reason to believe that the plot in some degree depended on Spanish influence. At the meeting of parliament, a few days afterwards, James expatiated at great length on this terrible conspiracy; but still expressed himself indulgent to the English catholics. Shortly after appeared "A Discourse on the Gunpowder Plot," which is supposed to have been the composition of the king. The conspirators were condemned, and acts against the catholics were passed in parliament; but James continued to discover his unwillingness to treat them with severity.

In July, 1606, he received a visit from the king of Denmark, who was welcomed with imposing splendour. Prince Vandemont, a French relative of James, also paid a visit about this time to his royal kinsman. In November, the king again supported, before the parliament, his favourite scheme of a union between his Scottish and English kingdoms. The following passages give a curious example of his mode of conversation. The circumstances are given by Harrington, as having occurred about this time:—"He engaged much of learning, and showed me his own in such a sort as made me remember my examiner at Cambridge aforetime. He sought much to know my advances in philosophy, and introduced profound sentences of Aristotle, and such-like writers, which I had never read, and which some are bold enough to say, others do not understand."—"The prince did now press my reading to him part of a canto in Ariosto, praised my utterance, and said he had been informed of many as to my learning, in the time of the queen. He asked me what I thought pure wit was made of, and when it did best become; whether a king should not be the best clerk in his own country; and if this land did not entertain good opinion of his learning and good wisdom. His majesty did next press for my opinion touching the power of Satan in matters of witchcraft, and asked me with much gravity, if I did truly understand why the devil did work more with ancient



women than others." His majesty asked much concerning my opinion of the new weed tobacco, and said it would, by its use infuse ill qualities on the brain, and that no learned man ought to taste it, and wished it forbidden. After discoursing on religion, at length he said "I pray you, do me justice in your report, and in good season I will not fail to add to your understanding, in such points as I may find you lack amendment." Before this time the king had published not only his "Demonology," but also "A Counterblast to Tobacco."

In 1607, he published an answer to a work by Tyrone, and soon after his "Triplici nodo triplex Cuneus,"—a defence of an oath which was imposed on foreigners by an act of parliament, after the Gunpowder Plot. In 1609, he republished it, with a dedication to all Christian kings and princes, answers having been previously made to it by Bellarmine, and other writers. This has been considered as among the best of the king's productions, and is characterized by a late historian of his court, as "a learned defence of protestant principles, an acute exposure of the false statements and false reasonings of Bellarmine, and a vigorous but not intemperate manifesto against papal usurpation and tyranny; yet a vain and useless ostentation of parts and knowledge; and a truer judgment, by admonishing the royal author of the incompatibility of the polemical character with the policy and dignity of a sovereign, would have spared him the numerous mortifications and inconveniences which ensued."<sup>1</sup>

One great cause of the king's unpopularity was his excessive favour for a Scotsman of the name of Carr. In February, 1610, at the meeting of parliament, he did not appear in person, but he had the mortification soon after, of having his plan of a union disapproved by parliament, and a supply to himself refused. They were accordingly summoned to meet the king at Whitehall, where he explained to them his singular views of royal prerogative. The same year, Henry was appointed prince of Wales, on which occasion the ceremonies were continued for three days.

In 1611, James, when on a hunting expedition, received a book on the Nature and Attributes of God, by Conrad Vorstius. The king selected several doctrines which he considered heresies, and wrote to the Dutch government, signifying his disapprobation—Vorstius having lately received a professorship of divinity at Leyden, as successor of Arminius. He also ordered the book to be burned in London. Soon after, Bartholomew Legate was brought into his presence, accused of professing Arianism in the capital, after which he continued for some time in Newgate, and was then burned at Smithfield. About the same time a similar example of barbarous intolerance occurred. But it was in the same year that our English translation of the Bible was published—an undertaking which the king had set on foot, at the suggestion of Dr Reynolds, in 1604, which had been executed by forty-seven divines, whom James furnished with instructions for the work; and the fulfilment of which has been justly remarked as an event of very high importance in the history of the language, as well as of the religion of Great Britain. About the end of this year, the king founded a college at Chelsea, for controversial theology, with a view to answer the papists and puritans. His own wants, however, now led him to create the title of baronet, which was sold for £1000; and a man might purchase the rank of baron for £5000, of viscount for £10,000, and of an earl for £20,000. He also suffered about this time, by the death of the earl of Salisbury, whom he visited in his illness. But a domestic loss awaited him—which, however, it is said, occasioned him slighter suffering than might have been expected, although the nation felt it as a painful stroke. During preparations for the marriage of the

<sup>1</sup> Aiken's Court of James.



princess, the king's daughter, to the elector palatine, who arrived in England for the purpose on the 16th of October, 1612, prince Henry was cut off by death, on the 6th of November, having been taken ill the very day before the elector's arrival. This young prince was eminently distinguished by piety and honour, amiable manners and literary habits. His death-bed was cheered by the practice and consolations of the religion to which, amidst the seductions of a court, he had adhered in life, and he died, lamented by his family and country, in the nineteenth year of his age.

In February, 1613, the princess Elizabeth was married to the elector palatine—not, it is said, without the dissatisfaction of her father. The preparations, however, were of the most splendid kind; so that means were again adopted to supply the royal wants, as also in the following year.

In 1615, James paid a visit to the university of Cambridge, where he resided in Trinity college, and was received with many literary exhibitions, in the form of disputations, sermons, plays, and orations. In this year he wrote his "Remonstrance for the right of kings, and the independence of their crowns," in answer to a speech delivered at Paris in January by cardinal Perron, who sent it to James. This year also occurred the celebrated trials for the murder of Overbury, in the examinations previous to which James personally engaged. He had now lost his enthusiastic attachment to Carr, the person chiefly accused of this foul deed, whom he had created earl of Somerset, and who had lately been replaced in his affections by Villiers, the royal cup-bearer, whom he knighted, and appointed a gentleman of the bed-chamber, and whom he gradually advanced, until he was created duke of Buckingham.

In 1617, after some changes in the court, James paid a visit to Scotland, leaving Bacon as principal administrator in his absence. On this occasion literary exhibitions were presented to him by the universities of Edinburgh and St Andrews, and he also amused himself with his favourite sport. But he soon proceeded to enforce the customs of the English hierarchy on the Scottish people—a measure which, notwithstanding considerable encouragement from a General Assembly, which had been convoked with a view to the proposed alterations, the nation in general deemed an infringement of a promise he had made many years before, and which they succeeded, to a considerable degree, in resisting.

The following year was marked by another act of cruelty. Sir Walter Raleigh, who had been confined in the Tower for twelve years, on the charge of having been engaged in a Spanish conspiracy, but had at last obtained release from his imprisonment, was condemned and executed, in consequence of his marked misconduct in an expedition to explore a mine in Guiana, which he had represented to the king as well fitted to enrich his exchequer. His execution, it will scarcely be doubted, was owing to the influence of Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador, and enemy of Raleigh at the English court, in prospect of a marriage between prince Charles and the Spanish infanta. Soon after the queen died,—a woman who seems to have been by no means destitute of estimable qualities, but still more remarkable for the splendour of her entertainments, to which Ben Jonson and other writers contributed largely of their wit. Indeed that eminent dramatist seems to have been a person of considerable consequence at the English court. At this time James's own literary character was exhibited to the world in a folio edition of his works, edited, with a preface well supplied with flattery, by the bishop of Winchester. Soon after, on an application from prince Maurice for the appointment of some English divines, as members of a council for the settlement of the controversy between the Arminians and Gomarists, which was held at Dort in November, 1618, five learned men were nominated on



that commission, directed by James to recommend to the contending parties the avoidance, in public instruction, of the controverted topics. His favour to the church of England was manifested about the same time by his treatment of the celebrated Selden, who had written a work on "the history of tithes," in which he held the injustice of considering the alienation of what had once been churchlands to any other than ecclesiastical purposes, to be in every case an act of sacrilege. For this work the king required an explanation, and it was shortly afterwards prohibited by the high commission court. The nation in general was displeased with the rigour of the king's administration; with the plan, which he had not yet abandoned, of a marriage between his son and the infanta of Spain; and with the favouritism which he manifested, especially towards Villiers, whose connexions called on him for bountiful provisions, which the king, at his request, with gross facility, conceded.

In 1620, the circumstances of his son-in-law, the elector palatine, began to occupy the particular attention of the king. That prince, after having been chosen king by the Bohemians, who had thrown off the Austrian sway, and received support from various states of Germany, being at last in a very perilous condition, and on the 8th November, 1620, defeated at the battle of Prague. After much delay, in which he carried on a diplomatic interference, James at last agreed to send a supply of chosen men. But he soon resigned this active interference in his behalf; he called in vain for a benevolence from his wealthy subjects, to enable him, as he said, to give him a vigorous support, in the event of future urgency; and, finally, summoned a parliament, which had not met for many years, to deliberate on the subject. It met in January, 1621,—a parliament memorable for the investigation it made into the conduct of lord Bacon, and the sentence it pronounced on that distinguished man, who had published only a short time before, the second part of his immortal "*Novum Organum*." The king, however, had previously promised him either freedom from such a sentence, or pardon after it, and Bacon accordingly was soon released from imprisonment, and, in three years after, fully pardoned by the king. This parliament also granted supplies to James, but in the same year refused farther supplies to the cause of the palatine. James adjourned it in spite of the remonstrance of the house of commons; and on the same day occurred a well-known conversation of the king and the bishops Neale and Andrews: "My lords," said the king, "cannot I take my subjects' money when I want it, without all this formality in parliament?" "God forbid, sir," said Neale, "but you should—you are the breath of our nostrils."—"Well, my lord," rejoined his majesty to Andrews, "and what say you?" He excused himself on the ground of ignorance in parliamentary matters. "No put-off, my lord," said James, "answer me presently." "Then, sir," said the excellent prelate, "I think it lawful for you to take my brother Neale's money, for he offers it." The king, however, had himself recommended to this parliament the investigation of abuses, and especially inveighed against corruption and bribery in courts of law. In this year he conferred the seals, which Bacon had resigned, upon Williams, afterwards bishop of Lincoln, who induced him to deliver the earl of Northumberland from imprisonment; and soon after, he very creditably interfered for the continuance of archbishop Abbot in his office, after he had involuntarily committed an act of homicide.

Parliament meeting again in February, 1622, the commons prepared a remonstrance to the king on the dissatisfaction which was generally felt with the position of affairs, both at home and abroad, and calling on him to resist the measures of the king of Spain—to enforce the laws against popery—marry his son to a protestant—support protestantism abroad, and give his sanction to the



bills which they should pass with a view to the interest of the nation. On hearing of this proceeding, the king addressed an intemperate letter to the speaker, asserting as usual, the interest of his "prerogative-royal." It was answered by the commons in a manly and loyal address, to which the king replied in a letter still more intemperate than the former. The commons, notwithstanding, drew up and recorded a protest, claiming the right of delivering their sentiments, and of deciding freely, without exposure to impeachment from their speeches in parliamentary debate, and proposing that, should there be objection made to any thing said by a member in the house, it should be officially reported to the king, before he should receive as true any private statement on the subject. This protest the king tore out of the journal of the house, ordered the deed to be registered, and imprisoned several of the individuals concerned, who, however, were soon afterwards liberated. But James still maintained his own authority; he strictly prohibited the general discussion of political subjects, and enjoined on the clergy a variety of rules, guarding them against preaching on several subjects, some of which must be regarded as important parts of the system which it is the duty of the clergy to proclaim.

On the 17th of February, 1623, prince Charles and the marquis of Buckingham set off on a visit to Spain, with a view to the marriage of the former with the infanta—although the king had resisted the proposal of this journey, which had been urgently made by the prince and Buckingham. On the circumstance being known in England, the favourite was loudly blamed, and the prince suspected of an attachment to popery. The travelers proceeded in disguise, visited Paris for a single day, and reached Madrid on the 6th of March. The earl of Bristol, the English ambassador, met them with surprise. James corresponded with them in a very characteristic manner, and sent a large supply of jewels and other ornaments, as a present for the infanta. The Spaniards were generally anxious for the consummation of the marriage. But the pope, unwilling to grant a dispensation, addressed to Charles a letter entreating him to embrace the Roman catholic religion, to which the prince replied in terms expressive of respect for the Romish church.

Accordingly, all was prepared for the marriage, which was appointed to take place on the 29th of August. But before the day arrived, pope Gregory had died—a circumstance which destroyed the force of the matrimonial articles; and the prince left Spain in the midst of general demonstrations of attachment to his person, and inclination towards the intended marriage. On his way to England, however, he discovered a coldness towards the measure, and shortly after his arrival in October, the king acceding to the proposal of the favourite, who was displeased at his reception in Spain, a letter was sent to the earl of Bristol, ordering him not to grant the proxy which was required according to the treaty, after the papal dispensation was obtained, before security should be given by Spain for the restoration of the Palatine. But even after the king of Spain had agreed to this proposal, James, persuaded by the favourite, expressed a wish that the matter should be broken off. But the low state of pecuniary resources into which these negotiations had reduced the English king, induced him to call a parliament, which met February, 1624, to which he submitted the matters about which he was now particularly interested. It offered supplies to the king for a war with Spain. War was declared, and the favourite of the king became the favourite of a large proportion of the nation. About the same time, an accusation of Buckingham, for his conduct in regard to Spain and Bohemia, was presented secretly to the king by the marquis Inojoso. It threw his majesty into excessive agitation; and on setting out for Windsor, he repulsed the duke, as he offered to enter the royal carriage. The duke inquired, with



tears, in what respect he had transgressed, but received only tears and reproaches in return. On receiving an answer by Williams, to the charges against the duke, he again received him into favour, and soon after broke off all friendly negotiations with Spain. He resisted, however—though not successfully—the proposal of Buckingham and Charles, that he should impeach the lord treasurer, on the ground of corruption in office. He also resisted—with much better reason—the petition of Buckingham, that the earl of Bristol should be forced to submit, exclaiming “I were to be accounted a tyrant to engage an innocent man to confess faults of which he was not guilty.” The earl, however, was prevented from appearing in the presence of the king, who also cautioned the parliament against seeking out grievances to remedy, although they might apply a cure to obviously existing ones.

June, 1624, was occupied by the king and Buckingham in carrying on measures for a marriage between prince Charles and Henrietta Maria, sister of Louis XIII. and daughter of Henry IV. ; and on the 10th of November, a dispensation having been with some difficulty obtained from the pope, the nuptial articles were signed at Paris. But in the spring of 1625, the king, whose constitution had previously suffered severely, was seized with ague, of which he died at Theobald's on the 27th of March, in the 59th year of his age. He was buried in Westminster abbey, and the funeral sermon was preached by Williams.

On the character of James, so palpable and generally known, it is not necessary to offer many observations. Much of his conduct is to be attributed in a great measure to his political advisers, who were often neither wise nor faithful. His own character embraced many combinations of what may be almost denominated inconsistencies. He was peculiarly subject to the influence of favourites, and yet exceedingly disposed to interfere with the course of political affairs. Indeed, to his warm and exclusive attachments, combined with his extravagant ideas of his own office and authority, may be traced the principal errors of his reign. He was, accordingly, irresolute, and yet often too ready to comply ; sensible to feeling, and yet addicted to severity ; undignified in manner, and yet tyrannical in government. Erring as was his judgment, his learning cannot be denied, though the use he often made of it, and especially the modes in which he showed it in the course of conversation, have been, with reason, the subjects of amusement. His superstition was great, but perhaps not excessive for the age in which he lived ; and it is said, that in his later days he put no faith in witchcraft. His religion was probably in some degree sincere, though neither settled nor commanding. Neither his writings nor his political courses, it is to be feared, have done much directly to advance the interests of liberal and prudent policy ; but in both there are pleasing specimens of wisdom, and both may teach us a useful lesson, by furnishing a melancholy view of the nature and tendency of tyranny, even when in some degree controlled by the checks of parliamentary influence and popular opinion.

JAMESONE, GEORGE, the first eminent painter produced by Britain, was born at Aberdeen towards the end of the 16th century. The year 1586 has been given as the precise era of his birth, but this we can disprove by an extract which has been furnished to us from the burgh records of his native town, and which shows that the eldest child of his parents (a daughter) was born at such a period of this year, as rendered it impossible that he could have been born within some months of it.<sup>1</sup> It is alone certain that the date of the painter's birth was

<sup>1</sup> The marriage of the parents of Jamesone is thus entered in these burgh records :

“Thair is promess of marriage betwix  
And<sup>o</sup> Jamesone }  
Marjore Andersons } in 17th August, 1585.”



posterior to 1586. Of the private life of this distinguished man few particulars are known; and of these few a portion rest on rather doubtful authority. Previously to his appearance, no man had so far succeeded in attracting the national attention of Scotland to productions in painting, as to render an artist a person whose appearance in the country was to be greatly marked: at that period of our history, too, men had other matters to occupy their minds; and it may well be believed, that, in passing through the fiery ordeal of the times, many men who in peace and prosperity might have had their minds attracted to the ornamental arts, were absorbed in feelings of a very different order, which hardly allowed them an opportunity of knowing, far less of indulging in the elegant occupations of peace. The father of Jamesone was Andrew Jamesone, burgess of guild of Aberdeen, and his mother was Marjory Anderson, daughter of David Anderson, one of the magistrates of that city. What should have prompted the parents of the young painter to adopt the very unusual measure of sending their son from a quiet fireside in Aberdeen, to study under Peter Paul Rubens in Antwerp, must remain a mystery. The father is said to have been an architect, and it is probable that he had knowledge enough of art to remark the rising genius of his child, and was liberal enough to perceive the height to which the best foreign education might raise the possessor of that genius. If a certain Flemish building projecting into one of the narrow streets of Aberdeen, and known by the name of "Jamesone's house," be the production of the architectural talents of the elder Jamesone, as the period of the style may render not unlikely, he must have been a man of taste and judgment. Under Rubens, Jamesone had for his fellow scholar Sir Anthony Vandyke, and the early intercourse of these two artists had the effect of making the portraits of each be mistaken for those of the other. In 1620, Jamesone returned to Aberdeen, and established himself as a portrait-painter. He there, on the 12th of November, 1624, married Miss Isobel Tosh,<sup>2</sup> a lady with whom he seems to have enjoyed much matrimonial felicity, and who, if we may judge by her husband's representation of her in one of his best pictures,<sup>3</sup> must have been a person of very considerable attractions; he had by her several children, of whom the sons seem to have all met early deaths, a daughter being the only child he left behind him.<sup>4</sup>

Soon after the above entry, there occurs one regarding the baptism of their eldest child, the sister of the painter, in these terms:

"The penult day July, 1586. Ando. Jamesone, Marjore Andersone, dochtar in mareage, callit Elspett; James Robertson, Edward Donaldson, Elspatt Cuttes, Elspatt Mydilton, witnesses."

<sup>2</sup> The marriage is thus entered in the burgh records: "12th November, 1624, George Jamesone, Isobell Tosche."

<sup>3</sup> This picture represents the painter himself, and his wife and daughter. The grouping is very neat, and the attitudes of the hands as free from stiffness as those of almost any picture of the age. The daughter is a fine round-cheeked spirited-looking girl, apparently about 12 years old. Walpole says this picture was painted in 1623. From the date of Jamesone's marriage, this must be a mistake. This picture was engraved by Alexander Jamesone, a descendant of the painter, in 1728, and a very neat line engraving of it is to be found in Dallaway's edition of Walpole's Anecdotes.

<sup>4</sup> The following entry in the council records of Aberdeen relates to the birth of one of Jamesone's children: "1629 yeiris—George Jamesone and ————Tosche, ane sone, baptized be Mr Robert Baron the 27th day of July, callit William; Mr Patrick Done, Robert Alexander, Andrew Meldrum, William Gordone, god-fathers." The next notice of him which we find in the same authority shows, that on the 2d January 1630, he was present at the baptism of a child of "James Tosche," probably a relation of his wife, at which, it may be mentioned, William Forbes, bishop of Edinburgh, officiated. In October of the same year we find him again demanding a similar duty for his own family: "October, 1630 yeiris, George Jamesone and Isobell Tosche, ane sone, baptized the 27th day, callit Paul; Paul Menzies of Kinnundie provost, Mr Alexander Jadray, bailzie, Mr David Wedderburne, Mr Robert Patrie, Patrick Jack, Patrick Fergusson, Andrew Strachan, godfathers." This



A curious evidence of the locality of Jamesone's residence in Aberdeen is to be found in an epigram on that city, by the painter's intimate friend Arthur Johnstone, author of the Latin version of the Psalms. It is interesting, as proving that Jamesone possessed what was then seldom to be found in Scotland, a habitation, which added to the mere protection from the inclemency of the seasons, some attempt to acquire the additions of comfort and taste. The epigram proceeds thus —

Hanc quoque Lanaris mons ornat, amœnior illis,  
Hinc ferrugineis Spada colorat aquis :  
Inde suburbanum Jamesoni despiciis hortum  
Quem domini pictum suspicio esse manu.

In "A Succinct Survey of the famous city of Aberdeen, by Philopoliteius," the passage is thus "done" into what the author is pleased to term "English:"

"The Woolman hill, which all the rest outvies  
In pleasantness, this city beautifies ;  
There is the well of Spa, that healthful font,  
Whose yrne-hewed water coloureth the mount ;  
Not far from thence a garden's to be seen  
Which unto Jamesone did appertain :  
Wherein a little pleasant house doth stand,  
Painted as I guess with its master's hand."<sup>5</sup>

Jamesone appears to have been in Edinburgh during the visit of king Charles the First in the year 1633. To gratify the taste of that prince he was employed by the magistrates to paint portraits, as nearly resembling probable likenesses as he could devise, of some of the real or supposed early kings of Scotland. These productions had the good fortune to give satisfaction, and the unhappy king, who had soon far different matters to occupy his attention, sat for his portrait, and rewarded the artist with a diamond ring from his own finger. It is alleged that the painter was on this occasion indulged with a permission to remain covered in the presence of majesty, a circumstance which is made to account for his having always represented himself (and he was not sparing in

is a curious evidence of Jamesone's respectability as a citizen. Paul, afterwards Sir Paul Menzies, a man of considerable note in Aberdeenshire, and provost of the city, appears to have been name-father, and Alexander Jailfrey, another of the sponsors, was himself afterwards provost. The extractor of these entries remarks, that the chief magistrate appears to have acted as sponsor only at the baptisms of the children of very influential citizens.

<sup>5</sup> With farther reference to this piece of pleasure ground, and an anxiety to collect every scrap of matter which concerns Jamesone, we give the following entry, regarding a petition, of date the 15th of January, 1645, given in to the town council of Aberdeen by "Mr John Alexander, advocate in Edinburgh, makand mention that where that piece of ground callit the play-field besyd y<sup>e</sup> Woolman-hill (quhillk was set to umquhill George Jamesone, painter, barges of Edinburgh in liferent, and buildet be him in a garden) is now unprofitable, and that the said John Alexander, sone in law to the said umquhill George Jamesone, is desirous to have the same peice of ground set to him in few heritable to be houlden of the provest, bailzies, and of the burghie of Aberdene, for payment of a reasonable tew dutie yeirlie their-for;" praying the magistrates to set to him in feu tack the foresaid piece of ground: the request is granted by the magistrates, and farther official mention is made of the transaction of date the 10th November, 1646, where the "marches" of the garden are set forth in full. 'This piece of ground was the ancient "Play-field" of the burgh, which remained disused, after the Reformation had terminated the pageants and mysteries there performed. Persons connected with Aberdeen will know the spot when they are informed, that it is the piece of flat ground extending from the well of Spa to Jack's brae, bounded on the east by the Woolman hill, and the burn running at its foot; on the south by the Denburn, and the ridge of ground on which Skene street now stands; on the west by Jack's brae, and on the north by the declivity occupied by the Gilcomston brewery. The appropriation of the spot to the garden of the painter is still noted by the name of a fountain, called "The Garden Neuk Well,"—*Council Record of Aberdeen*, liii. p. 37, 98.



portraits of himself,) with his hat on : neither is the permission characteristic of the monarch, nor its adoption by the artist ; and the peculiarity may be better attributed to a slavish imitation of his master Rubens, in a practice which had been sanctioned by the choice of Carracci and Guido.

It is probable that the patronage and notice of the monarch were the circumstances which introduced the paintings of Jamesone to the notice of the nobility. He appears, soon after the period we have alluded to, to have commenced a laborious course of portrait-painting, then, as now, the most lucrative branch of the art ; and the many portraits of their ancestors, still in possession of families dispersed through various parts of Scotland, attest the extent of his industry. The Campbells of Glenorchy, then an opulent and powerful family, distinguished themselves by their patronage of Jamesone. What countenance he may have obtained from other quarters we do not know, and the almost utter silence regarding so great a man on the part of contemporaries, makes a document which Walpole has rescued from oblivion, relative to his labours for the family of Glenorchy, highly interesting. From a MS. on vellum, containing the genealogy of the house of Glenorchy, begun in 1598, are taken the following extracts, written in 1635, page 52 :—" Item, the said Sir Coline Campbell, (eighth laird of Glenorchy,) gave unto George Jamesone, painter in Edinburgh, for king Robert and king David Bruysse, kings of Scotland, and Charles I., king of Great Brittain, France, and Ireland, and his majesties quein, and for nine more of the queins of Scotland, their portraits, quihiks are set up in the hall of Balloch (now Taymouth), the sum of twa hundreth thrie scor pounds."—" Mair the said Sir Coline gave to the said George Jamesone for the knight of Lochow's lady, and the first countess of Argyll, and six of the ladys of Glenurquhay, their portraits, and the said Sir Coline his own portrait, quihiks are set up in the chalmier of deas of Balloch, ane hundreth four scoire pounds."<sup>6</sup> There is a further memorandum, intimating that in 1635, Jamesone painted the family tree of the house of Glenorchy, eight feet long by five broad. What may have become of the portraits of Robert and David Bruce, and of the nine queens, which must have taxed the inventive talents of the artist, we do not know. Their loss may be, however, of little consequence, as we can easily argue from the general effect of Jamesone's productions, that his talent consisted in giving life and expression to the features before him, and not in design. The other paintings have, however, been carefully preserved by the family into whose hands they fell. They consist of portraits of Sir Duncan Campbell, the earl of Airth, John earl of Rothes, James marquis of Hamilton, Archibald lord Napier, William earl of Marischal, chancellor Loudoun, lord Binning, the earl of Mar, Sir Robert Campbell, Sir John Campbell, and the genealogical tree mentioned in the memorandum. All these are, we believe, still to be seen in good preservation in Taymouth castle, where in 1769 they were visited by Pennant, who thus describes the genealogical tree : " That singular performance of his, the genealogical picture, is in good preservation. The chief of the Argyll family is placed recumbent at the foot of a tree, with a branch ; on the right is a single head of his eldest son, Sir Duncan Campbell, laird of Lochow ; but on the various ramifications are the names of his descendants, and along the body of the tree are nine small heads, in oval frames, with the names on the margins, all done with great neatness : the second son was first of the house of Breadalbane, which branched from the other above four hundred years ago. In a corner is inscribed ' The Geneologie of the House of Glenorquhie, quhair-of is descendit sundrie nobil and worthie houses. *Jameson faciebat*, 1635.'<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting, i. 24.

<sup>7</sup> Tour, 1769, p. 87.



After a life which must have been spent in great industry, and enjoying independence, and even wealth, Jamesone died at Edinburgh in 1644, and was buried without a monument in the Grey Friars' church there.

Walpole, who obtained his information from a relation of the painter, says, "By his will, written with his own hand in July, 1641, and breathing a spirit of much piety and benevolence, he provides kindly for his wife and children, and leaves many legacies to his relations and friends, particularly to lord Rothes the king's picture from head to foot, and Mary with Martha in one piece : to William Murray he gives the medals in his coffer; makes a handsome provision for his natural daughter; and bestows liberally on the poor. That he should be in a condition to do all this, seems extraordinary, his prices having been so moderate; for, enumerating the debts due to him, he charges lady Haddington for a whole length of her husband, and lady Seton, of the same dimensions, frames and all, but three hundred marks: and lord Maxwell for his own picture and his lady's to their knees, one hundred marks, both sums of Scots money."<sup>8</sup> The average remuneration which Jamesone received for his portraits is calculated at twenty pounds Scots, or one pound thirteen shillings and four pence sterling. People have wondered at the extreme smallness of the sum paid to so great an artist; but, measured by its true standard, the price of necessary provisions, it was in reality pretty considerable, and may easily be supposed to have enabled an industrious man to amass a comfortable fortune. Walpole continues, "Mr Jamesone (the relation from whom the facts of the account were received), has likewise a memorandum written and signed by this painter, mentioning a MS. in his possession, 'containing two hundred leaves of parchment of excellent write, adorned with diverse historys of our Saviour curiously limned,' which he values at two hundred pounds sterling, a very large sum at that time! What is become of that curious book is not known." It is probable that the term "sterling" affixed to the sum, is a mistake. It was seldom if ever used in Scotland at the period when Jamesone lived. We are not given to understand that the "limning" was of the painter's own work, and we are not to presume he was in possession of a volume, superior in value to the produce of many years labour in his profession. The manuscripts, though mentioned with an estimation so disproportionate to that of the works of its proprietor, was probably some worthless volume of monkish illuminations, of which it would waste time to trace the ownership. The description might apply to a manuscript "Mirror of the Life of Christ," extant in the Advocates' Library.

We have already mentioned a considerable number of the portraits by Jamesone as extant in Taymouth castle. An almost equal number is in the possession of the Alva family; and others are dispersed in smaller numbers. Carnegie of Southesk possesses portraits of some of his ancestors, by Jamesone, who was connected with the family. Mr Carnegie, town clerk of Aberdeen, possesses several of his pictures in very good preservation, and among them is the original of the portrait of the artist himself, which has been engraved for this work. Another individual in Aberdeen possesses a highly curious portrait by Jamesone of the artist's uncle, David Anderson of Finzeach, merchant-burgess of Aberdeen, an eccentric character, the variety of whose occupations and studies procured him the epithet of "Davie do a' thing." Some of Jamesone's portraits hang in the hall of Marischal college in a state of wretched preservation. Sir Paul Menzies, provost of Aberdeen, presents us with a striking cast of countenance boldly executed; but in general these are among the inferior productions of Jamesone. They are on board, the material on which he painted his earlier productions (and which he afterwards changed for fine canvas), and are remark-

<sup>8</sup> *Anecdotes*, i. 250.



able for the stiffness of the hands, and the awkward arrangement of the dress ; two defects, which, especially in the case of the former, he afterwards overcame. There is in the same room a portrait of Charles I. of some merit, which the exhibitor of the curiosities in the university generally attributes to Vandyke. It is probably the work of Jamesone, but it may be observed, that there is more calm dignity in the attitude, and much less expression, than that artist generally exhibits. Walpole and others mention as extant in the King's college of Aberdeen, a picture called the "Sibyls," partly executed by Jamesone, and copied from living beauties in Aberdeen : if this curious production still exists in the same situation, we are unaware of its being generally exhibited to strangers. There is a picture in King's college *attributed* to Jamesone, which we would fain bestow on some less celebrated hand. It is a view of King's college as originally erected, the same from which the engraving prefixed to Grem's account of the cathedral church of Old Aberdeen, is copied. It represents an aspect much the same as that which Slezer has given in his *Theatrum Scotiæ*, and, like the works of that artist, who could exhibit both sides of a building at once, it sets all perspective at defiance, and most unreasonably contorts the human figure. In characterizing the manner of Jamesone, Walpole observes that "his excellence is said to consist in delicacy and softness, with a clear and beautiful colouring ; his shades not charged, but helped by varnish, with little appearance of the pencil." This account is by one who has not seen any of the artist's paintings, and is very unsatisfactory.

It is indeed not without reason, that the portraits of Jamesone have frequently been mistaken for those of Vandyke. Both excelled in painting the human countenance,—in making the flesh and blood project from the surface of the canvas, and animating it with a soul within. That the Scottish artist may have derived advantage from his association with the more eminent foreigner it were absurd to deny ; but as they were fellow students, candour will admit, that the advantage may have been at least partly repaid, and that the noble style in which both excelled, may have been formed by the common labour of both. It can scarcely be said that on any occasion Jamesone rises to the high dignity of mental expression represented by Vandyke, nor does he exhibit an equal grace, in the adjustment of a breast plate, or the hanging of a mantle. His pictures generally represent hard and characteristic features, seldom with much physical grace, and representing minds within, which have more of the fierce or austere than of the lofty or elegant ; and in such a spirit has he presented before us the almost breathing forms of those turbulent and austere men connected with the dark troubles of the times. The face thus represented seems generally to have commanded the whole mind of the artist. The background presents nothing to attract attention, and the outlines of the hard features generally start from a ground of dingy dark brown, or deep grey. The dress, frequently of a sombre hue, often fades away into the back ground, and the attitude, though frequently easy, is seldom studied to impose. The features alone, with their knotty brows, deep expressive eyes, and the shadow of the nose falling on the lip—a very picturesque arrangement followed by Vandyke—alone demand the attention of the spectator. Yet he could sometimes represent a majestic form and attitude, as the well-known picture of Sir Thomas Hope testifies. We shall notice one more picture by Jamesone, as it is probably one of the latest which came from his brush, and exhibits peculiarities of style not to be met with in others. This portrait is in the possession of Mr Skene of Rubislaw, and represents his ancestor Sir George Skene of Fintray, who was born in 1619. The portrait is of a young man past twenty ; and it will be remarked, that the subject was only twenty-five years of age when the artist died. The picture is



authenticated from the circumstance of a letter being extant from the laird of Skene to Sir George Skene, requesting a copy of his portrait "by Jamesone," and in accordance with a fulfilment of this request, a copy of the portrait we allude to is in the family collection at Skene. Jamesone has here indulged in more fullness and brilliancy of colouring than is his general custom: the young man has a calm aspect; his head is covered with one of the monstrous wigs then just introduced; he is in a painter's attitude, even to the hand, which is beautifully drawn, and far more graceful than those of Jamesone generally are. On the whole, this portrait has more of the characteristics of Sir Peter Lely, than of Vandyke.

Jamesone has been termed the "Vandyke of Scotland," but he may with equal right claim the title of the Vandyke of Britain. Towards the latter end of Elizabeth's reign, Hilliard and Oliver had become somewhat distinguished as painters in miniature, and they commanded some respect, more from the inferiority of others, than from their own excellence; but the first inhabitant of Great Britain, the works of whose brush could stand comparison with foreign painters, was Jamesone.

A Latin elegy was addressed to the memory of Jamesone by David Wedderburn; and his friend and fellow townsman Arthur Johnston, (whose portrait had been painted by Jamesone), has left, in one of his numerous epigrams, a beautiful poetical tribute to his memory. After his death, the art he had done so much to support, languished in Scotland. His daughter, who may have inherited some portion of plastic genius, has left behind fruits of her industry in a huge mass of tapestry, which still dangles from the gallery of the church of St Nicholas in Aberdeen. This lady's second husband was Gregory, the mathematician. A descendant of the same name as the painter has already been alluded to, as an engraver in the earlier part of the 18th century, and John Alexander, another descendant, who returned from his studies in Italy in 1720, acquired celebrity as an inventor of portraits of queen Mary.

JARDINE, GEORGE, A.M., for many years professor of logic in the university of Glasgow, was born in the year 1742, at Wandal, in the upper ward of Lanarkshire, where his predecessors had resided for nearly two hundred years. The barony of Wandal formerly belonged to the Jardines of Applegirth; a younger son of whom appears to have settled there about the end of the sixteenth century, and to have also been vicar of the parish during the time of episcopacy. The barony having passed from the Applegirth to the Douglas family, Mr Jardine's forefathers continued for several generations as tenants in the lands of Wandal, under that new race of landlords. His mother was a daughter of Weir of Birkwood in the parish of Lesmahagow.

After receiving his elementary education at the parish school, he, in October, 1760, repaired to Glasgow college, and entered as a member of a society, where, with very little interruption, he was destined to spend the whole of his life. After going through the preliminary classes, where his abilities and diligence attracted the attention and acquired for him the friendship of several of the professors, he entered the divinity hall under Dr Trail, then professor of theology, and in due time obtained a license as a preacher from the presbytery of Linlithgow. He did not, however, follow out that profession, having, from the good wishes of several of the professors of Glasgow college, reason to hope that he might eventually be admitted to a chair, which was the great object of his ambition.

In 1771, he was employed by baron Mure of Caldwell, to accompany his two sons to France, and to superintend their education at an academy in Paris. The baron, who was at that time one of the most influential men in Scotland,



and who lived much in the literary circle of Edinburgh, obtained from his friend David Hume, letters of introduction to several of the French philosophers of that day; by means of which Mr Jardine had the advantage of being acquainted with Helvetius and with D'Alembert, who were then in the zenith of their fame, and whose manners he used to describe as presenting a striking contrast,—Helvetius having all the style and appearance of a French nobleman of the first fashion, while D'Alembert preserved a primitive simplicity of dress and manner, at that time quite unusual in Paris. During his residence there, he lived a good deal in the society of Dr Gemm, the uncle of Mr Huskisson, who was then settled as a physician in Paris, and noted not only for his eminence in his profession, but for his talents as a philosopher. Dr Gemm was an ardent friend to liberty, and at that time did not scruple to anticipate, to those with whom he was intimate, the fall of the French monarchy as an event at no great distance. Mr Jardine had ample reason to be satisfied with the disposition and abilities of his two pupils, the late Mr Mure of Caldwell, and James Mure, Esq., counsellor at law, who is still alive; and he continued to the end of his life in habits of the most intimate and confidential friendship with both these gentlemen.

Soon after his return from France, in July, 1773, a vacancy occurred in the humanity chair of Glasgow, by the death of Mr Muirhead; for which a very keen competition arose between him and Mr Richardson, the result of which was doubtful until the very morning of the election, when, notwithstanding every exertion made in behalf of Mr Jardine, by lord Frederic Campbell, the lord rector, Mr Richardson carried the election by a majority of one vote. Upon this occasion, Mr Clow, the professor of logic, who had always befriended Mr Jardine, though, from a prior engagement, he, on this occasion, felt himself obliged to support the other candidate, told him not to be discouraged, for that there might ere long be an opportunity of his being admitted into their society. The expectations which Mr Clow thus kindly threw out, he very soon realized, for, towards the end of the following session, he intimated to the college, that, from his advanced age, he required to be relieved from the labour of teaching, and expressed a wish that Mr Jardine might be associated with him in the professorship. About this time, too, Dr Moor, professor of Greek, gave in his resignation; and in June, 1774, upon the same day, the faculty of Glasgow college elected Mr Young to the Greek chair, and appointed the subject of this memoir assistant and successor to Mr Clow.

By this arrangement, the charge of the three junior classes of Glasgow college came, at the same time, to devolve upon three men in the vigour of life, who all entered most zealously into the business of their respective departments, in which they soon introduced very material improvements:—in particular, they contrived to infuse a spirit of emulation among their pupils by the institution of prizes publicly distributed at the end of each session, to those who had distinguished themselves during the course—an institution which was gradually extended to other classes at Glasgow, and which has now been generally introduced into the other universities.

The business of the logic class had hitherto consisted in an explanation of the *Dialectics* of Aristotle, followed up, towards the end of the course, by an exposition of the most abstruse doctrines of metaphysics and ontology, embracing the general attributes of being, existence, essence, unity, necessity, &c., and other similar abstract conceptions of pure intellect. For the first year or two, the new professor followed the same track; but he soon discovered, from the examination of his students, that by far the greater number of them comprehended very little of the doctrines explained; that a few only of superior abilities could give any account of



them at all, and that the most of the young men remembered only a few peculiar phrases or technical expressions which they delivered by rote, unaccompanied by any distinct notion of their meaning. Besides, even when these abstract doctrines were understood, intelligent persons who sent their sons to the logic class, could not fail to observe, that the subjects to which their attention was directed had no relation to any profession or employment whatever, and that little could be derived from prelections on such topics, which was likely either to adorn conversation, or to qualify the student for the concerns of active life. Mr Jardine soon perceived, therefore, the necessity of a thorough and radical change on the subjects of his lectures, and after a simple analysis of the different powers of the understanding, with the means of their improvement, accompanied with a short account of Aristotle's logic, he devoted by far the greater part of the course to the original progress of language; the principles of general grammar; the elements of taste and criticism; and to the rules of composition, with a view to the promotion of a correct style, illustrated by examples. His course of lectures was, accordingly, entirely new-modelled, and he soon found that a great proportion of the students entered with awakened interest upon the consideration of these subjects, instead of the listless inattention which had been bestowed on the abstract doctrines of metaphysics.

But the greatest improvement which he introduced into the mode of conducting the business of the class, was a regular system of examinations and exercises. He was of opinion with Dr Barrow, "that communication of truth is only one half of the business of education, and is not even the most important half. The most important part is the habit of employing, to some good purpose, the acquisitions of memory by the exercise of the understanding; and till this be acquired, the acquisition will not be found of much use." The mere delivery of a lecture, especially to very young persons, he held of very little advantage, unless they were placed in the situation of those who were bound to give an account of it; and the exposition of the rules of composition to be of little avail, unless accompanied by the application of those rules by the student himself. Accordingly, at a separate hour in the forenoon, the students were examined each day on the lecture of the morning, and written essays were required from time to time on subjects more or less connected with those embraced in the lectures. These were regularly criticised by the professor in the presence of the class; and after the principles of criticism had been explained, they were, towards the end of the session, distributed among the students themselves, who were required to subjoin a written criticism upon each other's performances, under the superintendence of the professor; and prizes were bestowed at the end of the session, according to the determination of the students, to those who excelled in these daily examinations and exercises. This system of practical instruction is explained in all its details in a work published by Mr Jardine before he relinquished the charge of the logic class, entitled "*Outlines of Philosophical Education*," in which is to be found a full exposition of a system of academical discipline, which was pursued in the logic class of Glasgow, during the period of fifty years it was under his direction, and which are found by experience to be attended with the most beneficial effects.

The details of this system were, of course, attended with no small additional labour to the professor; for, besides two and occasionally three hours each day of public teaching, he had every evening to examine and correct the essays of the students, which were in such numbers as to occupy a large portion of his time. He was reconciled, however, to this tedious and laborious occupation by a thorough conviction of its great practical utility, which each year's additional experience tended more and more to confirm. He had the satisfaction, too, of



knowing that his labours were not without success, both from his students themselves, many of whom did not hesitate to ascribe their advancement in after-life to the active and industrious habits acquired in the logic class, and also from the opinion of the public at large, which was very clearly evinced by the progressive increase of the number of students; the average of which, when he entered upon the office, in the public class was about fifty, but which increased to nearly two hundred. This was, no doubt, partly owing to general causes, applicable to the times, but to a certain extent it was assuredly to be attributed to the great estimation in which this class was held by the public at large. Few teachers have ever enjoyed so large a portion of the respect and affection of their pupils. This was owing not a little to the warm interest which they could not fail to perceive he took in their progress,—to his strict impartiality, which admitted of no preference or distinction of any sort except that of talents and industry,—and to a kindly, affectionate, and almost paternal regard, which marked the whole of his demeanour to his students—who, dispersed, as they afterwards came to be, into all quarters of the globe, have very generally concurred in expressions of cordial esteem to their old preceptor. With such a hold upon the regard and affection of his class, he scarcely ever required to have recourse to the ordinary means of enforcing academical discipline.

From 1774, when he first entered upon his office, till 1824, when he gave up teaching, the business was systematically carried on in the way here described, with such improvements from time to time as were suggested by his experience; and he possessed such an excellent constitution, aided by a temper remarkably cheerful, that during the whole fifty years he was scarcely a single day absent from his class on account of indisposition. His predecessor, Mr Clow, survived till 1788, having the year before his death resigned to his successor the whole privileges of the office, with his seat in the faculty; and, notwithstanding the very laborious duties which he had imposed on himself by his mode of teaching, he still contrived to devote a portion of his time to the extrication of the patrimonial affairs of the college, and the arrangement of their accounts, which his business habits enabled him to undertake without much difficulty, and which, chiefly by his exertions, were brought from a state of comparative confusion into a very satisfactory arrangement. In 1792, likewise, when the royal infirmary was erected at Glasgow, he bestowed very great labour in promoting the undertaking, and for more than twenty years afterwards officiated as secretary, taking on himself the chief management of the affairs of the institution, from which he only retired a short time before his death, when he received the thanks of the managers for the unwearied attention he had bestowed on their business for nearly thirty years.

The private life of Mr Jardine did not present any great variety of incident. During the session he lived in college in terms of great friendship with several of his colleagues, particularly with the late professors Millar and Young, whose views in college affairs generally coincided with his own; and in summer he resided at a small property which he purchased in the neighbourhood of Hamilton, which he took great delight in adorning, and entered with much relish upon the employments of a country life, which formed an excellent relaxation after his winter labours. His residence in that quarter naturally occasioned a connexion with the presbytery of Hamilton, who, for upwards of thirty years, returned him as their representative to the General Assembly, which he regularly attended, taking a considerable share in the business, and generally coinciding in opinion with the late Sir Henry Moncrieff Wellwood, with whom he lived for a great many years in habits of the most unreserved friendship. One of the last public appearances which he made was in May, 1825, upon the question of



pluralities, to which he had, on all occasions, been a determined adversary; when he opened the second day's debate by a forcible speech on the impolicy of uniting professorships with church livings; which, considering his great age, was viewed at the time as a very remarkable effort, and was listened to with profound attention.

In 1824, after having taught for fully half a century, he thought himself fairly entitled to retire from his labours. Those who attended the class during that last session did not perceive any abatement either of his zeal or energy; and during that winter he was not absent from his class a single hour. But he foresaw that the time could not be far distant when these exertions must cease, and he preferred retiring before he was actually compelled to do so by the infirmities of age. At the end of that session, he accordingly requested his colleagues to select a person to fill his place; declaring that he left the arrangement entirely to them, and that he would not interfere either directly or indirectly in the appointment, farther than by expressing an earnest wish that they might select one who would take a zealous interest in the prosperity of the class, and would continue the same system of active employment on the part of the students which had been found to be attended with so much benefit. Their choice fell upon the Rev. Robert Buchanan, minister of Peebles, who had himself carried off the first honour at this class, whose literary attainments are of a high order, and who zealously continues to follow out the same system of daily examinations and regular exercises, which was introduced by his predecessor.

Upon the occasion of his retirement from public teaching, a number of those who had been his pupils determined to show their respect by giving him a public dinner in the town hall of Glasgow, which was attended by upwards of two hundred gentlemen, many of whom came from a great distance to evince their respect for their venerable instructor. Mr Mure of Caldwell, his earliest pupil, was in the chair, and the present earl of Ormelie, who had been peculiarly under his charge at Glasgow college, and to whom he was very much attached, came from a great distance to officiate as croupier.

Mr Jardine survived about three years after his retirement from public duties: during which time he resided as usual during winter in college, and continued to take an active interest in the affairs of the society. While attending the General Assembly in May, 1826, he was seized with a bilious attack—almost the first illness he ever experienced—from which he never completely recovered, and he sank under the infirmities of age on the 27th of January, 1827, having just completed his 85th year; contemplating his dissolution with the composure of a Christian, and expressing his gratitude to the author of his being for the many blessings which had fallen to his lot; of which he did not consider as the least the numerous marks of esteem and regard evinced by his old pupils, with whom he was ever delighted to renew a kindly intercourse. His death was deeply regretted by the society of which he had been so long a member, and by the inhabitants of Glasgow, where he was very generally respected and esteemed.

In 1776, Mr Jardine married Miss Lindsay of Glasgow, whom he survived about twelve years, and by whom he had one son, now an advocate at the Scottish bar, and recently appointed sheriff of Ross and Cromarty.

JOHNSTON, (SIR) ARCHIBALD, of Warriston, (a judge by the designation of lord Warriston,) an eminent lawyer and statesman, was the son of James Johnston of Beirholm in Annandale, a descendant of the family of Johnston in Aberdeenshire, and who for some time followed a commercial life in Edinburgh, being mentioned in a charter of 1608, as "the king's merchant." The mother of the subject of our memoir was Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Thomas Craig, the first great lawyer produced by Scotland, and whose life has already been given in the



present work. Of the date of the birth of Archibald Johnston, and the circumstances of his education, no memorial has been preserved: he entered as advocate in 1633. In the great national disturbances which commenced in 1637, Johnston took an early and distinguished part; acting, apparently, as only second to Sir Thomas Hope in giving legal advice to the covenanters. The second or general supplication of the nation to Charles I. for relief from his episcopal innovations was prepared by the earl of Rothes and Archibald Johnston; the former being preferred on account of his distinction as an active and influential partisan, and the latter from the general character given of him by his friends, as singularly well acquainted with the history and constitution of the genuine presbyterian church of Scotland. This document, which was presented to the privy council on the 24th of September, 1637, in the presence of a band of the supporters of its principles, which made the act more solemn than a regal pageant, leaves for the politicians of all ages a fine specimen of that calmness in reasoning and statement which men of judgment and principle know to be necessary for the preservation of order in a state, when they are representing grievances, however deep, to a governor, however unreasonable; and of that firmness of position, which, when supported by a hold of popular opinion, must either be allowed to prevail, or leave to him who obstructs it the odium of the confusion which may follow. After the supplicants, who had increased to a vast body of men, spreading over the whole of the southern part of Scotland, had united themselves under a representative constitution, termed "the Tables," a renewal of the national covenant was judged a useful measure for a combination of effort, and the insurance of a general union and purpose. Johnston and the celebrated Alexander Henderson were employed to suit the revered obligation to which their ancestors had sworn, to the new purpose for which it was applied, by including the protestations against the liturgy of the episcopal church, under the general declarations which it previously bore against the doctrine of the church of Rome, and adducing authorities in support of the new application. The obligation was signed in March, 1638, under circumstances too well known to be recapitulated.<sup>1</sup>

Johnston, although from his secondary rank, he did not then assume the authority of a leader, was, from his knowledge and perseverance, more trusted to in the labours of the opposition than any other man, and his name continually recurs as the agent in every active measure. To the unyielding and exasperating proclamation, which was read at the market-cross of Edinburgh on the 22nd of February, 1638, he prepared and read aloud, on a scaffold erected for the purpose, the celebrated protestation in name of the Tables, while the dense crowd who stood around prevented the issuers of the proclamation from departing before they heard the answer to their challenge. On the 8th of July, the king issued another proclamation, which, though termed "A proclamation of favour and grace," and though it promised a maintenance of the religion *presently professed within the kingdom* without innovation, an interim suspension of the service book, a rectification of the high commission, and the loudly called for general assembly and parliament, was, with reason, deemed more dangerous than a defiance. Johnston had a protestation prepared for the delicacy of this trying occasion, which, with the decorum from which he seems on no occasion to have departed, he, "in all humility, with submissive reverence," presented in presence of the multitude.<sup>2</sup> When, on the 22nd of September, the parliament and

<sup>1</sup> For such matters connected with this period as are here, to prevent repetition, but slightly alluded to, vide the memoirs of Henderson; of Montrose; and of the first duke of Hamilton, in this collection.

<sup>2</sup> Balfour's Annals, ii. 276.



general assembly were proclaimed, he prepared another protestation in a similar tone to the former, which he read in his own name, and in that of the earl of Montrose, for the nobles; Gibson younger of Durie for the barons; George Porterfield, merchant in Glasgow, for the burghs; and Henry Pollock, minister of Edinburgh, for the clergy. It will be easily conjectured that, at the period when he was thus publicly employed, Johnston was privately acting as a partisan of the covenant, and an enemy of prelacy and arbitrary power, by all the means which a political agent invariably uses. At such a period the more we can trace the private proceedings and feelings of the public man, the better can we hold him up as a biographical example. As the only curious document connected with our subject at this period of his existence, we give the following somewhat mutilated letter to Johnston, from a person who does not choose to sign his name; it is characteristic of the feeling of the party, and of the occupation of the subject of our memoir; and if to a speculative politician it may breathe an illiberal spirit, let him remember that there never existed a party, however pure, which did not wish to suppress the opposite party, and that not having power and numbers on their side, the opponents of the covenant were in the situation of disturbers of society, in as far as they wished to impose rules on the whole kingdom.

“For Mr Archibald Johnston of Warriston, advocate.

“Dear Christian brother and courageous Protestant,—Upon some rumour of the Prlate of St Andrews, his coming over the water, and finding it altogether inconvenient that he or any of that kynd should show themselves peaceably in publicke, some course was taken how hee might be enterteyned in such places as he should come unto: we are now informed that hee (will) not come, but that Broughen is in Edinburgh or thereabout; it is the advyce of your friends here, that in a private way some course may be taken for his terror and disgrace if he offer to show himself in puttick. Think upon the best r . . . by the advyce of your friends there. I fear that their publick appearance at Glasgow shall be prejudiciall to our cause. We are going to take order (with) his cheefe supporters there, Glaidstaines, Skryngoor, and Hallyburton . . . Wishing you both protection and direction from your maister, I continew, youre owne whome you know. G.”

“28th October, 1638.”<sup>3</sup>

Such was the feeling in which the leaders of the Covenant prepared themselves for the renowned General Assembly held at Glasgow in November and December, 1638. On that occasion Johnston was, by a unanimous vote, chosen clerk of the assembly. On its being discovered that his precursor had been enabled to procure only two of the seven volumes of minutes of the general assemblies held since the Reformation, the moderator, probably in pursuance of a preconcerted measure, called upon all those who were aware of the existence of any others, to give information on the subject to the assembly. Johnston hereupon produced the other five volumes—how obtained by him we know not—by which service he greatly increased the confidence previously placed in him. On the day before the session terminated, the assembly elected him procurator for the church, and, as was afterwards ratified by act of parliament, he received for the former of these offices 500, and for the latter 1000 merks yearly.<sup>4</sup>

Johnston was one of the commissioners appointed by the Scots to conduct the treaty at Berwick. The General Assembly, which was the consequence of that pacification, passes over, and the unsatisfactory parliament which followed, is commenced, ere we again observe Johnston's name connected with any public affairs, beyond the usual routine of his duties. The parliament commenced its

<sup>3</sup> Wodrow's Collection, Advoc. Lib., vol. lvi. No. 58.

<sup>4</sup> Balf. An. ii. 304, 313; Scots Worthies, 271; Act. Parl. v. 216.



sittings on the 31st of August, 1639. On the 14th of November, Sir Thomas Hope, in his official capacity as lord advocate, produced a warrant from the king addressed to the commissioners, which, on the ground that the royal prerogative was interested in the proceedings, ordered a prorogation to the 2nd of June, 1640. The warrant was read by Sir Alexander Gibson of Durie, one of the clerks of session, on which the lord advocate took the usual protest, calling on the clerk actually to dissolve the meeting. On this, the clerk, who was performing an unpleasing office, answered, "that he had already read the said warrant containing the said prorogacioun, and was readie to read the same as oft as he should be commanded, but could not otherways prorogat the parliament." The earl of Rothes added to his embarrassment, by challenging him to "do nothing but as he would be answerable to the parliament, upon payne of his life." And the junior clerk, Mr William Scott, being called on to dissolve the meeting, sagaciously declined officiating in the presence of his senior. Johnston then came forward, and, in name of the three estates, read a declaration, purporting that his majesty, having, in compliance with the wish of his faithful subjects, called a free assembly and parliament, and submitted matters ecclesiastical to the former, and matters civil to the latter; the commissioner had (it was presumed) without the full permission of the king, attempted to dissolve the parliament—a measure which, the estates maintained, could not be constitutionally taken, without the consent of the parliament itself. With that respect for the person of the king which, as the advocates of peaceful measures, the covenanters at that period always professed to maintain, the document proceeds to state that the estates are constrained to the measure they adopt by "our zeal to acquit ourselves according to our place, both to the king's majesty, whose honour at all tymes, but especially convened in parliament, we ought to have in high estimation, and to the kingdom which we represent, and whose liberties sall never be prostituted or vilified by us." Having denounced the prorogation as unconstitutional, this remarkable state-paper thus proceeds—"But becaus we know that the eyes of the world ar upon us, that declarations have been made and published against us, and malice is prompted for hir obloquies, and wateth on with opin mouth to snatch at the smallest shadow of disobedience, disservice, or disrespect to his majesty's commandments, that our proceedings may be made odious to such as know not the way how thes commandments are procured from his majesty, nor how they are made knowin and intimat to us, and doe also little consider that we are not now private subjects bot a sitting parliament, quhat national prejudices we have sustent in tyme past by misinformation, and quhat is the present state of the kingdom;" so arguing, the presenters of the declaration, that they may put far from them "all shaw or appearance of what may give his majesty the least discontent," resolve, in the mean time, merely to vindicate their rights by their declaration, and, voluntarily adjourning, resolve to elect some of each estate, as a permanent committee, endowed with the full powers of a parliamentary committee, to "await his majesty's gracious answer to our humble and just demands, and farther to remonstrat our humble desires to his majesty upon all occasions; that hereby it may be made most manifest, against all contradiction, that it wes never our intention to denie his majesty any parte of the civill and temporal obedience which is due to all kings from their subjects, and from us to our dread soverane after a special maner, bot meerlie to preserve our religion, and the liberties of the kingdome, without which religion cannot continue long in safetie."—"And if it sall happen," continues this prophetic declaration, "(which God forbid) that, efter we have made our remonstrances, and to the uttermost of our power and duetie used all lawfull meanes for his majesty's information, that our mali-



cious enemies, who are not considerable, sall, by their suggestions and lyes, pre-vail against the informations and generall declarations of a whole kingdom, we tak God and men to witness, that we are free of the outrages and insolencies that may be committed in the mean tyme, and that it sall be to us no imputation, that we are constrained to tak such course as may best secure the kirk and kingdome from the extremitie of confusion and miserie."

It is to be remarked, that this act of the covenanters did not assume the authority of a protest; it was a statement of grievances to which, for a short time, they would submit, supplicating a remedy. The assertion that the crown had not the sole power of proroguing parliament, may be said to be an infringement of prerogative; but this very convenient term must owe its application to practice, and it appears that the royal power on this point had not been accurately fixed by the constitution of the Scottish parliament. The choice of the lords of articles by the commissioner—a step so far a breach of "privilege" (the opposite term to prerogative), that it rendered a parliament useless as an independent body—was likewise remonstrated against, along with the application of supplies without consent of parliament.

The earls of Dunfermline and Loudon were sent as commissioners to represent the declaration to the king. "They behaved themselves," says Clarendon, "in all respects, with the confidence of men employed by a foreign state, refused to give any account but to the king himself; and even to the king himself gave no other reason for what was done, but the authority of the doers, and the necessity that required it; that is, that they thought it necessary: but then they polished their sturdy behaviour with all the professions of submission and duty which their language could afford."

As connected with this mission, some historians have alluded to, and others have narrated, a dark intrigue, of which Johnston was the negative instrument; a matter which has never been cleared up. We shall give it in the words of Burnet, the nephew of Johnston, and who had therefore some reason to know the facts. "After the first pacification, upon the new disputes that arose, when the earls of Loudoun and Dunfermling were sent up with the petition from the covenanters, the lord Saville came to them, and informed them of many particulars, by which they saw the king was highly irritated against them. He took great pains to persuade them to come with their army into England. They very unwillingly hearkened to that proposition, and looked on it as a design from the court to ensnare them, making the Scots invade England, by which this nation might have been provoked to assist the king to conquer Scotland. It is true, he hated the earl of Strafford so much, that they saw no cause to suspect him; so they entered into a treaty with him about it. The lord Saville assured them, he spoke to them in the name of the most considerable men in England, and he showed them an engagement under their hands to join with them, if they would come into England, and refuse any treaty but what should be confirmed by a parliament of England. They desired leave to send this paper into Scotland, to which, after much seeming difficulty, he consented: so a cane was hollowed, and this was put within it; and one Frost, afterwards secretary to the committee of both kingdoms, was sent down with it as a poor traveller. It was to be communicated only to three persons—the earls of Rothes and Argyle, and to Warriston, the three chief confidants of the covenanters. \* \* \* \* To these three only this paper was to be showed, upon an oath of secrecy: and it was to be deposited in Warriston's hands. They were only allowed to publish to the nation that they were sure of a very great and unexpected assistance, which, though it was to be kept secret, would appear in due time. This they published; and it was looked on as an artifice to draw in the nation: but it was



afterwards found to be a cheat indeed, but a cheat of lord Saville's, who had forged all those subscriptions. \* \* \* The lord Saville's forgery came to be discovered. The king knew it; and yet he was brought afterwards to trust him, and to advance him to be earl of Sussex. The king pressed my uncle (Johnston) to deliver him the letter, who excused himself upon his oath: and not knowing what use might be made of it, he cut out every subscription, and sent it to the person for whom it was forged. The imitation was so exact, that every man, as soon as he saw his hand simply by itself, acknowledged that he could not have denied it."<sup>5</sup> Burnet had certainly the best opportunities for both a public and private acquaintance with such an event, and the circumstance has been at least hinted at by others; but Mr Laing justly remarks that "in their conferences with these noblemen, and with Pym and Hamden, the Scottish commissioners during their residence in London must have received such secret assurances of support, that, without this forged invitation, the committee of Estates would have chosen to transfer the war into England."<sup>6</sup>

At the parliament which met on the 2nd of June, 1640, the representative of majesty in that body choosing to absent himself, or dreading the danger of a journey to Scotland, the Estates proceeded to reduce themselves to a formal and deliberative body, by the choice of a president. To this convention Johnston produced a petition from the General Assembly, which had been ratified by the privy council, praying for a legislative ratification of the covenant, and an order that it should be enforced on the inhabitants of the country with all civil pains,<sup>7</sup>—a requisition which the convention was not in a disposition to refuse. On the 11th of June, by the 34th act of this parliament, the celebrated committee of forty, having, in absence of the superior body which called it into existence, the full legislative power of a republican congress, was elected, and the members were divided betwixt the camp and Edinburgh. Our surprise that so influential and laborious a man as Johnston was not chosen a member of this body, is relieved by the place of higher, though somewhat anomalous trust to which we find him appointed, as general agent and adviser to the body—a sort of leader, without being a constituent member. "And because," says the act, "there will fall out in the camp a necessitie either of treatties, consultations, or public declarations, to schaw the reasones of the demands and proceedings in the assemblie and parliament, and the prejudices agains either of them, the Estates ordayne Mr Archibald Johnston, procurator for the kirk, as best acquaint with these reasons and prejudices, to attend his excellence (the general) and to be present at all occasions with the said committee, for their farther information, and clearing thairanent."<sup>8</sup> Johnston was one of the eight individuals appointed to treat with the English commissioners at Rippon, by an act of the great committee of management, dated the 30th of September, 1640.<sup>9</sup> When this treaty was transferred to London, Johnston was chosen a member of the committee, along with Henderson, as supernumeraries to those appointed from the Estates, and probably with the peculiar duty of watching over the interests of the church, "because many things may occurre concerning the church and assemblies thereof."<sup>10</sup>

The proceedings and achievements of this body are so well known, that, in an article which aims at giving such memorials of its subject, as are not to be readily met with in the popular histories, they need not be repeated. On the 25th day of September, 1641, Johnston produced in parliament a petition that he might be exonerated from all responsibility as to the public measures with which he had for the previous four years been connected, mentioning the

<sup>5</sup> Burnet, 37, 39-41.

<sup>8</sup> Act. Parl., v. 311.

<sup>6</sup> Laing, iii. 191.

<sup>9</sup> Balfour's Ann., 51. 168.

<sup>7</sup> Act. Parl., v. 293.

<sup>10</sup> Balf. Ann., ii. 416.



important office which he held as adviser to the commissioners attending on the motions at the camp, and the duties he was called on to perform at the treaty of Rippon and London; and observing, that it has been considered necessary that others so employed should have their conduct publicly examined in parliament, he craves that all requisite inquiry may immediately be made as to his own proceedings; that, if he has done any thing "contrair to their instructions, or prejudicial to the publick, he may undergoe that censure which the wrongers of the countrey and abusers of such great trust deserves;" but if it has been found that he has done his duty, "then," he says, "doe I in all humility begg, that, seing by God's assistance and blessing the treattie of peace is closed, and seeing my employment in thir publick business is now at an end, that before I returne to my private affaires and calling, from the which these four yeires I have been continually distracted, I may obtaine from his gracious majesty and your lordships, an exoneration of that charge, and an approbation of my former carriage." The exoneration was granted, and the act ratifying it stated, that after due examination, the Estates found that Johnston had "faithfullie, diligientlie, and cairfullie behaved himself in the foresaid charge, employments, and trust put upon him, in all the passages thair of, as he justly deserves thair treu testimonie of his approven fidelitie and diligence."<sup>11</sup>

In 1641, when the king paid his pacificatory visit to Scotland, Johnston obtained, among others, a liberal peace-offering. He had fixed his eyes on the office of lord register, probably as bearing an affinity to his previous occupations; but the superior influence of Gibson of Durie prevailed in competition for that situation: he received, however, the commission of an ordinary lord of session, along with a liberal pension, and the honours of knighthood. During the sitting of the parliament we find him appointed as a commissioner, to treat with the king on the supplementary matters which were not concluded at the treaty of Rippon, and to obtain the royal consent to the acts passed during the session. Much about the same period, he was appointed, along with others, to make search among the records contained in the castle, for points of accusation against the "incendiaries;" the persons whom he and his colleagues had just displaced in the offices of state and judicature. It may be sufficient, and will save repetition, to mention, that we find him appointed in the same capacity which we have already mentioned, in the recommissions of the committee of Estates, and in the other committees, chosen to negotiate with the king, similar to those we have already described, among which may be noticed the somewhat menacing committee of 1641, appointed to treat as to commerce, the naturalization of subjects, the demands as to war with foreigners, the Irish rebellion, and particularly as to "the brotherlie supplie and assistance" of the English parliament to the Scottish army.<sup>12</sup>

In the parliament of 1643, Sir Archibald Johnston represented the county of Edinburgh, and was appointed to the novel situation of speaker to the barons, as a separate estate. In this capacity, on the 7th of June, 1644, he moved the house to take order concerning the "unnatural rebellion" of Montrose,<sup>13</sup> and somewhat in the manner of an impeachment, he moved a remonstrance against the earl of Carnwath, followed by a commission to make trial of his conduct, along with that of Traquair, of which Johnston was a member.<sup>14</sup> During the period when, as a matter of policy, the Scots in general suspended their judgment between the contending parties in England, Warriston seems early to have felt, and not to have concealed, a predilection for the cause of the parliament,

<sup>11</sup> Act Parl., v. 414.

<sup>12</sup> Act. Par., v. 357, 571, 572, 189, &c.

<sup>13</sup> Balfour's Anecdotes, iii. 177.

<sup>14</sup> Act Parl., vi. 6. S.



and was the person who moved that the general assembly should throw the weight of their opinion in that scale.<sup>15</sup>

Johnston had been named as one of the commissioners, chosen on the 9th August, 1643, for the alleged purpose of mediating betwixt Charles I. and his parliament; but Charles, viewing him as a dangerous opponent, objected to providing him with a safe conduct, and he appears to have remained in Edinburgh. He, however, conducted a correspondence with the commissioners who repaired to London, as a portion of which, the subjoined letter to him from the earl of Loudon, which throws some light on the policy of the Scots at that juncture, may be interesting.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>15</sup> A curious evidence of his opinions, and the motives of his political conduct at this period, exists, in the form of some remarks on the aspect of the times, which appear to have been addressed to his friend lord Loudon. The manuscript is in scroll, very irregularly written, and with numerous corrections; circumstances which will account for any unintelligibility in the portion we extract. It bears date the 21st of June, 1642. "Seeing thir kingdoms most stand and fall together, and that at the first design in all thir late troubles, so the last effort of thes evil counsels prevailing stil to the suppression of religion and liberty and the erection of poperye and arbitrary power, it is earnestlye desyrd by good Christians and patriots that the question of the warr be right stated, as a warr for religion and libertie, against papists and prelates, and their abackers and adherents; and that now, in thair straits and difficulties, they might enter in a covenant with God and amongst themselves, for the reformation of the church, abolishing of popery and prelaey out of England and Scotland, and preservation of the roule and peace of thir kyngdoms, q<sup>t</sup> without diminution of his majesty's authorities, might not only free them of fears from this, bot also fill them with hopes of thir bearing alongst with thir proceedings the hearts and confidence of thir kingdoms. Pitmaylie may remember weal what of this kynd was motioned at Rippon, and spoken of agayne, when the English armye was reported to be comyng up."—*Wodrow's Papers*, Ad. Lib. vol. lvi.

<sup>16</sup> "My lord,—The sending of commissioners from the parliament here to the parliament of Scotland at this tyme, was upon the sudden moved in the House of Commons (befoir we wer acquainted thereof) by the solicitor, and seconded by some who profes to be o<sup>r</sup> freinds as a greater testimonie of respect than the sending of a letter alone, and was in that sens approved by the whole hous, who, I believe, does it for no other end, neither is ther any other instructions given by the house than these, whereof the copy is sent to you, which ar only generall for a good correspondence betwixt the two kingdomes. Bot I cannot forbear to tell you my apprehensions, that the intention and designs of some particular persons in sending down at this tyme, and in such a juncture of affaires (when ther is so great rumor of division and factions in Scotland), is by them to learne the posture of business ther in the parl<sup>t</sup>, assemblies, and kingdome, that they may receive privat information from them, and make ther applicationes and uses thereof accordingle. That which confirms this opinion to me the more, is, that the sending of these persones to Scotland was moved and seconded by such as profes themselves to be o<sup>r</sup> freinds w<sup>out</sup> giving us any notice thereof till it was done; and the day before it was motioned, they and yo<sup>r</sup> old friend Sir Henry Vaine younger, wer at a consultation together, and yo<sup>r</sup> lo<sup>p</sup> knowes how much power Sir Henrie Vain hes with Sir W<sup>m</sup> Armyne and Mr Bowlls.\* Sir William Armyne is a very honest gentleman, but Mr Bowlls is very deserving, and doubtless is sent (thoghe not of intention of the parl<sup>t</sup>) as a spy to give privat intelligence to some who are jealous and curious to understand how all affairs goe in Scotland. Thomsons I hear is a Independent, and (if he goe not away before I can meit with some freinds) I shall c'tryve that there may be a snare laid in his gait to stay his journey; they wold be used with all civillie when they come, bot yo<sup>r</sup> lo<sup>p</sup>; and others wold be verie warie and circumspect in all yo<sup>r</sup> proceedings and deallings w<sup>t</sup> them; seeing the hous of parl<sup>t</sup> and all such heir as desyres a happle and weell-grounded peace, or a short and prosperous warre, ar desyrus that the Scottish armie advance southward (although I dare not presume to give any positive judgment without presysee knowledge of the condition and posture of o<sup>r</sup> own kingdom), I cannot see any human means so probable and lykly to setle religion and peace, and make o<sup>r</sup> nation the more considerable, as the advancing of o<sup>r</sup> armie southward if the turbulent comotions and rud distractions of Scotland may permitt, nor is it possible that so great an armie can be longer entertained by the northern counties, so barren and much waisted with armies; nor can it be expected that the parl<sup>t</sup> of England can be at so great charge as the entertainment of that armie (if they did realle intertain them), unless they be more useful for the caus and publick service of both kingdomes than to lye still in thes northern counties, being now reduced, and the king to vexe the south with forces equal to theirs; bot there needs not arguments to prove this poynt, unless that base crew of Irish rebels and thir perfidious confederates, and the unnatural factions of o<sup>r</sup> cuntrymen for-

\* The English commissioners were—the earl of Rutland, Sir William Armyne, Sir Henry Vane (younger), Thomas Thatcher, and Henry Darnley.



We find Johnston sent to London, on the 4th of July, 1644, and it is probable that, before that time, he had managed to visit England without the ceremonial of a safe-guard from the falling monarch; and on the 9th of January, 1645, we find him along with Mr Robert Barclay, "two of our commissioners lattlie returned from London," reporting the progress of their proceedings to the house.<sup>17</sup> The proceedings of this commission, and of the assembly of divines at Westminster, with which Warriston had a distinguished connexion, may be passed over as matters of general history. Warned, probably, by the cautious intimations of the letter we have just quoted, Johnston was the constant attendant of the English commissioners on their progress to Scotland, and was the person who moved their business in the house.<sup>18</sup> On the death of Sir Thomas Hope, in 1646, Johnston had the influence to succeed him as lord advocate, an office for which he seems to have seasoned himself by his numerous motions against malignants. With a firm adherence to his previous political conduct, Johnston refused accession to the well-known engagement which the duke of Hamilton conducted as a last effort in behalf of the unfortunate monarch.

On the 10th of January, 1649, the marquis of Argyle delivered a speech, "wich he called the brecking of the malignants' teith, and that he quho was to speake after him, (viz. Warriston) wolde brecke ther jawes." Argyle found the teeth to be five, which he smashed one by one:—"His first was against the ingagers being statesmen, and intrusted with great places, quho had broken their trust. II. Against the engagers' committee-men, quho by ther tyranny had opprest the subjects. III. Against declared malignants, formerlye fynyed in parliament, or remitted, and now agayne relapsed. IV. Against thesse that wer eager promotters of the laitt ingagement with England. V. Against suche as had petitioned for the advancement of the levey." After these were demolished, Johnston commenced his attack on the toothless jaws; he "read a speache two houres in lenthe, off his papers, being ane explanatioun of Argyle's five heads, or teith, as he named them; with the anssuering of such objects he thought the pryne ingagers wolde make in their awen defence against the housse now convened, wich they did not acnouldege to be a lawfull parliament."<sup>19</sup>

On the 6th of January, the imminent danger of the king prompted the choosing a committee to act for his safety under instructions. The instructions were fourteen; and the most remarkable and essential, was, that a protest should be taken against any sentence pronounced against the king. "That this kingdome may be free of all the dessolatione, misery, and bloodshed, that incertablie will follow thereupone, without offering in your ressonne, that princes ar eximed from triall of justice."<sup>20</sup> This was by no means in opposition to the principles which Johnston had previously professed, but his mind appears to have been finally settled into a deep opposition to all monarchy. Along with Argyle he distinguished himself in opposing the instructions, by a method not honourable to their memory—a proposition that the measure should be delayed for a few days, to permit a fast to be held in the interim. One of the last of his ministerial

getting or covenant, ar grown to such a hight of mischeef and misery, as to make such a rent at home as to disable us to assist o' freinds, and prosecute that cause which I am confident God will carrie one and perfyte against all opposition; and in confidence thereof I shall encourage myselte, and rejoyce under hope, a thoghe I should never sie the end of itt. I beseeche you to haist back this bearer, and let me know with him the condition of attairs in Scotland; how o' good freinds are, and how soon we may expect yor retorne hither, or if I must come to you betoir ye come to us. I referr the marquiss of Argyle and my lord Balmerinoch, and other freinds to you for intelligence, to spair paines and supply the want of leasure; and will say noe more at this tyme, but that I am your most affectionate and faithfull friend, LOUBOUSE."—*Wodrow's MS. Collection*, vol. lvi. The letter is dated from Worcester house, January 6, 1644.

<sup>17</sup> Balf. An. iii. 204, 248.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.* 262.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.* 377.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.* 384.



acts as lord advocate, was the proclamation of Charles II. on the 5th of February, 1649; and he was on the 10th of March, in the same year, appointed to his long-looked-for post of lord register, in place of Gibson of Durie, superseded by the act of classes. At the battle of Dunbar, in 1650, he was one of the committee of the estates appointed to superintend the military motions of Leslie, and was urgent in pressing the measure which is reputed to have lost the day to the Scots. He was naturally accused of treachery, but the charge has not been supported. "Waristoun," says Burnet, "was too hot, and Lesley was too cold, and yielded too easily to their humours, which he ought not to have done;"<sup>21</sup> and the mistake may be attributed to the obstinacy of those, who, great in the cabinet and conventicle, thought they must be equally great in war.

Warriston was among the few persons who in the committee of estates refused to accede to the treaty of Charles II. at Breda; an act of stubborn consistency, which, joined to others of a like nature, sealed his doom in the royal heart. After the battle of Dunbar, the repeal of the act of classes, which was found necessary as a means of re-constructing the army, again called forth his jaw-breaking powers. He wrote "a most solid letter" on the subject to the meeting held at St Andrews, July 18, 1651, which appears never to have been read, but which has been preserved by the careful Wodrow<sup>22</sup> for the benefit of posterity. He wrote several short treatises on "the sinfulness of joining malignants," destroying their jaws in a very considerate and logical manner. One of these is extant, and lays down its aim as follows:

"The first question concerning the sinfulness of the publick resolutions, hath bene handled in a former tractat. The other question remaines, anent y<sup>e</sup> sinfulness and unlawfulness of the concurrence of particular persons." The question is proposed in the following terms:—"vizt. when God's covenanted people intrusts God's covenanted interest to the power of God's anti-covenanted enemies, though upon pretence to fight against ane other anti-covenanted enemy—whether a consciencious covenanter can lawfullie concurre with such a partie in such a cause, or may lawfullie abstane, and rather give testimonie by suffering against both parties and causes, as sinfull and prejudicial to God's honour and interest. It is presupposed a dutie to oppose the common enemy. The question is anent the meanes of resisting the unjust invader."

"Three things premitted. I. The clearing of terms. II. Some distinctions. III. Some conjunctions handled."<sup>23</sup> The postulates are, perhaps, rather too sweeping for general opinion, but, presuming them to be granted, the reasonings of this lay divine are certainly sufficiently logical within their narrow space, and may have appeared as mathematical demonstrations to those who admitted the deep sin of accepting assistance from opponents in religious opinion. This resistance appears, however, to have been of a negative nature, and not to have extended to the full extremity of the remonstrance of the west; at least when called on for an explanation by the committee of Estates, he declined owning connexion with it: "Warreston did grant that he did see it, was at the voting of it, but refused to give his votte therin. He denyed that he wes accessorey to the contriving of it at first."<sup>24</sup>

After this period he appears to have been for some time sick of the fierce politics in which he had been so long engaged, and to have retired himself into the bosom of a large family. He is accused by a contemporary—not of much credit—of peculation, in having accepted sums of money for the disposal of offices under him; and the same person in the same page states the improbable circumstance of his having restored the money so gained, on all the offices

<sup>21</sup> Burnet, 83.

<sup>22</sup> Wodrow's Collection, Ad. Lib. xxxii. 5, 15.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid, 16.

<sup>24</sup> Balf. An. iv. 169. Scots Worthies, 275.



being abolished by Cromwell, and that he was not affluent, having "conquest no lands but Warriston,<sup>25</sup> of the avail of 1000 merks Scots a-year, where he now lives freed of trouble of state or country."<sup>26</sup>

He was a member of the committee of protesters, who in 1657, proceeded to London to lay their complaints before the government. Cromwell knew the value of the man he had before him, and persuaded him to try the path of ambition under the new government. Wodrow and others have found it convenient to palliate his departure from the adherence to royalty, as an act for which it was necessary to find apologies in strong calls of interest, and facility of temper. It will, however, almost require a belief in all the mysteries of divine right, to discover why *Warriston* should have adhered to royalty without power, and how the opinions he always professed should have made him prefer a factious support of an absent prince to the service of a powerful leader, his early friend and coadjutor in opposing hereditary loyalty.

On the 9th of July, 1657, he was re-appointed clerk register, and on the 3rd of November in the same year, he was named as one of the commissioners for the administration of justice in Scotland.<sup>27</sup> Cromwell created Johnston a peer, and he sat in the protector's upper house, with the title of lord Warriston, occupying a station more brilliant, but not so exalted as those he had previously filled. After the death of Cromwell, Warriston displayed his strong opposition to the return of royalty, by acting as president of the committee of safety under Richard Cromwell. Knowing himself to be marked out for destruction, he fled at the Restoration to France. It is painful, after viewing a life spent with honour and courage, in the highest trusts, to trace this great man's life to an end which casts a blot on the times, and on the human race. He was charged to appear before the Estates; and having been outlawed in the usual form, on the 10th October, 1661, a reward of 5000 merks was offered for his apprehension. By a fiction of law, the most horrible which a weak government ever invented for protection against powerful subjects, but which, it must be acknowledged, was put in force by Warriston and his confederates against Montrose, an act of forfeiture in absence passed against him, and he was condemned to death on the 15th of May, 1661. The principal and avowed articles of accusation against him were, his official prosecution of the royalists, and particularly of Gordon of Newton, his connexion with the Remonstrance, his sitting in parliament as a peer of England, and his accepting office under Cromwell.

It was necessary that the victim of judicial vengeance should be accused of acts which the law knows as crimes; and acts to which the best protectors of Charles the Second's throne were accessory, were urged against this man. For the hidden causes of his prosecution we must however look in his ambition, the influence of his worth and talents, and the unbending consistency of his political principles; causes to which Wodrow has added his too ungracious censure of regal vice.

In the mean time, Johnston had been lurking in Germany and the Low Countries, from which, unfortunately for himself, he proceeded to France. A confidant termed "major Johnston," is supposed to have discovered his retreat; and a spy of the name of Alexander Murray, commonly called "crooked Murray," was employed to hunt him out. This individual, narrowly watching the motions of lady Warriston, discovered his dwelling in Rouen, and with consent of the council of France, he was brought prisoner to England, and lodged in the Tower on the 8th of June, 1663; thence he was brought to Edinburgh, not

<sup>25</sup> A small estate so near Edinburgh as to be now encroached upon by its suburbs.

<sup>26</sup> Scot of Scotstarvet's Stag. State, 127.

<sup>27</sup> Haig and Brunton's Hist. College of Justice, 308.



for the purpose of being tried, but to suffer execution of the sentence passed on him in absence. When presented to parliament to receive sentence, it was apparent that age, hardship, and danger, had done their work effectually on his iron nerves; and the intrepid advocate of the covenant exhibited the mental imbecility of an idiot. His friends accused Dr Bates of having administered to him deleterious drugs, and weakened him by bleeding; an improbable act, which would have only raised unnecessary indignation against those who already had him sufficiently in their power. The apostate Sharpe, and his other enemies, are said to have ridiculed the sick lion; but there were at least a few of his opponents not too hardened to pity the wreck of a great intellect before them.<sup>28</sup>

Probably affected by the circumstances of his situation, some of the members showed an anxiety for a little delay; but Lauderdale, who had received imperative instructions regarding him, fiercely opposed the proposition. He was sentenced to be hanged at the cross of Edinburgh on the 22nd of July, his head being to be severed from his body, and placed beside that of his departed brother in the cause, Guthrie. Of the mournful pageant we extract the following characteristic account from Wodrow:

"The day of his execution, a high gallows or gibbet was set up at the cross, and a scaffold made by it. About two o'clock he was taken from prison; many of his friends attended him in mourning. When he came out, he was full of holy cheerfulness and courage, and as in perfect serenity and composure of mind as ever he was. Upon the scaffold he acknowledged his compliance with the English, and cleared himself of the least share of the king's death. He read his speech with an audible voice, first at the north side and then at the south side of the scaffold: he prayed next, with the greatest liberty, fervour, and sense of his own unworthiness, frequently using the foresaid expression. After he had taken his leave of his friends, he prayed again in a perfect rapture; being now near the end of that sweet work he had been so much employed about through his life, and felt so much sweetness in. Then the napkin being tied upon his head, he tried how it would fit him, and come down and cover his face, and directed to the method how it should be brought down when he gave the sign. When he was got to the top of the ladder, to which he was helped, because of bodily weakness, he cried with a loud voice, 'I beseech you all who are the people of God, not to scar [he scared] at sufferings for the interests of Christ, or stumble at any thing of this kind falling out in those days; but be encouraged to suffer for him; for I assure you, in the name of the Lord, he will bear your charges.' This he repeated again with great fervour, while the rope was tying about his neck, adding, 'The Lord hath graciously comforted me.' Then he asked the executioner if he was ready to do his office, who answering he was, he bid him

<sup>28</sup> One of these was M<sup>r</sup> Kenzie, who, with uncharitable and improbable inferences, draws the following graphic picture of the scene:—"He was brought up the street discovered [uncovered]; and being brought into the council house of Edinburgh, where the chancellor and others waited to examine him, he fell upon his face roaring, and with tears entreated they would pity a poor creature who had forgot all that was in his bible. This moved all the spectators with a deep melancholy; and the chancellor, reflecting upon the man's former esteem, and the great share he had in all the late revolutions, could not deny some tears to the frailty of silly mankind. At his examination he pretended that he had lost so much blood by the unskillfulness of his chirurgeons, that he lost his memory with his blood; and I really believe that his courage had indeed been drawn out with it. Within a few days he was brought before the parliament, where he discovered nothing but much weakness, running up and down upon his knees begging mercy. But the parliament ordained his former sentence to be put into execution, and accordingly he was executed at the cross of Edinburgh. At his execution he showed more composure than formerly, which his friends ascribed to God's miraculous kindness for him, but others thought that he had only formerly put on this disguise of madness to escape death in it, and that, finding the mask useless, he had returned, not to his wit, which he had lost, but from his madness, which he had counterfeited."—*Sir G. M<sup>r</sup> Kenzie's Annals*, 131.



do it, and, crying out, 'O, pray, pray! praise, praise.' was turned over, and died almost without a struggle, with his hands lift up to heaven."<sup>29</sup>

The same partial hand has thus drawn his character: "My lord Warriston was a man of great learning and eloquence; of very much wisdom, and extraordinary zeal for the public cause of religion and reformation, in which he was a chief actor; but above all, he was extraordinary in piety and devotion, as to which he had scarce any equal in the age he lived in. One who was his intimate acquaintance says, he spent more time, notwithstanding the great throng of public business upon his hand, in prayer, meditation, and close observation of providences, and self-examination, than ever he knew or heard of: and as he was very diligent in making observations on the Lord's way, so he was visited with extraordinary discoveries of the Lord's mind, and very remarkable providences. He wrote a large diary, which yet remains in the hands of his relations; an invaluable treasure of Christian experiences and observations; and, as I am told by one who had the happiness to see some part of it, there is mixed in sometimes matters of fact very little known now, which would bring a great deal of light to the history of Scots affairs, in that period wherein he lived."<sup>30</sup>

But his nephew Burnet, has in his usual characteristic manner, drawn a more happy picture of the stubborn statesman and hardy zealot, too vivid to be neglected: "Warristoun was my own uncle; he was a man of great application, could seldom sleep above three hours in the twenty-four: he had studied the law carefully, and had a great quickness of thought, with an extraordinary memory. He went into very high notions of lengthened devotions, in which he continued many hours a-day: he would often pray in his family two hours at a time, and had an unexhausted copiousness that way. What thought soever struck his fancy during these effusions, he looked on it as an answer of prayer, and was wholly determined by it. He looked on the covenant as the setting Christ on his throne, and so was out of measure zealous in it. He had no regard to the raising himself or his family, though he had thirteen children; but prosperity was to him more than all the world. He had a readiness and vehemence of speaking that made him very considerable in public assemblies; and he had a fruitful invention; so that he was at all times furnished with expedients."

JOHNSTON, (DR) ARTHUR, a poet and physician, was born in the year 1587, at Caskieben, the seat of his family, a few miles from Aberdeen. He was the fifth son of George Johnston of that ilk and of Caskieben, the chief of the family of Johnston, by Christian Forbes, daughter of William, seventh baron Forbes. He appears to have been named after his uncle the honourable William Forbes of Logie, who was killed at Paris in the year 1574.<sup>1</sup> This poet, whose chief characteristic was the elegance with which he expressed his own simple feelings as a poet, in the language appropriate to the customs and feelings of a past nation, has left in his *Epigrammata* an address to his native spot; and, although Caskieben is a piece of very ordinary Scottish scenery, it is surprising how much he has made of it, by the mere force of his own early associations. With the minuteness of an enthusiast, he does not omit the circumstance, that the hill of Benochie, a conical elevation about eight miles distant, casts its shadow over Caskieben at the periods of the equinox. As we shall be able, by giving this epigram, to unite a specimen of the happiest original efforts of the author's genius, with circumstances personally connected with his history, we beg leave to extract it:—

<sup>29</sup> Wodrow, i. 385.

<sup>30</sup> Wodrow, i. 361. Much search has lately been made for this interesting document, but has proved vain.

<sup>1</sup> Johnston's History of the Family of Johnston, 36.



Æmula Thessalicens hic Jonstonia Tempe,  
 Hospes! hyperboreo fusa sub axe vides.  
 Mille per ambages nitidis argenteus undis,  
 Hic trepidat lætos Urius inter agros.  
 Explicat hic seras ingens Bennachius umbras,  
 Nox ubi libratur lance diesque pari.  
 Gemmifer est amnis, radiat mons ipse lapillis,  
 Queis nihil Eous purius orbis habet.  
 Hic pandit natura sinum, nativæque surgens  
 Purpura felicem sub pede ditat humum.  
 Aëra per liquidum volucres, in flumine pisces,  
 Adspicis in pratis luxuriare pecus.  
 Hic seges est, hic poma rubent, onerantur aristis  
 Arva, suas ægre sustinet arbor opes.  
 Propter aquas arx est, ipsi contermina cælo,  
 Auctoris menti non tamen æqua sui.  
 Imperat hæc arvis et vectigalibus undis,  
 Et famula stadiis distat ab urbe tribus.  
 Hæc mihi terra parens: gens has Jonstonia lymphas,  
 Arvæque per centum missa tuetur avos.  
 Clara Maronæis evasit Mantua cunis;  
 Me mea natalis nobilitabit humus.

## TRANSLATION.

Here, traveller, a vale behold  
 As fair as Tempe, famed of old,  
 Beneath the northern sky!  
 Here Urie, with her silver waves,  
 Her banks, in verdure smiling, laves,  
 And winding wimples by.

Here, towering high, Bennachie spreads  
 Around on all his evening shades,  
 When twilight grey comes on:  
 With sparkling gems the river glows;  
 As precious stones the mountain shows  
 As in the East are known.

Here nature spreads a bosom sweet,  
 And native dyes beneath the feet  
 Bedeck the joyous ground:  
 Sport in the liquid air the birds,  
 And fishes in the stream; the herds  
 In meadows wanton round.

Here ample barn-yards still are stored  
 With relics of last autumn's hoard  
 And firstlings of this year;  
 There waving fields of yellow corn,  
 And ruddy apples, that adorn  
 The bending boughs, appear.

Beside the stream, a castle proud  
 Rises amid the passing cloud,  
 And rules a wide domain,  
 (Unequal to its lord's desert:)  
 A village near, with lowlier art,  
 Is built upon the plain.

Here was I born; o'er all the land  
 Around, the Johnstons bear command,  
 Of high and ancient line:  
 Mantua acquired a noted name  
 As Virgil's birthplace; I my fame  
 Inherit shall from mine.



In a similar spirit he has left an epigram on the small burgh of Inverury, in the neighbourhood of Caskieben, in which he does not omit the circumstance, that the fuel of the inhabitants (vulgo, the peats) comes from the land in which he was born. A similar epigram to another neighbouring burgh, the *royal* burgh of Kintore, now holding the rank of a very small village, informs us that at the grammar school of that place he commenced the classical studies, which afterwards acquired for him so much eminence :

"Hic ego sum memini musarum factus alumnus,  
Et tiro didici verba Latina loqui."

After leaving this humble seat of learning, he is said to have studied at Marischal college in Aberdeen ; a circumstance extremely probable, but which seems to have no other direct foundation than the conjecture of Benson, from the vicinity of his paternal estate to that institution, and his having been afterwards elected rector of the university, an honour generally bestowed on illustrious alumni.<sup>2</sup>

Johnston, intending to study medicine, a science which it would have been in vain at that period to have attempted in Scotland, proceeded to Rome, and afterwards to Padua, where he seems to have acquired some celebrity for the beauty of his earlier Latin poems, and took the degree of doctor in medicine.<sup>3</sup> He afterwards travelled through Germany, Holland, and Denmark, and finally fixed his abode in France. If he remained for a considerable period at Padua, he must have early finished his curriculum of study at Aberdeen, as he is said by Sir Thomas Urquhart, to have been laureated a poet in Paris at the age of twenty-three.

He remained for twenty years in France, a period during which he was twice married, to ladies whose names are unknown, but who bore him thirteen children, to transmit his name to posterity. On his return to Britain about the year 1632, probably at the recommendation of Laud, who was his friend, and had commenced the career of court influence, Johnston was appointed physician to Charles I., a circumstance which must have preceded or immediately followed his arrival, as he styles himself in the first edition of his *Parerga* and *Epigrammata*, published at Aberdeen in 1632, "*Medicus Regius.*" The *Parerga* consists, as its name may designate, of a variety of small pieces of poetry, which cannot be conveniently classed under a more distinct name. A few are satirical, but the lyrical (if they may be said to come correctly under that designation) form the most interesting portion. Johnston seldom indulges in the metaphoric brilliancy which characterized the native writers in the language which he chose to use ; but he has a considerable portion of their elegance, while much of the poetry is founded on association and domestic feeling, of which he has some exquisitely beautiful traits, which would have been extremely pleasing had he used his vernacular tongue. He is said to have wished to imitate Virgil ; but those who have elevated Buchanan to the title of "the Scottish Virgil," have designated Johnston the "Scottish Ovid ;" a characteristic which may apply to the versification of his Psalms, but is far from giving a correct idea of the spirit of his original pieces. It may not be displeasing to the reader who is unacquainted with the works of this neglected author, to give an extract from one of the *Parerga*, addressed to his early friend and school companion Wedder-

<sup>2</sup> Benson's Life, prefixed to Johnston's Psalms, vi.

<sup>3</sup> "Quod ex earvino manuscripto in Advocatorum Bibliotheca, Edinburgi servato, intelligimus." The circumstance is mentioned in Sir Robert Sibbald's *Bibliographia Scotica*, which though not a "carmen," may be the MS. referred to.



burn,—a piece strikingly depictive of the author's affectionate feelings, and probably detailing the effects of excessive study and anxiety :

“ Cernis ut obrepens mihi, Wedderburne, senecta  
 Sparsersit indignus per caput omne nives.  
 Debile fit corpus, pulsus melioribus annis,  
 Nec vigor ingenii, qui fuit ante, mihi est.  
 Tempore mutato, mores mutantur et ipsi,  
 Nec capior studiis, quæ placuere prius.  
 Ante leves risus, et erant jocularia cordi,  
 Nunc me morosum, difficilemque vides.  
 Prona fit in rixas mens, et proclivis in iras,  
 Et senio pejor cura senilis edit.  
 His ego, quæ possum, quæro medicamina morbis,  
 Et mala, qua fas est, pellere nitor ope.  
 Sæpe quod exegi pridem, juvenile revolvo  
 Tempus, et in mentem tu mihi sæpe redis.  
 Par, memini, cum noster amor se prodidit, ætas,  
 Par genius nobis, ingeniumque fuit.  
 Unus et ardor erat, Phœbi conscendere collem,  
 Inque jugo summo sistere posse pedem,” &c.<sup>4</sup>

Benson mentions, that Johnston was a litigant in the court of session in Edinburgh, at the period of his return to Britain ; and probably the issue of his suit may account for a rather unceremonious attack in the *Parerga*, on advocates and agents, unblushingly addressed “ *Ad duos rabulas forenses, Advocatum et Procuratorem*,” of whom, without any respect for the college of Justice, the author says,

“ Magna minorque ferre, quarum paris altera lites ;  
 Altera dispensus, utraque digna mori,” &c.

On approaching the period when Johnston published his translation of the Psalms of David, we cannot help being struck with the circumstances under which he appears to have formed the design. Dr Eaglesham had, in the year 1620, published a criticism of considerable length, for the purpose of proving that the public voice had erred in the merit it allowed to Buchanan's version of the Psalms, and modestly displaying a translation of the 104th psalm, of his own workmanship, between which and the psalms of Buchanan he challenged a comparison.<sup>5</sup> Dr William Barclay penned a critical answer to this challenge,<sup>6</sup> and Johnston made a fierce stroke at the offender, in a satirical article in the *Parerga*, which he calls “ *Consilium Collegii Medici Parisiensis de Mania Hypermori Medicastri*,” commencing

“ Quæ Buchananæis medicaster crimina musis  
 Objicit, et quo se jactat inane melos ;  
 Vidimus : et quotquot tractamus Pæonis artes,  
 Hic vates, uno diximus ore, furit,” &c.

Johnston, however, did not consider himself incapacitated to perform a work in which another had failed, and he probably, at that period, formed the resolution of writing a version of the psalms, which he afterwards produced, under

<sup>4</sup> Mr George Chalmers has stated that Wedderburn was the master of Johnston. Dr Irving aptly considers that the verses we have quoted above disprove the statement.

<sup>5</sup> *Eglisemii certamen cum Georgio Buchananano pro dignitate Paraphraseos Psalmi civ.* London, 1620.

<sup>6</sup> *Barclaii Judicium de certamine Eglisemii cum Buchananano pro dignitate Paraphraseos Psalmi civ.*



the auspices, and with the advice of his friend Laud, which he published at London and Aberdeen, in 1637. No man ever committed a more imprudent act for his own fame; as he was doomed by the nature of his task, not only to equal, but to excel, one of the greatest poets in the world. His fame was not increased by the proceedings of his eccentric countryman Lauder, who many years afterwards endeavoured with a curious pertinacity to raise the fame of Johnston's version far above that of Buchanan. Mr auditor Benson, a man better known for his benevolence than his acuteness, was made the trumpet of Johnston's fame. This gentleman published three editions of Johnston's psalms; one of which, printed in 1741, and dedicated to prince George, afterwards George III., is ornamented with a very fine portrait of the poet by Vertue after Jamesone, and is amply illustrated with notes. The zealous editor received as his reward from the literary world, a couplet in the Dunciad, in which, in allusion to his having procured the erection of the monument to the memory of Milton in Westminster abbey, it is said

“ On two unequal crutches prept he came,  
Milton's on this, on that one Johnston's name.”

Benson has received much ridicule for the direction of his labours; but if the life of Johnston prefixed to the edition of the psalms is from his pen, it does credit to his erudition. Many controversial pamphlets were the consequence of this attempt,—Mr Love answering Lauder, while Benson had to stand a more steady attack from the critical pen of Ruddiman. It would tire our readers here to trace a controversy which we may have occasion to treat in another place. The zeal of these individuals has not furthered the fame of Johnston: and, indeed, the height to which they attempted to raise his merit, has naturally rendered the world blind to its real extent. It cannot be said that the version of Buchanan is so eminently superior as to exclude all comparison; and, indeed, we believe the schools in Holland give Johnston the preference, with almost as much decision, as we grant it to Buchanan. The merit of the two, is, indeed, of a different sort, and we can fortunately allow that each is excellent, without bringing them to a too minute comparison. Johnston has been universally allowed to have been the more accurate translator, and few exceptions can be found to the purity of his language, while he certainly has not displayed either the richness, or the majesty of Buchanan. Johnston is considered as having been unfortunate in his method: while Buchanan has luxuriated in an amazing variety of measure, *he* has adhered to the elegiac couplet of hexameter and pentameter, excepting in the 119th psalm, in which he has indulged in all the varieties of lyrical arrangement which the Latin language admits: an inapt choice, as Hebrew scholars pronounce that psalm to be the most prosaic of the sacred poems.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> An esteemed correspondent supplies us with the following note:—“ It may be enough to prove the elegance and accuracy of Arthur Johnston's Latinity, to say, that his version of the 104th psalm has frequently been compared with that of Buchanan, and that scholars are not unanimous in adjudging it to be inferior. As an original poet, he does not aspire to the same high companionship, though his compositions are pleasing, and not without spirit. One curious particular concerning these two authors has been remarked by Dr Johnson, from which, it would appear, that modern literature owed to the more distinguished of them a device very convenient for those whose powers of description were limited. When a rhymers protested his mistress resembled Venus, he, in fact, acknowledged his own incapacity to celebrate her charms, and gave instead a sort of catchword, by means of which, referring back to the ancients, a general idea of female perfections might be obtained. This conventional language was introduced by Buchanan; ‘who,’ says the critic just named, ‘was the first who complimented a lady, by ascribing to her the different perfections of the heathen goddesses; but Johnston,’ he adds, ‘improved upon this, by making his mistress at the same time, free from their defects!’”



A writer in the Scots Magazine for the year 1741, has noticed one excellence in the psalms of Dr Johnston, distinct from those which have been so amply heaped on him by Lauder; and as we agree with the author in his opinion of the quality, we shall quote his words: "There is one perfection in the doctor's version, which is not sufficiently illustrated; and that is, the admirable talent he has of expressing things which are peculiar to the sacred writings, and never to be met with in classic authors, in the most pure and elegant Latin. This the reader will perceive if he looks into the 83rd and 108th psalms: and still more so upon perusing the Te Deum and the apostles' creed. 'To thee all angels cry aloud, the heavens and all the powers therein; To thee cherubim and seraphim continually do cry, Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabaoth.'"

"Grex sacer auratis qui pervolat æthæra pennis  
Imperio nutuque tuo; supremaque mundi  
Templa, tua cælata manu; cælique potestas  
Omnis; et igne micans acies; et lucidus ordo,  
Agminis aligeri princeps, tibi, maxime rerum," &c.

How poetically are the angels described by

Grex sacer auratis qui pervolat æthæra pennis.

And in like manner the cherubims and seraphims, who are mentioned with the powers of heaven,<sup>b</sup>

"Cælique potestas," &c.

A late writer, considerably versed in classical and biblical criticism—Mr Tennant—whose opinion coincides to a certain extent with that which we have just quoted, finds, that even after the luxuriant fervidness of Buchanan, there is much to admire in the calm tastefulness and religious feeling of Johnston, and that the work of the latter is not only a more faithful translation, but given in a manner better suited (in his opinion,) to the strains of the holy minstrel, than that followed by the fiery genius of Buchanan, when restricted to translation. "He is not," remarks this author, "tempted like Buchanan, by his luxuriance of phraseology, and by the necessity of filling up, by some means or other, metrical stanzas of prescribed and inexorable length, to expatiate from the psalmist's simplicity, and weaken, by circumlocution, what he must needs beat out and expand. His diction is, therefore, more firm and nervous, and, though not absolutely Hebraean, makes a nearer approach to the unadorned energy of Jewry. Accordingly, all the sublime passages are read with more touching effect in his, than in Buchanan's translation: he has many beautiful and even powerful lines, such as can scarce be matched by his more popular competitor; the style of Johnston possessing somewhat of Ovidian ease, accompanied with strength and simplicity, while the tragic pomp and worldly parade of Seneca and Prudentius are more affected by Buchanan."

Let us conclude this subject with remarking the peculiar circumstance, that while Scotland has produced two Latin versions of the psalms, rivals in excellence, the talent of the whole nation has been unable to produce any English version which can be considered as even tolerable in point of versification. In 1641, Johnston died at Oxford, where he had gone on a visit to a daughter married to a divine of the church of England. Besides the works already mentioned, he wrote *Musæ Aulicæ*, addressed to his eminent contemporaries, translated Solomon's Song, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer, and edited the *Delitiæ Poetarum*

<sup>a</sup> Scot. Mag. iii. 255.

<sup>b</sup> Ed. Lit. Journal, iii. 289.



Scotorum, in which he introduced not a few of his own productions. His works were published at Middleburg, in 1642, by his friend Scott of Scotstarvet. The present representatives of his family are, Sir William Johnston of Hilton, in Aberdeenshire, and Mr Johnston of Viewfield in the same county.

The brother of the poet was a man of some local celebrity; he was Dr William Johnston, professor of mathematics in the Marischal college of Aberdeen. "He was," says Wodrow, "ane learned and experienced physitian. He wrote on the mathematics. His skill in the Latin was truly Ciceronian."<sup>10</sup>

JOHNSTONE, JAMES, a physician of some eminence, was born at Annan in the year 1730. He was the fourth son of John Johnstone, Esq. of Galabank, one of the oldest branches of the family of that name. He received the rudiments of his classical education from Dr Henry, the well known author of the *History of Great Britain*. The science of medicine he studied first in Edinburgh and afterwards in Paris; and such was his progress in these studies, that he took the degree of doctor of medicine before he had completed his twenty-first year. On this occasion he published a thesis, "*De Aeris Factitii Imperio in Corpore Humano*," which discovered an ability that procured him many valuable friends. On completing his education, Dr Johnstone commenced practice at Kidderminster, in Worcestershire, where he quickly acquired a great degree of celebrity by the successful manner in which he treated a peculiar epidemic, called, from its remarkable virulence in that locality, the Kidderminster fever. Of this fever, and his mode of treating it, he published an account in 1758, an exceedingly important treatise, from the circumstance of its pointing out the power of minerals and vapours to correct or destroy putrid febrile contagion. This discovery, now so frequently and successfully employed in arresting the progress of infection, and in purifying infected places, though since claimed by others, belongs beyond all doubt to Dr Johnstone; who pointed out also the simple process by which it was to be effected—viz., by pouring a little vitriolic acid on common salt.

Dr Johnstone was well known in the learned world by several interesting publications on subjects connected with his profession, and by several important additions which he made to the general stock of medical knowledge. Amongst these was the discovery of a cure for the ganglion of the nerves, and of the lymphatic glands.

From Kidderminster he removed to Worcester, where he continued to practise till within a few days of his death, which happened in 1802, in the seventy-third year of his age. His death was much regretted, and it was then considered that the medical science had by that event lost one of its brightest ornaments. Dr Johnstone acquires no small degree of additional celebrity from his having been the intimate friend of the amiable George lord Lyttleton, and from his being the author of the affecting account of that nobleman's death, inserted by Dr Johnson in his *Lives of the Poets*.

In a letter which he addressed to the editor of Doddridge's Letters, he says—"Lord Bacon reckons it a great deficiency in biography that it is for the most part confined to the actions of kings and princes, and a few persons of high rank, while the memory of men distinguished for worth and goodness in the lower ranks of life has been only preserved by tradition." The latter character was Dr Johnstone's, and the deficiency would indeed have been great had his name been omitted in the list of those who have deserved well of their country and of posterity. His general character and conduct are spoken of in terms of high admiration by all his contemporaries and biographers; and the serenity of his death, the cheerful and resigned spirit in which he contemplated and awaited

<sup>10</sup> Catalogues of Scottish Writers, published by Mr Maidment, Edinburgh, 1833, p. 114.



that event, is made a conspicuous feature in the history of his useful but unobtrusive life.

His celebrity as a medical practitioner was very great, and his professional skill was fortunately associated with a singular degree of kindness and amenity of manner—qualities to which the Rev. Job Orton, a man himself celebrated for piety and talent, thus bears testimony: “I left Shrewsbury and came to Kidderminster, that I might have the advice of a very able and skilful physician, Dr Johnstone, who hath always proved himself a faithful and tender friend, to whose care as a physician I, under God, owe my life, and to whose friendship I am indebted for some of the greatest comforts of it.”

Several of Dr Johnstone’s physiological inquiries were published in the *Philosophical Transactions*, and are to be found in the 54th, 57th, and 60th volumes of that work. They were afterwards enlarged and printed separately.

JOHNSTON, JOHN, a Latin poet and classical scholar of considerable eminence in the earlier part of the 17th century. Though this individual is one of the ornaments of a very distinguished age of Scottish literature, the date of his birth is not accurately ascertained, but it must have been previous to the year 1570, as in 1587 he began to be known to the world. He styles himself “Abredonensis;” and as he was a member of the house of Crimond, he was probably born at the family seat near Aberdeen. Dr M’Crie, whose minute labours have thrown so much light on the literary history of this period, has, among other facts connected with Johnston, (which we shall here carefully recapitulate,) discovered the name of his master, from the last will of the poet, in which he affectionately leaves to that individual his white cup with the silver foot.<sup>1</sup> The same instrument appoints, as one of his executors, “Mr Robert Johnston of Creimond,” probably his brother, a person who appears to have been in 1635 elected provost of Aberdeen.<sup>2</sup> Johnston studied at King’s college in Aberdeen, whence, after the usual custom of the age, he made a studious perigrination among the continental universities, which he continued during a period of eight years. In 1587, we find him at the university of Helmstadt, whence he transmitted a manuscript copy of Buchanan’s *Sphæra*, to be re-edited by Pincier, along with two epigrams of his own.<sup>3</sup> In 1587, he was at the university of Rostock, where he enjoyed the intimacy and correspondence of the elegantly learned but fanciful Justus Lipsius. An epistle from this veteran in classical criticism to his younger associate, is preserved in the published correspondence of the former, and may interest from the paternal kindness of its spirit, and the acknowledgment it displays of the promising genius of the young Scottish poet.

“You love me, my dear Johnston, and you praise my constancy. I heartily second the former statement, but as to the latter, I am afraid I must receive it with some diffidence, for I fear I have not achieved the praiseworthy excellence in that quality which your affectionate feelings have chosen to assign to me. I am, however, not a little flattered by the circumstance that David Chytræus (by the way, who is that man?) is, as you say, of the same opinion with yourself in this matter, whether by mistake or otherwise. Whatever may be in this, I love—indeed I do—that constancy which has secured me so many friends; in the number of which, my dear Johnston, I not only ask, but command you to consider yourself as henceforth enrolled. Should God again grant to me to stand on and behold the soil of Germany, (and such an event may perhaps happen

<sup>1</sup> Item—I leave to Mr Robert Merser, Persoun of Banquhorrie, (Banchory, near Aberdeen,) my auld kynd maister, in token of my thankful dewtie, my quhyt cope with the silver fit.”—*M’Crie’s Melville*, i. 331.

<sup>2</sup> History of the Family of Johnston, 29.

<sup>3</sup> *M’Crie’s Melville*, i. 331.



sooner than we wish, as matters are now moving,) I shall see thee, and we shall shake hands as a token of truth and affection. For your verses I return you thanks, which shall be doubly increased, if you will frequently favour me with your letters, in which I perceive evident marks of your wonted elegance and erudition.—*Leyden, the 20th March, 1588.*"

Johnston appears to have early embraced the doctrines of the presbyterian church of Scotland, and to have retained them with the characteristic firmness of the sect. He was the intimate friend of its accomplished partisan Andrew Melville, whose influence probably procured him the appointment to the professorship of divinity in the new college of St Andrews, as successor to John Robertson,—an advancement which he obtained previously to the year 1594, as he is discovered, under the term "maister in the new college," to have been elected one of the elders of St Andrews, on the 28th November, 1593. Johnston was a useful assistant to his illustrious friend, in the opposition to the harassing efforts of king James to introduce episcopacy. He must have been included in the interdict of the visitation of the university commission, by which the professors of theology and philosophy, not being pastors of the church, were prohibited from sitting in church courts, except through an election regulated by the council of the visitation: and in the General Assembly which met at Dundee in 1598, whither both had resorted to oppose the too great tenderness of James for the church, in proposing to admit its representation in parliament, Melville and Johnston were charged to quit the city, with the usual formality of the pain of rebellion in case of refusal. In 1603, these friends again appear acting in concert, in a correspondence with Du Plessis, on the subject of the synod of Gap in France having censured certain peculiar opinions on the doctrine of justification. "They did not presume to judge of the justice of the synod of Gap, but begged leave to express their fears that strong measures would inflame the minds of the disputants, and that a farther agitation of the question might breed a dissension very injurious to the interests of the evangelical churches. It appeared to them that both parties held the protestant doctrine of justification, and only differed a little in their mode of explaining it. They, therefore, in the name of their brethren, entreated Du Plessis to employ the authority which his piety, prudence, learned writings, and illustrious services in the cause of Christianity had given him in the Gallican church, to bring about an amicable adjustment of the controversy." Without inquiring into the minutia of the controversy, the knowledge that it was a theological one is sufficient to make us appreciate the advice as exceedingly sound; and we have the satisfaction to know, as a rare instance, that it produced the desired effect. During the previous year Johnston had published at Amsterdam his first complete poetical

<sup>4</sup> "Joanni Johnstono, Scoto,

"Quod et me amas, et constantiam meam laudas, mi Jonstone: alterum valde amplector et approbo, alterum timide, quia seculo reipsa non attingere me culmen hoc laudis, in quo collocat me tuus affectus. Etsi tamen nonnihil blanditur, quod David Chytraeus (quis ille vir!) pariter tecum, ut ais, sive judicat, sive errat. Quidquid hujus est, amo, jam amo constantiam meam quae tam multos mihi conciliat amicos. In quo numero ut fidenter te deinceps censeas, mi Jonstone, jubeo, non solum rogo. Quod si Deus mihi tangere et videre Germaniae solum iterum dederit (tiet fortasse voto citius, ut res hic fluant) te videbo, et dexteram jungam, tesseram fidei et amoris. De carmine gratiam tibi habeo, magis magisque habiturus, si crebro me epistolis tuis salutaveris, in quibus notas claras video elegantiae praeire et doctrinae. Lugd. Batav., xi Kalend., April. 1588."—*Lipsii Opera*, ii. 29. *Letter xxxviii.*

David Chytraeus, whom Lipsius singularly does not appear to have known, was a man of much eminence; he was professor of divinity at Rostock, and died pretty much advanced in years about the year 1600. He wrote several works, among which his continuation of Albert Crantz's History of the Saxons and Vandals, and his "Histoire De la Confession d'Auxbourg," were published previously to the date of this epistle. Lipsius had every reason to be modest on the subject of his "constancy."

<sup>5</sup> Mc'Crie's Melville, ii. 101.



work, entitled "*Inscriptiones Historicae Regum Scotorum, continuata annorum serie a Fergusio I. ad Jacobum VI. Præfixus est Cathelus, sive de gentis origine, Fragmentum Andreæ Melvini. Additæ sunt icones omnium regum nobilis Familiæ Stuartorum*," 4to; and in 1603, he published at Leyden, "*Heroes ex omni Historia Scotica Lectissimi*," 4to. Both these productions have been preserved in the *Delitiæ Poetarum Scotorum*, by the author's relative, Arthur Johnston. The former is a series of epigrammatic addresses to the Scottish monarchs, commencing with Fergus I., and duly passing through the extended list, to the reigning monarch James VI; regarding whom it is worthy of commendatory remark, that the author is more lavish of commendations on the good fortune which providence had bestowed on him, than on his talents or kingly qualities. The "*Heroes*" is a tissue of similar epigrams, addressed to the heroes who distinguish the reigns of the same line of kings, commencing with Ferchard, the great commander-in-chief of king Reuther. Of course, both works laud the virtues of many men who never drew breath. The merits of Johnston as a poet cannot be said to rise beyond those of the mere epigrammatist: to the classical elegance of his Latinity, we believe few objections can be found, but he displays more of the neatness of illustration, and precise aptness of association, which may be taught, than of the inborn poetic fire; and his works are perhaps more pleasing in the restrictions of a classical tongue, than they might have been had he allowed himself to range in the freedom of his vernacular language. When treating those who never existed, or of whom little is known, the absence of all interest from the subject adds to the coldness of the epigram, and leaves room for the mere conceit to stand alone; but in treating of interesting or striking events, Johnston could sometimes be lofty, and hit a chord of feeling. We might instance, as favourable specimens, the epigram to the family of the Frasers, massacred by the Clanranald in 1544, and that to Robert the Bruce. In 1609, Johnston published at Leyden, "*Consolatio Christiana sub Cruce, et Iambi de Felicitate Hominis Deo reconciliati*, 8vo; in 1611, he published "*Iambi Sacri*," and in 1612, "*Tetrasticha et Lemmata Sacra*—Item *Icones Regum Judeæ et Israelis*. Lugd. Bat.<sup>6</sup>

Johnston died in the month of October, 1612; the last scene of his life is drawn by James Melville in a letter to his uncle, dated the 25th of November ensuing; of which we cannot avoid giving the terms, as translated by Dr Mc'Crie. "Your colleague John Johnston closed his life last month. He sent for the members of the university and presbytery, before whom he made a confession of his faith, and professed his sincere attachment to the doctrine and discipline of our church, in which he desired to die. He did not conceal his dislike of the lately erected tyranny, and his detestation of the pride, temerity, fraud, and whole conduct of the bishops. He pronounced a grave and ample eulogium on your instructions, admonitions, and example; craving pardon of God and you, for having offended you in any instance, and for not having borne more meekly with your wholesome and friendly anger. As a memorial, he has left you a gilt velvet cap, a gold coin, and one of his best books. His death would have been a most mournful event to the church, university, and all good men, had it not been that he has for several years laboured under an incurable disease, and that the ruin of the church has swallowed up all lesser sorrows, and exhausted our tears."<sup>7</sup>

We learn that he had married Catharine Melville of the family of Carribee—

<sup>6</sup> Maidment's Catalogues of Scots Writers, 14—Sibbald's Bibliotheca Scottica, MS., 49. There is some difference in the names, as recorded by these two writers, and never having seen the works themselves, we take what appear to be the more correct titles.

<sup>7</sup> Mc'Crie's Melville, ii. 284.



but at what period seems not to be known—and he has left behind him epitaphs on her and their two children. It appears that in 1600, he had been solicited to become “second minister” of Haddington. Besides the works already mentioned, there exist, or did exist by him in MS. in the Advocates’ Library, *Περὶ Στεφάνων* sive *de coronis Martyrum* in Scotia Liber Unus,—*De coronis Martyrum* in Anglia Libellus alter,—and *Peculium Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ, et alia quedam Poemata*.” He wrote epigrams on the chief towns of Scotland, which have been appropriately inserted in Cambden’s *Britannia*; and some of his letters are to be found in the correspondence of that eminent antiquary. Andrew Melville says, “Mr Johne Davidstone left sum nots behind of our tyme, and so did Mr Johne Johnston :” what has become of these we know not.

JOHNSTON, ROBERT, an historian, existed in the earlier part of the seventeenth century. The works of this individual are well known, but he has not achieved personal eminence; and we neither know when he was born, nor the station which he occupied in life. At Amsterdam was printed in 1655, his “*Historia Rerum Britannicarum, ut et multarum Gallicarum, Belgicarum, et Germanicarum, tam politicarum, quam ecclesiasticarum, ab anno 1572, ad 1628.*”

This work was intended as a continuation of Buchanan; and bishop Nicholson, no bestower of heedless praise, appears to think that it nearly equals in style the work which it imitated.<sup>1</sup> The late lord Woodhouselee, a less scrupulous critic where a Scotsman was concerned, calls it “A work of great merit, whether we consider the judicious structure of the narrative, the sagacity of the reflections, the acute discernment of characters, or the classical tincture of the style. In those passages of his history,” says this writer, “where there is room for a display of eloquence, he is often singularly happy in touching those characteristic circumstances which present the picture strongly to the mind of the reader, without a vain parade of words, or artificial refinement of sentiment. We may cite as an example, his description of the death of Mary, queen of Scots, lib. iv. *sub anno*, 1586: and the circumstances attending the death of Essex, with the author’s reflections on that event, lib. ix. *sub anno*, 1641.” The same author farther mentions that Robert Johnston was one of the executors of George Heriot, the founder of the hospital.<sup>2</sup> Johnston, besides this extensive work, wrote “The History of Scotland during the minority of James VI.,” published at London in 1646. Wodrow mentions an “*Epitome Historiæ Rerum Britannicarum*,” published, according to his account, in 12mo, in 1642, some time previously to the appearance of the larger work.<sup>3</sup> Sir Robert Sibbald seems to find nothing more remarkable to tell us about Johnston, than that he was on intimate terms with Bruce, baron of Kinloss. “*Robertus Jonstonus baroni Killosensi Brusio dum viveret, charus: vir variæ lectionis, egregiæ eruditionis, limati judicii.*” He mentions that Johnston is *said* to have died in 1630, and gives us an epigram on his history from the pen of Joannes Owen.<sup>4</sup> There is in the Advocates’ Library a ponderous manuscript History of Scotland, by a person of the name of Johnston, and generally understood to be at least partly written by the subject of our memoir. The manuscript has belonged to lord Fairfax, and at the commencement is the following note in his handwriting:

“Of the gift of Mr David Johnston, burges of Edinburgh, itt beunge the labour of his late father and grandfather, (the first draught.) A transcript

<sup>1</sup> Nicholson’s Scottish Historical Library, 121.

<sup>2</sup> Tytler’s Kames, i. Ap. i.

<sup>3</sup> Wodrow’s Catalogues of Scottish Writers, 11.

<sup>4</sup> Sibbaldi Biblioth. Scot. MS., 221.



whereof he reserves to himself, (but is not all printed.) nor is ther any copy therof, but onely this, beinge for the most part a translation of Bucquhanan, but with very many additions not thought fit to publish. FAIRFAX.—*20th October, 1655.*"

JONES, PAUL, (originally John Paul,) a nautical genius of no ordinary character and endowments, was born at Arbigland, in the parish of Kirkbean, and stewartry of Kirkcudbright, in the month of July, 1747. He was the reputed son of John Paul, who acted as gardener to Mr Craik of Arbigland, by his wife, who had been cook to the same gentleman. It was generally believed, however, that Mr Craik was the real father of this extraordinary adventurer. The education of Paul Jones—to use the name which he assumed in after life—was in no respect different from that usually given in Scotland to boys of his rank; and it is not recorded that he showed any symptoms, while at school, of that capacity by which he was undoubtedly distinguished in advanced life. From his earliest years he manifested a decided predilection for a seafaring life, and at the age of twelve, was apprenticed as a mariner to a Mr Young, a respectable merchant in Whitehaven, whence he made his first voyage in 1760, in the ship *Friendship* of that port, under the care of a captain Benson, for the Rappahannoc, Virginia. Living on the shore of the Solway, all the amusements and ideas of young Paul seem to have been from his very cradle maritime. While yet a mere child he hoisted his mimic flag, rendezvoused his tiny fleet, and gave forth his orders to his imaginary captains, with all the consequence of a veteran commander. The town of Dumfries was at this period deeply engaged in American trade, particularly in importing tobacco, and the Nith being too shallow to float the larger vessels up to the town, their cargoes were discharged at Carse-thorn, on the Galloway coast, where the subject of this memoir was a daily observer of their operations, and not unfrequently ventured to challenge the modes of procedure followed by experienced seamen. Here, too, he had early and abundant opportunities of becoming acquainted with the colonists engaged in that traffic, whose bold and liberal sentiments seem, at a very early period of his life, to have made the New World, as he afterwards expressed himself, "the country of his fond election." These early impressions were doubtless aided by the circumstance of an elder brother having settled there, and being in the full enjoyment of the peace and the plenty with which, so long as the states were submissive colonies of Great Britain, it was universally admitted the inhabitants were generally blessed. With this brother he made his abode during the time his ship was in the Rappahannoc on his first voyage, and most probably on his subsequent voyages; which could not fail in some degree to have attached him to the country, though he had been devoid of any prepossessions in its favour. The early indications of genius, which we have noticed above, were fully supported in his new station. His singular intelligence and propriety of conduct excited the wonder, and, in some degree, the respect of his ship-mates, at the same time that they gained him the esteem and the confidence of his employer, who promised to give him the proof of his approbation by appointing him to the command of one of his ships. Unfortunately for both parties, untoward circumstances prevented the master from having it in his power to pay this substantial tribute of respect to the merits of his faithful apprentice, whose time having expired, he entered to the command of a slave ship, and made several voyages to the coast of Africa in prosecution of that disgraceful traffic. How long he continued in this trade his biographers have not told us; but to his honour they have stated that he felt disgusted with the employment, and at length "confined his services to the command of vessels engaged in a more reputable and legitimate commerce." In the year 1773, the death of his brother in Virginia, without



having left any children, called him over to that country to look after the settlement of his affairs, on which occasion, all his transatlantic predilections being revived, he resolved to withdraw from the dangers and the vicissitudes of a seafaring life, to settle in the colony, and to devote the remainder of his days to the peaceful pursuits of rural industry and philosophic retirement.

There is nothing more curious in the history of the human mind than that satiety and langour which so frequently comes over the most active spirits; Cowley often had thoughts of burying himself in the woods of America, where he fancied he would be happy, in seclusion from all intercourse with the busy and bustling portions of society: Cromwell, with all his unconquerable daring and unquenchable activity—and Hambden, one of the brightest, the boldest, and the most disinterested spirits that have adorned any age or country, despairing of the state of political affairs in their native land, sought to escape their uneasy sensations, and to secure religious peace and happiness, by the same expedient. Akin, perhaps, to these cases was that of Paul Jones, whose mind seems from the first to have been replete with lofty aspirations, fitting him for greatness, while his connexions in his own country were of a nature to prevent his ever gratifying them. We can easily conceive this bold and enthusiastic man sensible of the superiority of his powers above those of most other men, but fretting at the cold obstructions which were put before him, by the rules and habits of society in his own country, and also perhaps at the notoriety of his ignoble origin; and therefore preferring to lose himself in an American forest, where, if he did not gain any distinction, he would not at least be esteemed as lower than his personal merit warranted. Had the colonies been in a state of tranquillity, Jones would probably have spent the remainder of his days as a simple colonist, or perhaps gone back to sea, to escape the monotony of a life but little suited to his faculties. The country, however, was now in a state of high effervescence, which was every day increasing, and which called forth the energies, such as they were, of every individual among them, either on the one side or the other. Great dissatisfaction had for a long period been prevalent respecting the measures of the British government in reference to the colonies, and in the speculations of the colonists with regard to the steps necessary to be taken for counteracting these measures, Jones found the tedium of his retirement wonderfully relieved. Open resistance was no sooner proposed, than he found that he had mistaken the natural bent of his genius, which was much more turned towards action than solitary speculation; and when Congress, in the close of the year 1775, began to equip a naval force to assist in asserting American independence, he stepped boldly forward to offer his service. He was at once appointed to be first lieutenant aboard the *Alfred*, one of the only two ships belonging to the Congress; and in that capacity hoisted with his own hands for the first time the flag of independent America. In the course of a few months, by his activity and success, he gained the entire confidence of the marine committee, and from the hands of the president received a captain's commission. In the end of the year 1777, he was sent to France, in command of the *Ranger*, a new sloop of war, with despatches containing an account of the victory obtained by the colonists at Saratoga. As a reward for the important services he had already rendered to the Americans, it was ordered that he should be promoted to the command of the *Indian*, a fine frigate built for the Congress at Amsterdam, the *Ranger*, at the same time, acting under his orders; but the American commissioners at Paris, from motives of policy, assigned the *Indian* over to the king of France. Captain Jones, of course, remained in command of the *Ranger*, with which he convoyed a fleet of merchant-men to Quiberon Bay, and there, from the French commandant, received the first salute that had ever been given



to the American flag. Highly indignant at the resolution taken by the British government, to treat every colonist who supported Congress in their aims at independence as traitors, and emulous of the exploits of some British seamen on the American coast, Jones soon after entered the Irish channel, and on the night of the 22nd of April came to anchor in the Solway firth, almost in sight of the trees which sheltered his native cottage. The place must have awakened many strange associations; but they were of no friendly import. With thirty-one volunteers, he sailed in two row boats for the English side of the firth, with intent to burn the shipping (upwards of two hundred sail) in the harbour of Whitehaven. This bold and hazardous project he had certainly executed, if the receding tide had not retarded his progress so much, that the day began to dawn before he reached the shore; as it was, he could scarcely have failed had he been seconded by his followers. The smaller of the boats he sent to the north of the port, to set fire to the ships, whilst he himself passed southwards to secure the fort. The morning was cold, and the sentinels, suspecting nothing less than the approach of an enemy, were in the guard-room; a circumstance of which Jones knew well how to take advantage. Climbing up by the shoulders of one of his men, he crept through one of the embrasures, and was promptly followed by all his company. Making fast the door of the guard-room, he spiked every gun on the fort, thirty-six in number, and, without having hurt a single individual, proceeded to join the party who had it in charge to burn the ships. A false alarm had deterred this party from executing their orders. Jones, however, proceeded to fire the ships within his reach; but the inhabitants were by this time alarmed, and hasting to the protection of the port; and he was compelled with his small party to retreat, after having set fire to three ships, one of which only was totally destroyed. This achievement cannot be denied the praise of singular daring; yet there is something so unnatural in making war upon one's native land, and especially one's native city, improving all the knowledge and the associations of early years for the purposes of destruction, that every generous mind revolts at the idea, and cannot award the praise which, it may be admitted, would otherwise be due to the undertaking. But this attempt was only the first exploit which signalized the 22nd of April. Early in the forenoon, he landed with a part of his crew at St Mary's Isle, on the Galloway coast, the beautiful residence of the earl of Selkirk, whom he hoped to have surprised, and carried off a prisoner to America, that he might serve as a hostage for the security of such of the colonists as should fall into the hands of the British. Happily for his lordship, he was not at home, and Jones, as he approached the house, and learned that there were only ladies within it, wished to return to his ship without farther procedure; but his followers had no such exalted ideas. In venturing upon an undertaking so hazardous, they were influenced by the hope of plunder, which, being now in view, they refused to relinquish. He succeeded, however, so far, that they agreed to offer no violence to any one, that they should not enter the house, and that the officers, having made their demand, should accept of what might be put into their hands without further inquiry. These stipulations were punctually fulfilled; but the inmates of the house were not aware of them, and, terrified for their lives, were glad to redeem them by delivering up the whole family plate, which was carried off in triumph by the sailors, who neither understood nor cared for the discredit, which it brought upon their intrepid commander and the cause they served. The circumstance was, as he probably foresaw, improved with great effect to his disadvantage. To heighten the odium of the affair, it was industriously but most falsely given out that the father of Jones had been gardener to the earl of Selkirk, and that it was from this circumstance he had learned all the localities of the place, which



enabled him to commit the robbery without danger either to himself or his marauding crew. Not one of Jones's relations had ever been in the service of Lord Selkirk; and he showed that he had a spirit far above the meanness imputed to him, by buying the whole of the articles from the captors, who claimed them as their right by the usages of war, and, at a subsequent period, restoring them, in their original packages, to the noble owner. In a correspondence which was carried on between Jones and lady Selkirk relative to the affair, her ladyship most gratefully acknowledged the generosity and the integrity of his character.

But these exploits on shore did not exhaust the good fortune of Jones. The very next day, in the bay of Carrick Fergus, he fell in with the Drake, a king's ship of twenty guns, and after a desperate resistance, in which the English captain and his first lieutenant were both killed, made her his prize, with which, and another large ship, he returned to Brest, after an absence of twenty-eight days. In this short period, besides destroying a number of valuable ships, he had thrown the coasts both of Scotland and Ireland into the deepest consternation. This cruise, short as it was, occasioned the British government immense sums of money for the fortification of harbours, and it was the ostensible cause of embodying the Irish volunteers, a measure of which we have yet felt only a few of the consequences.

Notwithstanding the brilliant success that had attended his exertions, Jones was now subjected to no small degree of mortification. As a token of good-will to the United States, the French ministry had promised to furnish him with a ship, aboard of which he was to hoist the American flag; but after multiplied applications, and a number of written memorials, the engagement seemed to be forgotten or disregarded. Wearied out with the delays and apologies which he was daily receiving, Jones set out for Paris to make his application to the French ministry in person, in consequence of which he obtained the command of the Duras, a ship of forty guns, the name of which, in compliment to a saying of poor Richard, "If you would have your business done, come yourself," he changed to *Le bon homme Richard*. In this vessel, badly manned and poorly furnished, Jones sailed with a little squadron, to which he acted as commodore. This squadron consisted of the Alliance, of thirty-six guns, the Pallas of thirty-two, the Serf of eighteen, the Vengeance of twelve, and two privateers, who were promised their share of the prizes that might be made. Having taken a number of prizes, the Alliance, the Serf, and the privateers deserted him, in order to pursue their own plans singly. The courage and skill of the commodore, however, did not forsake him, and after again alarming the coasts of Ireland, he sailed by the North Sea round to Leith, in the roads of which he appeared with his own ship, the Richard, accompanied by the Pallas and the Vengeance, in the month of September, evidently determined to seize upon the guard ship and two cutters that lay in the roads, and to lay Leith and perhaps the city of Edinburgh under contribution. The wind, however, which was fair when he made his appearance, shifted during the night, and the next day he continued working up the firth with great labour and slow progress. While he was thus employed, a boat from the shore, sent out by an official character, who mistook his ships for British, informed Jones that he was greatly afraid of a visit from that desperate buccaneer Paul Jones, and begging that he would send him some powder and shot. Highly amused with his mistake, the good-humoured republican sent him a barrel of gunpowder, with a civil answer to quiet his fears, and a modest apology for not including shot in the present he had sent him. In the mean time he relaxed nothing in his exertions to come at the ships of war in the roads, and other two tacks would have laid him along-



side of them, when a sudden gale of wind sweeping down the firth sunk one of his prizes, and carried his squadron irresistibly out to sea. The captains of the *Pallas* and *Vengeance* were so much dejected at this accident, that they could not be prevailed upon to renew the attempt. His little squadron shortly after fell in with the homeward-bound Baltic fleet, under convoy of his majesty's ships the *Serapis* and the *Countess of Scarborough*. A most desperate engagement ensued, in which Jones displayed the most consummate skill, dauntless intrepidity, and the most perfect presence of mind. The battle was obstinately contested; but the *Countess of Scarborough* was at last obliged to strike to the *Pallas*, and the *Serapis* to the *Bon Homme Richard*, which was so shattered in the action, that next morning, after all hands had left her, she went to the bottom. Though the *Serapis* was nearly in the same condition, Jones hoisted his flag aboard of her, and under jury masts, with some difficulty, steered her along with his other prizes into the *Texel*. He now used all his influence with the French court to have his prisoners exchanged against American prisoners in England, in which he had the pleasure of succeeding to the utmost of his wishes, receiving, in a short time after, a letter from Benjamin Franklin, the American minister at Paris, which informed him, "that he (Franklin) had just completed the noble work, which he (Jones) had so nobly begun, by giving liberty to all the Americans that then languished in England." The French ambassador at the Hague was at the same time ordered to communicate to commodore Jones, the high sense which his majesty, the king of France, entertained of his merits, and the personal esteem he bore for his character, and, especially, for his disinterested humanity.

Jones now took the command of the *Alliance*, the captain of which had been summoned to Paris to answer for his insubordination, in deserting the commodore on the coast of Ireland; but his situation was now perilous in the extreme. Summoned to deliver him up to the vengeance of the English government as a pirate and a rebel, the Dutch were constrained to order him out to sea, where an English squadron was watching to intercept him. From this dilemma he could have been saved by accepting of a commission from the king of France, whose ambassador earnestly pressed him to adopt that alternative; but he thought himself bound in honour to decline the offer, and determined, at whatever hazard, to abide by and support the flag of the country which he had, upon the maturest reflection, adopted. "Fortune favours the brave" is a maxim we see every day exemplified. Jones weighed anchor and escaped through the straits of Dover, almost under the eyes of the English men-of-war, all of which had strict orders to secure him, and were, besides, inflamed against him in a high degree from the repeated defeats that British ships had sustained at his hands.

Towards the close of the year 1780, he sailed with important despatches for America in the ship *Ariel*, and by the way meeting an English ship of twenty guns, engaged her, and with his usual gallantry made her his prize. The king of France had, previously to this, testified his approbation of Jones's services, by presenting him with a superb gold-hilted sword; and a letter from the French minister. M. de Sartine, was now transmitted to the president of the United States, requesting liberty "to decorate that brave officer with the cross of the order of military merit." The letter was laid before Congress, and, a law acceding to the proposal being passed on the 27th of February, he was formally invested by the chevalier de la Luzerne, at a public fete given to the members of that body. Congress, in the month of April following, on the report of a committee, passed a vote of thanks to the chevalier John Paul Jones, "for the zeal, prudence, and intrepidity, with which he had sustained the honour of the American flag, for his bold and successful enterprizes to redeem



from captivity those citizens of America who had fallen under the power of the enemy, and in general for the good conduct and eminent services by which he had added lustre to his character and to the arms of America." No farther opportunity for distinguishing himself occurred during the war; but, after its conclusion, Congress, as an expression of gratitude, had a gold medal struck with appropriate devices to perpetuate the memory of his valour, and the singular services he had performed for the States.

In the year 1787, the chevalier Jones, being charged with a mission to the court of Denmark, sailed for that country in the month of November, and passing through Paris on his way, he was strongly solicited by the agents of Russia to take the command of the Russian fleet in the Black Sea. This he declined, but he was scarce arrived at Copenhagen, when the empress Catharine, sent him, by a special messenger, an urgent invitation to visit St Petersburg. After what he had performed, it would have been strange if the chevalier Jones had not felt some reluctance to enter into the service of Russia, where every maxim by which he had been guided during his exertions for liberty behoved to be reversed, and where, instead of being directed by the united voice of an intelligent people, he must regulate his conduct by the single will of a despot. It is one of the greatest evils of despotism, that the despot, once established, has the means of corrupting and enslaving even the most generous minds. The chevalier Jones saw many reasons for declining to enter into the service of Catharine; but, flattered by her attention and kind offers, he thought he could not do less than to wait upon and thank her in person for her friendly intentions. For this purpose he set out instantly from Copenhagen, by the way of Sweden, but at Gushelham found the gulf of Bothnia blocked up by the ice. After making several unsuccessful attempts to reach Finland by the islands, he conceived a plan for effecting his progress by doubling the ice to the southward. With this view he sailed from Gushelham in a boat thirty feet long, followed by a smaller one that might be hauled over the ice, but told none of those who accompanied him what were his intentions. Having set out early in the morning, he had by the evening got nearly opposite Stockholm, when, instead of landing as the boatmen expected, he drew out a pair of pistols and ordered them to proceed in the direction he had previously determined upon. Resistance with a man of the chevalier's character was probably judged by the simple boatmen to be in vain; and following his orders, with a fair wind they expected to reach the coast of Finland by the morning. An impenetrable bar of ice, however, defied all their efforts, nor from the state of the weather was it possible for them to return. Their only resource was to sail for the gulf of Finland, which they did, steering at night by a pocket compass, lighted by the lamp of the chevalier's carriage, and in four days, having lost the smaller of their boats, landed at Revel in Livonia. The chevalier hastened from Revel to St Petersburg, where he met with a most gracious reception, and, unable any longer to hold out against the kind wishes of the empress, entered into her service, without any stipulations but that he should not be at any time condemned without being heard. Invested with the rank of rear-admiral, he proceeded without delay to take the command of a fleet stationed at the Liman or mouth of the Dnieper, destined to oppose the Turkish fleet under the capitan Pacha. He hoisted his flag as commander of this fleet on the 26th of May, 1788, on board the *Vlodimer*, and was supported by a flotilla under the prince of Nassau, and a number of land troops under prince Potemkin. Throughout this campaign, though it produced little that is worthy of the notice of the historian, the chevalier Jones had many opportunities of displaying his professional skill and the singular intrepidity of his character; but mean jealousy and the malignant



caballing of heartless and narrow-minded courtiers, denied him the well-earned praise that was due to his services. He was, however, on his return to St Petersburg, as an acknowledgment of his fidelity, invested with the order of St Anne, and informed, that in a short time he would be called to perform a part in services of much greater importance. He had seen enough of the Russians, however, and disgusted with the sordid selfishness and the low sensuality that reigned in the court of Catharine, took leave of her dominions, in the month of August, 1789. The remainder of his days he spent partly in Holland and partly in France, devoting his leisure hours to the arrangement of his affairs, and to the preparation of papers which might exhibit his character and his services in their true light to posterity. He also made a large collection of important documents relating to the public transactions in which he had been engaged, which will be at some future day, it is to be hoped, given to enrich the history of the important period in which he lived. He was seized with water in the chest, and died at Paris in the month of July, 1792. As the laws relative to the interment of calvinists or heretics were not then abolished in France, application was made to the national assembly, which gave free liberty for his being buried with all public honours, and ordered a deputation of their number to attend, one of whom pronounced an elegant eulogium upon his character over his grave. He left among his papers a copious memoir of his life written with his own hand, which his friends, it has been said, had it in contemplation to publish. We cannot doubt but that its publication would add to the history of that important era many valuable notices, and be hailed by the public as a most valuable contribution to the general stock of literature. From the brief sketch of his life which we have given, the reader will be at no loss to appreciate the character of Paul Jones, which, in his own country, has been misrepresented by prejudice. That he was a naval genius of the first order, his actions abundantly demonstrated. He was the man who first flung upon the winds the flag of the United States; and he graced it by a succession of victories, all of which were relatively of the most splendid character. Unlike the vaunted achievements of single ships belonging to the same nation in the late war, every one of which possessed a vast superiority of men and of metal, Jones accomplished his purposes with means, to all appearance, inadequate to the end, his ships being often half rotten, only half provided in necessaries, and his sailors of the most motley description. In every battle which he fought, superior skill and superior bravery were the evident sources of victory,—and victory, be it remembered, was his uniform attendant. Nor can the circumstance which has been so often urged against him, that of turning his arms against his native country, detract, in the smallest degree, from his merit. He was, be it remembered, at the commencement of the war, a regular colonist of America, and was, therefore, no more liable to this charge, than was any other individual out of all the thousands who at first took up arms against Great Britain, and eventually constituted the American republic.

## K.

KAY, JOHN, long well-known in Edinburgh as a miniature-painter and caricaturist, and almost the only artist of the latter kind produced in Scotland, was born in April, 1742, at a place called Gibraltar, near Dalkeith. His father, and an uncle named Norman, were both stone-masons, and he was himself des-



tinged to follow the same profession. Having lost his father, however, in his eighth year, this scheme was given up, and he was placed with some relations of his mother in Leith, who, it appears, treated the poor orphan boy with great cruelty—almost to the hazard of his life. He also was oftener than once, while in this situation, in danger of drowning in Leith harbour.

At the age of thirteen, he was placed by his mother with a barber in Dalkeith, whom he served for six years; he then set up in Edinburgh, having first paid about forty pounds to the society of surgeon-barbers for the freedom of the corporation, and soon after married a young woman, by whom he had eleven children, all of whom long predeceased himself. The trade of a barber was then more lucrative, and consequently more dignified than latterly. Kay had good employment in dressing the wigs, and trimming the heads, of a certain number of gentlemen every morning, all of whom paid him a certain annual sum (generally about four guineas,) for his trouble. Among his customers was a fine specimen of the old Jacobite country gentleman, Mr Nisbet of Dirliton, who took a great fancy for him, and frequently took him to the country, to the great injury of his business. Kay had, even in his boyhood, when residing in Leith, manifested a turn for sketching familiar objects, such as horses, dogs, ships, &c., using chalk or coal, and tracing his delineations on such pieces of dead wall as presented a large enough ground. Now and then, in later life, he had made some attempts in miniatures and pencil sketches. It may easily be conceived that, finding this talent within himself, and encouraged by a man of rank in developing it, he found some difficulty in restraining himself to the humble career which destiny seemed to have marked out for him. At Mr Nisbet's country-seat, he, for the first time found proper opportunities and proper materials for his favourite study; while any compunctious visitings he might feel as to the danger to which he thus exposed the permanent livelihood of himself and family, were laid to rest by the kindness of his patron, who, in the meantime, sent money to support his domestic establishment in Edinburgh, and promised speedily to obtain for him some permanent provision, which should render him independent of business. Unfortunately, in 1782, Mr Nisbet died, without having executed his kind intention; and Mr Kay was left in somewhat awkward circumstances, having, as it were, fallen to the ground between certainty and hope. The heir, however, so far repaired the omission of his predecessor, as to settle an annuity of twenty pounds upon Kay for life.

He now began effectually to follow out his bent for limning and etching, and, after a few trials, abandoned his trade as a barber. In 1784, he published his first caricature, which represented a half-crazed Jacobite gentleman, named laird Robertson, who was wont to amuse the citizens of Edinburgh by cutting caricatured resemblances of public characters, which he fixed on the head of his stick, and whose figure was perfectly known to all the inhabitants. The portrait, accordingly, excited some attention, and the author was induced to attempt others. The style assumed by Mr Kay was the stippled or dotted style, and nothing could equal the felicity of the likeness. From that time forward, till he was about eighty years of age, this untutored son of genius pursued his vocation, taking off, one after another, the whole of the public and eccentric persons who appeared in the Scottish capital, and occasionally caricaturing any jocular incident that happened to attract attention. To speak of his portraits as caricatures is doing them signal injustice. They were the most exact and faithful likenesses that could have been represented by any mode of art. He drew the man as he walked the street every day: his gait, his costume, every peculiarity of his appearance, done to a point, and no defect perceptible except the stiffness of the figures. Indeed, he may be said to have rather resembled one of the prosopo-



graphuses or apographs of modern times, than a living artist trusting to his eye and hand. Hence, nothing can be more valuable in the way of engraved portraits, than his representations of the distinguished men who adorned Edinburgh in the latter part of the eighteenth century—the Blairs, the Smiths, and the Robertsons. It was only in certain instances that his productions could be considered as caricatures, namely, in those combinations by which he meant to burlesque any ridiculous public transaction : and even here, his likenesses displayed all his usual correctness. During a considerable part of his career, Mr Kay was a professed caricaturist, and executed some specimens which, for delicacy and finish, would surprise such individuals as have only been accustomed to inspect his published etchings. It is said, that his only fault in this capacity, was a rigid and unbending adherence to likeness—a total want of the courtly system practised, in so eminent a degree, by Lawrence and other fashionable painters. Once, it is related, he was “trysted” with an exceedingly ill-looking man, much pimpled, who, to add to the distresses of the artist, came accompanied by a fair nymph to whom he was about to be married. Honest Kay did all he could in favour of this gentleman, so far as omitting the ravages of bacchanalianism would go ; but still he could not satisfy his customer, who earnestly appealed to his innamorata as to the injustice which he conceived to be done to him, and the necessity of improving the likeness, for so he termed the flattery which he conceived to be necessary. Quite tired at length with this literally ugly customer, and greatly incensed, the miniaturist exclaimed, with an execration, that he would “paint every plook in the puppy’s face : would that please him !” It is needless to remark, that in this, as in other instances, Mr Kay lost by his unbending accuracy of delineation.

During almost the whole of his career as an artist, Mr Kay had a small print-shop in the Parliament Square, the window of which was usually stuck full of his productions. He etched in all nearly nine hundred plates, forming a complete record of the public characters, of every grade and kind, including many distinguished strangers, who made a figure in Edinburgh for nearly half a century. It may be safely affirmed, that no city in the empire can boast of so curious a chronicle. From the first to the last, there is a remarkable similarity in his style. After forty years’ experience, he was just as deficient in grouping, and other acquired gifts in the art, as when he first began to use the graver. It would almost appear as if nature had designed him for that peculiar style alone, in which he so much excelled all other men, and had denied him every common effect of his art, which other men generally attain with ease.

In a profile of himself, executed about the year 1785, Mr Kay appears with a handsome aquiline countenance, of much delicacy and ingenuity of expression. In his latter days, when the writer of this notice first saw him, he was a slender but straight old man, of middle size, and usually dressed in a garb of antique cut ; of simple habits, and quiet, unassuming manners. His head was of a singular structure, presenting a very remarkable protuberance in the forehead, where phrenologists, we believe, place the organs of observation : in Kay, the profile of this feature formed the arc of a perfect circle, beginning under the hair, and terminating at the root of the nose. According to the information of his widow, (a second spouse, whom he married in 1787,) he cared for, and could settle at no employment, except that of etching likenesses. He would suddenly quit his lucrative employment in miniature-drawing, in order to commit some freak of his fancy to copper, from which, perhaps, no profit was to be hoped for. It was the conviction of this lady, that, if he had devoted himself to the more productive art, he would soon have acquired a competency.

Mr Kay died in his house in the High Street of Edinburgh, some time in the



year 1830. It was the intention of the late Mr Archibald Constable, bookseller, to purchase the copper-plates of his works, and republish them in a systematic form, with memoirs and notes referring to the characters; but the failure of the house with which that individual was connected, prevented the design from being carried into execution. Such a work would have been of great local interest, even in a generation comparatively unacquainted with the subjects of the prints.

KEILL, JAMES, a physician and philosopher of eminence, the younger brother of the celebrated person whose memoir follows this in alphabetical order, was born in Scotland, on the 27th of March, 1673. He received his early education in Edinburgh, afterwards studying the sciences and languages at Leyden and other continental universities. On his return to Britain, he applied himself assiduously to the acquisition of a knowledge of anatomy, studying the science practically, by constant attendance at the dissecting rooms. Having accustomed himself to deliver his opinions on anatomy privately to his friends, he at last undertook public tuition, and delivered, with considerable applause, lectures on anatomy, at Oxford and Cambridge, by the latter of which universities he was presented with the degree of doctor of medicine. In 1698, he translated from the French, Lemery's Course of Chemistry, and soon after published in the Philosophical Transactions "An account of the death and dissection of John Bayles of Northampton, reputed to have been one hundred and thirty years old." To No. 361 of the same journal, he gave "*De viribus cordis epistola.*" In 1708, he published "An account of animal secretion, the quantity of blood in the human body, and muscular motion." On the subject of animal secretion, and the manner in which the fluids of the animal body are separated from the blood, he undertakes to show: 1. How they are formed in the blood before they come to the place appointed for secretion; 2. In what manner they are separated from the blood by the glands. Upon the former head he shows, that the blood consists of a simple fluid, in which swim corpuscles of various figures and magnitudes, and endued with different degrees of attractive force. Hence he concludes, that of such particles as the blood consists of, must the fluids be composed, which are drawn from it. This he proceeds to show to be not only possible, but actually so in several secretions. From this principle, that the blood consists of corpuscles of various figures and magnitudes, and endued with various degrees of attractive power, &c., he attempts to show the force of the air upon the blood, in breathing, in order to demonstrate that by the pressure of the air, the cohesion of the globules of the blood is dissolved. After this, he shows how the union of the attractive particles is hindered near the heart, and that the particles which unite first, after the blood is thrown out of the great artery, must be such as have the strongest attractive force; and that such as have the least, must unite last; and all the intermediate ones according to their respective attractive power."<sup>2</sup> Besides this work, Keill published "*Anatomy of the Human Body,*" for the use of his pupils, and in 1717, "*Essays on several parts of the Human Economy.*" He appears to have given up public tuition, and some time previously to the publication of his last work, to have established himself as a practising physician at Northampton, where he gained considerable fortune and reputation, and remained till his death, which took place in July 16, 1719, from a cancer in his mouth. He was buried in the church of St Giles, where his brother John, to whom he left his property, erected a handsome monument to his memory.

KEILL, JOHN, an eminent mathematician and natural philosopher, the elder brother of the preceding, was born in Edinburgh, on the 1st of December,

<sup>1</sup> Phil. Trans., xxv. 2, 247.

<sup>2</sup> Martin's Biographia Philosophica, 460.



1671.<sup>1</sup> He received the rudiments of education in the schools of his native city, and remained at the Edinburgh university until he was enabled to take the degree of master of arts. He early displayed a genius and predilection for mathematics, and had the good fortune to study the science, along with the Newtonian system of philosophy, under Dr Gregory. When, in the year 1694, Gregory went to try his fortune in England, Keill followed him, and contrived along with him to find admission to Oxford, where he held one of the Scottish exhibitions in Baliol college. Keill made his first appearance before the scientific world in his "Examination of Dr Burnet's Theory of the Earth, together with some remarks on Mr Whiston's new Theory of the Earth," published at Oxford in the year 1698. Any "Theory of the Earth," or account of its formation and state, in anticipation of the discovery of facts to support it, always forms a fruitful subject of debate; but Burnet's Theory afforded more ample field for censure than any other which pretended to support from the enlightened doctrines of modern philosophy. The grand outlines of his theory were of themselves sufficiently imaginative, and their effect was increased by the curious speculations with which he filled up the minor details of his edifice. He supposes the earth to have been originally a heterogeneous mass of fluid matter, of which the heavier portions fell to the centre, forming there a dense body, surrounded and coated by lighter bodies, while the water—the lightest of all the heterogeneous mass, remained on the outside of the whole. The air and other celestial fluids floated round this body: while between it and the water was gradually formed a coat of unctuous or oily matter, higher than water. Upon this unctuous coat, certain impure particles which had at first been mingled with the air, descended, and floating about covered the surface, forming a shell over the water, which became the crust of the earth. The crust thus formed was level and uniform, without hill or vale; so it remained for about sixteen centuries, until the heat of the sun having cracked it in divers places, the water rushed forth, causing the general deluge. This water found, however, a means of partially subsiding, betwixt the broken masses of the crust, and thus leaving the globe in the state of ocean, hill, and valley.

Keill, who, besides being a man of accurate science, was a person of clear good sense and critical acumen, saw clearly the evil done to science, by the admission of suppositions which have a fully greater chance of being wrong than of being right, while the richness of the doctor's imagination, and the poetic beauty of his language and illustration, did not protect his principles from a subjection to the strict rules of logic. Keill's book is full of the clear argumentation of a man who is rather formed to correct and check the discoveries of others, than to allow his invention to stray so far as to make any of his own. He occasionally condescends to use demonstration, while, well knowing that there may be positions against which the gravity of an argument is misapplied, he makes very frequent use of sarcasm, a power of which he is an accomplished and apt handler. Most of the vigour of the attack is derived from the manner in which the different parts of the theory are found inconsistent with each other, without any very extensive reference to other authority. "After this fashion," says Keill, after giving an outline of Burnet's first formation of the earth, "has the theorist formed his antediluvian habitable world, which doth not much differ from the Cartesian method of making the earth: only Des Cartes, being somewhat wiser than the theorist, would not allow the outward crust, within whose bowels the waters were shut up, to be a habitable earth, knowing well that neither man nor beast could live long without water. But he made the crust first be broken, and the waters flow out, before he placed any inhabitants on it.

<sup>1</sup> Martin's *Biographia Philosophica*, 457.



Another small difference betwixt the two hypotheses is, that Monsieur Des Cartes never thought of making the exterior orb of oily liquids, which the theorist asserts to be absolutely necessary towards the formation of the crust; for if it were not, says he, for the oily liquor which swims upon the surface of the abyss, the particles of earth which fell through the air had sunk to the bottom, and had never formed the exterior orb of earth. But notwithstanding this, I believe it may be easily made evident (though neither of these systems is true), that the theorist's hypothesis is the worse of the two, which I will prove from his own concessions: for he has already owned that the oily liquor is much lighter than the watery orb. He has mentioned also, that the terrestrial particles when falling from the air, if the orb were only water, would sink to the bottom; and therefore these particles must be heavier than water. From thence I think it does necessarily follow, that these terrestrial particles must also be heavier than the oily fluid, which is lighter than water, and therefore they will more easily descend through it than they did through water, it being well known that there are several bodies which will swim in water, but sink in oil."<sup>2</sup>

Proceeding on such positions, Keill destroys what has been raised by his adversary, wisely substituting nothing in its stead, except what experiment and demonstration support; the general aim of the principles he espouses being, that, excepting in so far as we know by experiment the operation of nature, we must take the cosmogony of the earth, either literally as we find it laid down in holy writ, or, admitting our inability to penetrate into its secrets, be content with what is afforded us by experience, demonstration, and rational or certain deduction. Whiston, in his "New Theory of the Earth, from its original to the consummation of all things," maintained, that the Mosaic account of the creation did not give a philosophical account of the formation of the universe, but that it was merely intended, in the most simple and intelligible manner, to give a history of the formation of the globe we inhabit; that before being brought into existence as an inhabited world, it had been a comet, which being subject to perpetual reverses from heat to cold, became by the alternate congealing and melting of its surface, covered with a coat of heterogeneous matter or a chaos, within which the solid nucleus formed a great burning globe. This great mass of matter, as the eccentricities of its orbit decreased, became more nearly circular, and the materials ranging themselves according to their gravities, assumed at the period of the "creation" the forms of earth, water, and air. If this theory does not possess any recommendation to our belief superior to that claimed by Burnet, its author had at least the art, to found a greater number of his conclusions on experiments, and to deduce others in a less imaginative manner. Keill treats this adversary with more respect than he affords to the theoretic Burnet, seldom proving his positions "impossible," and generally contenting himself with being sceptical; he allows that the author "has made greater discoveries, and proceeded on more philosophical principles than all the theorists before him have done."

Keill's small work is often referred to as authority by geologists and natural philosophers; it contains many experimental calculations, among which is that estimate of the depth of the sea, on which Breislak in later times founded his celebrated calculation, that there never could have been a sufficient quantity of water in and about our globe to have kept the matter of it at any time in solution. It was considered by many, that Keill had used the venerable doctor Burnet, much his elder in years, a scholar, and a man esteemed for his private virtues, with too much asperity and unbecoming sarcasm. It appears that the

<sup>2</sup> Examination, 37, 38.



respective theorists answered the attack, although in what manner we have been unable to discover.

In 1699, Keill published a rejoinder, entitled "An Examination of the Reflections on the Theory of the Earth, together with a defence of the Remarks on Mr Whiston's New Theory." The Defence of the Theory appears by no means to have infused into Keill a greater spirit of politeness. He proceeds with the impatience of a man of sense and knowledge interrupted, terminating with an advice to Burnet to study "numbers and magnitude, astronomy and statics; that," he continues, "he may be the better able to understand the force of my arguments against his Theory, after which I doubt not but that he will easily perceive its errors, and have the ingenuity to acknowledge them. But till then, all farther disputation between him and me must needs be vain and frivolous, since true reasoning on natural philosophy depends on such principles as are demonstrated in those sciences, the knowledge of which he has not yet attained."<sup>3</sup> To his other opponent, Whiston, Keill has in this work, probably owing to the manner in which he was answered, forgot his former courtesy, treating him with no more deference than he has used toward Burnet.

In 1700, Dr Thomas Millington, Sedelian professor of natural philosophy in Oxford, on his appointment as physician in ordinary to the king, substituted Keill as his assistant, to read his public lectures; and the term for enjoying the Scottish exhibition at Baliol college then expiring, he accepted an invitation from Dr Aldrich, dean of Christ's church, to reside there. As his master Gregory was the first who introduced the Newtonian philosophy to the universities, Keill himself possesses the reputation of having been the first to demonstrate its principles on experiment; a task he is said to have performed through machinery of his own invention, but of what description, or to what extent he proceeded in his proofs, we are not informed.

In 1701, Keill published his "Introductio ad Veram Physicam," a useful and popular treatise on the Newtonian Philosophy. It is considered as an excellent introduction to Sir Isaac Newton's Principia, and has frequently been reprinted in England, and in a French translation. About the year 1708, Keill was chosen a fellow of the Royal Society, and after his admission he published in the Philosophical Transactions a pretty lengthy paper, "in which the laws of attraction, and other principles of physic are shown."<sup>4</sup> At this period, the scientific world became disturbed by the dispute which had assumed the aspect of a national question, whether Leibnitz formed his idea of the doctrine of fluxions from some unpublished discoveries of Sir Isaac Newton, and which of these two great men could properly be considered the inventor of that sublime addition to the power of the human intellect. In the *Acta Eruditorum* published at Leipsic, it was maintained that Leibnitz was the sole inventor, all right on the part of Newton being denied. To this Keill answered in a paper which he communicated to the Royal Society, defending his friend without much regard to the accusations which he brought against his opponent.

In 1711, Leibnitz complained to the Royal Society, that Keill had accused him of obtaining and publishing his knowledge in a manner not reputable to a philosopher, or even exactly consistent with honesty; he appealed to Sir Isaac himself as a witness of his integrity, and required that Keill should publicly disavow the offensive construction which might be applicable to his words. The Royal Society being appealed to as philosophical judges in the matter, appointed a committee to examine the papers and documents connected with the dispute,

<sup>3</sup> Examination of the Reflections, 160.

<sup>4</sup> *Epistola ad clar. Vir: Gulielmum Cockburn, Medicinæ Doctorem*—in qua *Leges Attractionis Aliaque Physicæ Principia traduntur*.—Phil. Trans., xxvi. 97.



who did not find it difficult to produce a report rather unfavourable to the continental philosopher, bearing "That Mr Leibnitz was in London in 1673, and kept a correspondence with Mr Collins, by means of Mr Oldenburgh, till September, 1676, when he returned from Paris to Hanover, by way of London and Amsterdam; that it did not appear that M. Leibnitz knew anything of the differential calculus before his letter of the 21st June, 1677, which was a year after a copy of a letter wrote by Sir Isaac Newton, in the year 1672, had been sent to Paris to be communicated to him, and about four years after Mr Collins began to communicate that letter to his correspondents; wherein the method of fluxions was sufficiently explained to let a man of his sagacity into the whole matter: and that Sir I. Newton had even invented his method before the year 1669, and of consequence fifteen years before Mr Leibnitz had given anything on the subject in the Leipsic acts;" from which train of circumstances they concluded that Keill was justified in his imputations. The censure of the society, and the papers connected with it, were published apart from the Transactions in 1712, under the title "*Commercium Epistolicum de Analysis Promota.*" For some time the philosopher appears not to have answered this array against him, until the Abbe Conti, in the year 1716, addressed him, calling on him, if he did not choose to answer Keill, at least to vindicate himself from the non-admission of his claim on the part of Newton;<sup>5</sup> and he just commenced the work of vindication at a period when death prevented him from completing it.

In the year 1709, Keill was appointed treasurer to the Palatines, and in performance of his duties, attended them in their passage to New England. On his return in 1710, he was appointed successor to Dr Caswell, Savilian professor of astronomy at Oxford. At this period, he again entered the field of controversy, in support of his friend Sir Isaac Newton, whose philosophy had been attacked on the foundation of Des Cartes's theory of a plenum; and he published in the Philosophical Transactions for 1713, a communication to the society, on the rarity of matter and the tenuity of its composition.<sup>6</sup> In this controversy, he was, however, interrupted by his appointment to the situation of decypherer to the queen, and he was soon afterwards presented with the degree of doctor of medicine, by the university of Oxford. About this period we find him gratefully remembered by that unfortunate scholar Simon Oakley, for having permitted him the use of the Savilian study.<sup>7</sup>

Keill, in the year 1717, took to himself a wife. The name of the lady who made him the happiest of men, has not been preserved; but it is said he married her "for her *singular* accomplishments." In the Gentleman's Magazine for 1739, we find a curious Horatian ode, addressed to Keill by the celebrated Anthony Alsop; its period of publication is some years after the death of both the parties, and there is no comment alluding to the date of its composition; but the circumstances mentioned show it to be a congratulatory epistle to Keill on his marriage. The ode is extremely spirited and not destitute of elegance; but whether from other motives, or the anxiety of the author to reach the familiar vivacity of the Roman lyrist, he has treated his grave subject in a manner which would not now be considered very worthy of a divine, or to convey a pleasing compliment to a venerable professor. The subject was one of some delicacy to Alsop, who was then enjoying a species of banishment, the consequence of a verdict obtained against him for breach of a contract of marriage;

<sup>5</sup> Published in the Phil. Trans., xxx. 924.

<sup>6</sup> Theoremata quedam infinitam materie divisibilitatem spectantia, quæ ejusdem raritatem et tenuem compositionem demonstrant, quorum ope plurimæ in physica tolluntur difficultates.—*Phil. Trans.*, xxviii. 82.

<sup>7</sup> Nichols's Literary Anecdotes.



and whether from this circumstance, or his classical feelings, he has dwelt on the habits of his friend in a manner which would hardly fail to draw "damages" from a modern jury.<sup>8</sup> In 1718, Keill published "*Introductio ad veram Astronomiam, seu lectiones Astronomicæ*," a work which was reprinted in the year 1721, at which period, at the request of the duchess of Chandos, he published a translation of this work in English, with emendations, under the title of "*An Introduction to the true Astronomy; or, Astronomical Lectures, read in the astronomical school of the university of Oxford*." The year in which he accomplished these literary labours was the last of his life; during the summer of 1721, he was seized with a violent fever, of which he died in the month of September, in the fiftieth year of his age. Besides the works we have mentioned, he published in 1715, an edition of Commandinus's *Euclid*, with additions.

KEITH-ELPHINSTONE, GEORGE, (viscount Keith, K. B. admiral of the Red, &c.) a distinguished modern naval officer, was the fifth son of Charles, tenth lord Elphinstone, by the lady Clementina Fleming, only child of John, sixth earl of Wigton, and niece and heir-of-line to the last earl Marischal. His lordship was born on the 12th January, 1746, at Elphinstone in East Lothian, the ancient but now dismantled seat of the family of Elphinstone.

Mr Elphinstone was early taught, by his remoteness from the chance of family inheritance, to trust to his own exertions for the advancement of his fortune; and, having from his earliest years shown a predilection for the navy, he was, at sixteen, ranked as a midshipman in the *Gosport*, commanded by captain Jarvis, afterwards earl St Vincent. The peace of 1763 soon put an end to his immediate hopes of naval glory—though not before he had experienced much advantage from the tuition of his eminent commander. He subsequently served in the *Juno*, *Lively*, and *Emerald* frigates, and, entering on board an *Indiaman*, commanded by his elder brother, the honourable W. Elphinstone, made a voyage to China, where, however, he suffered considerably from the climate. Notwithstanding this latter circumstance, he did not scruple to make a voyage to the East Indies in 1767, under commodore Sir John Lindsay, by whom he was promoted to a lieutenancy.

In 1772, he was advanced to the rank of commander in the *Scorpion* of fourteen guns. In the spring of 1775, he was made post-captain on board the *Marlborough*, seventy-four guns, and soon after he obtained, first, the command of the *Pearl*, and then of the *Perseus* frigate. In the *Perseus*, which was remarkable as the first ship in the British navy that was sheathed with copper, he made a conspicuous figure, during the early years of the contest with America, as an active and intrepid officer on the coast of that country, under lord Howe and admiral Arbuthnot. He was likewise often engaged in the services, in this unhappy war, where sea and land forces were united—in particular at the reduction of Charleston, he conducted himself with such gallantry in the command of a detachment of seamen, as to gain frequent and most honourable mention in the of-

<sup>8</sup> *Quidni ego lætor tibi gratulari  
Conjugi, conjux ! ego qui reliqui,  
Connubi causa, patriam domumque ux-  
orius exul.*

*Quare age et totis licitæ diebus,  
Noctibus totis veneri litato :  
Non opus sylvæ, aut recubare subter*

*Tegmine fœni, &c.*



ficial despatches of general Sir Henry Clinton. The experience which he thus acquired was of great service to him long afterwards, when he had a more prominent and distinguished part to perform.

In 1780, having returned to England with despatches from admiral Arbuthnot, he was, on his arrival, appointed to the command of the *Warwick* of fifty guns. In the general election, which took place this year, he was chosen member of parliament for Dumbartonshire, where his family possessed some influence; and he was one of those who met at the St Alban's tavern, to attempt a reconciliation between Messrs Fox and Pit and the duke of Portland, with the view of forming what was called "a broad-bottomed administration." This attempt, as is well known, proved unsuccessful. In the following year, as he was cruising down the channel in his ship the *Warwick*, he encountered the *Rotterdam*, a Dutch ship of war, bearing fifty guns and three hundred men. The manner in which he attacked this vessel and compelled her to strike—more especially as the engagement happened immediately after the *Iris*, a ship of equal force, had been baffled in the attempt—gained captain Elphinstone much public notice. Soon after this, he went out to the coast of America, where he served during the remainder of this disastrous war. While on this station, he, in company with other three British vessels of war, captured the French frigate *L'Aigle* of forty guns, (twenty-four pounders, on the main deck,) and a crew of 600 men, commanded by count de la Touche. Unfortunately for the captors, the enemy's captain escaped to shore with the greater part of a large quantity of specie which was on board the frigate. Two small casks and two boxes, however, of this valuable commodity fell into the hands of the victors. Along with the captain, there also escaped several officers of high rank, and amongst them the commander-in-chief of the French army in America. During his service on the American coast, captain Elphinstone had the honour to receive on board his ship as midshipman, prince William Henry, afterwards king William IV.; a distinction the more flattering, that the choice of the ship and officer was made by his royal highness himself. At the close of the war, when the subject of our memoir returned to Britain, the prince of Wales appointed him for life to be secretary and chamberlain of the principality of Wales.

In April, 1787, captain Elphinstone married Jane, daughter of William Mercer, Esq. of Aldie, in the county of Perth, a lady of large property, by whom he had a daughter, now viscountess Keith, and wife of count Flahault, late aide-du-camp to the emperor Napoleon. In 1786, captain Elphinstone was chosen to represent the shire of Stirling. The breaking out of the French war in 1793, opened a new field for his enterprise and activity, and soon after the occurrence of that event he was appointed to the *Robust* of seventy-four guns, and sailed under the command of lord Hood to the Mediterranean. The object for which the latter had been sent to these seas was to endeavour to effect a co-operation with the royalists in the south of France. In this his lordship so far succeeded, that the sections of Toulon immediately proclaimed Louis XVII. under a promise of protection from the British fleet, and Marseilles was only prevented from taking a similar step by the approach of a republican army. Before taking possession of Toulon, which was part of the arrangement made with the French by lord Hood, it was deemed proper to secure the forts which commanded the ships in the roads, and for this duty fifteen hundred men were landed under captain Keith, who, after effecting this service, was directed to assume the command of the whole, as governor of fort Malgue. In a few days afterwards general Carteaux appeared, at the head of a detachment of the republican army, on the heights near Toulon. Captain Elphinstone, placing himself at the head of a small body of British and Spanish soldiers, instantly marched out to attack him, and after



a gallant contest, completely routed the enemy, and captured his artillery, ammunition, horses, and two stand of colours.

In the October following, captain Elphinstone, with lord Mulgrave and rear-admiral Gravina, at the head of a combined force of British, Spaniards, and Neapolitans, obtained another complete victory over a detachment of the French army, consisting of nearly 2000 men, at the heights of Pharon. In this engagement the enemy's loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners, was about 1500 men, while on the part of the allied force it amounted only to eight killed, seventy-two wounded, two missing, and forty-eight prisoners.

These successes, however, were insufficient to secure the British in possession of Toulon. The whole force of the republicans became directed to their expulsion; and, finding the place no longer tenable, it was determined, though not without much reluctance, to abandon it. In pursuance of this resolution, the whole of the combined troops, to the number of 8000 men, together with several thousand royalists, were embarked on board the British ships early in the morning of the 8th December, without the loss of a single man. This important service was superintended by captains Elphinstone, Hallinel, and Matthews; and it was principally owing to the care, attention, and vigorous exertions of these officers, and more especially of the first, that it was so well and speedily accomplished. Captain Elphinstone's efficient services on this and some of the immediately preceding occasions procured him high encomiums from both lord Hood and lieutenant-general Dundas. On his return to England, which was in the year 1794, he was invested with the knighthood of the Bath, having been previously promoted to the rank of rear-admiral of the blue, and in July the same year was made rear-admiral of the white, and in this capacity hoisted his flag on board the *Barfleur* of ninety-eight guns, and in the year following, having shifted his flag to the *Monarch*, he sailed with a small squadron for the Cape of Good Hope, then in the possession of the Dutch.

A war being about to commence between Great Britain and the Batavian republic, the object of admiral Elphinstone was to reduce the settlements at the Cape, a service which he effectually accomplished, besides capturing a squadron which had been sent out for its defence. On the completion of this important undertaking he returned to England, now advanced to the rank of vice-admiral; and the cabinet was so highly gratified with the great service he had rendered his country by securing to it so valuable a colony as that of the Cape, that they conferred upon him yet further honours.

In 1797, he was created an Irish peer by the title of baron Keith of Stonehaven-Marischal, and shortly after assumed the command of a detachment of the channel fleet. In this year also, he was presented by the directors of the East India company with a splendid sword, valued at 500 guineas, as an acknowledgment for his eminent services. In 1798, lord Keith hoisted his flag on board the *Foudroyant*, and sailed for the Mediterranean as second in command under the earl St Vincent, who was already there with a large fleet.

Early in the beginning of the following year, he was promoted to the rank of vice-admiral of the red, and on the occasion of a temporary indisposition of earl St Vincent, assumed the entire command of the fleet. Here he continued employed in blockading the Spanish fleet till May, 1799, when he went in pursuit of the Brest fleet. His search, however, being unsuccessful, he returned to England. In November, he again sailed for the Mediterranean, to take the command of the fleet there, and which was now wholly resigned to him in consequence of the increasing illness of the earl St Vincent. While in this command lord Keith performed a series of important services. By the judicious arrangement of his ships, and the co-operation of lord Nelson, he succeeded in capturing



two large French ships proceeding to La Valetta, with troops and stores. He blockaded the ports of Toulon, Marseilles, Nice, and the coast of the Riviera; and, co-operating with the Austrians, who were besieging Genoa, he so effectually cut off all supplies from the French garrison in that place by the activity of his blockade, that they were compelled to surrender. In the following September, the island of Malta was captured by a detachment of his fleet. The British cabinet having determined to make a descent on Spain, lord Keith and Sir Ralph Abercromby entered the bay of Cadiz with a large fleet, having on board about eighteen thousand troops. Circumstances, however, occurred, which the admiral and general conceived warranted them in not attempting the proposed landing, and they accordingly withdrew without making any descent.

The greatest and most brilliant of all lord Keith's services, however, was yet to be performed; this was the celebrated landing of Aboukir, one of the most splendid affairs in the annals of war; and it was in a great measure owing to the promptitude and skill of the admiral alone, that this critical and perilous enterprise was so triumphantly accomplished. For this important service lord Keith received the thanks of both houses of parliament, and on the 5th December, 1801, he was created a baron of the united kingdom, by the title of baron Keith of Barheath, county of Dunbarton. He had been previously advanced to the rank of admiral of the blue. In the fulness of the country's gratitude for his services, he was also presented by the corporation of London with the freedom of the city in a gold box, together with a sword of the value of one hundred guineas, and was invested by the Grand Signor with the order of the Crescent, which he had established to perpetuate the memory of the services rendered to the Ottoman empire by the British.

In 1803, lord Keith was appointed commander-in-chief of all his majesty's ships in the north sea. In 1805, he was further advanced to the rank of rear-admiral of the white, and in 1812, succeeded Sir Charles Cotton as commander-in-chief of the channel fleet. While on this station, it was his lot to be the means of capturing the person of Napoleon Bonaparte, on his flight from France after the battle of Waterloo. The disposition which lord Keith made of his ships on this occasion was such, that the distinguished fugitive, after being taken by captain Maitland of the *Bellerophon*, acknowledged escape to have been impossible. His treatment of the prisoner was as noble, delicate, and humane, as his arrangements for seizing him had been dexterous. He acted throughout the whole affair with so much good sense and right feeling, that he at once gained the esteem and gratitude of Napoleon, and the approbation of the government which he represented.

In 1814, lord Keith had been created a viscount; and, at the conclusion of the war, by the disposal of Napoleon in St Helena, he retired to enjoy his well-earned honours in the bosom of his family, and the society of his former friends. Latterly he resided constantly on his estate of Tulliallan, where he erected a mansion-house suited to his rank and fortune. There he also expended large sums in works of permanent utility, and united with constant acts of voluntary bounty the encouragement of industrious pursuit and useful occupation, those sure sources of comfort to a surrounding population. The strength of his natural understanding enabled him to derive the utmost benefit from all that he had occasion to see or to contemplate. A most tenacious memory and great readiness enabled him to bring all his information effectually into action when the occasion called for it. Such powers, united to a fertility of mind which is rarely excelled, rendered him a most distinguished character in all that regarded his profession. In social intercourse, his kindly nature was constantly predominant: he was entirely free of affectation in conversation, and he dealt out the



facts and anecdotes with which his memory was stored, in a most interesting and amusing manner. Lord Keith was invariably influenced by the kindest feelings for all who were connected with him, and, without solicitation on their part, he was uniformly alive to whatever could promote their interest. But this did not limit the extent of his usefulness to others; on the contrary, being always open to approach, he was zealous in forwarding, to the utmost of his power, the objects of deserving men. Accordingly, it may be safely said of him, that he could reckon as great a number of meritorious officers, of all ranks and descriptions, who had been placed in their proper stations by his efforts, as any man of his rank who served during the same distinguished period of our naval history.

His first lady having died in 1789, lord Keith married, in January, 1808, the eldest daughter of Henry Thrale, Esq. M.P. for Southwark; of which union the issue was one child, a daughter. In 1822, lord Keith was permitted by the king to accept the last additional honour he was to receive on earth, in the shape of a grand cross of the royal Sardinian order of St Maurice and St Lazare. He died at Tulliallan house, on the 10th of March, 1823, in the 78th year of his age.

KEITH, GEORGE, fifth earl Marischal, founder of the Marischal college of Aberdeen. The period of this nobleman's birth is unknown; his father was William lord Keith, (eldest son of the fourth earl Marischal,) a person known in history as having been taken prisoner into England in 1558, and released for a ransom of £2000. This individual married Elizabeth Hay, daughter to the earl of Errol, by whom, at his death in 1580, he left, besides the subject of our memoir, three sons and four daughters.<sup>1</sup> George succeeded his grandfather in the year 1581, and we find him towards the end of the year following, doing his duty in parliament.<sup>2</sup> We are led to understand, that, previously to his succeeding to the title, he had spent some time among the seats of learning on the continent. As with all men who have been remarkable in advanced life, it was recollected of him after his death, that in youth he showed an extreme desire for knowledge, and a facility in its acquisition. We are informed that he studied at the King's college of Aberdeen,<sup>3</sup> and that at the age of eighteen he was an adept in the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages, and in the studies of antiquities, history, and literature; when, discontented with the scope allowed in his own country, he resolved to study in France.<sup>4</sup> On this journey, it is said that he was courteously received by the Landgrave of Hesse, (the chief among the descendants of that celebrated tribe of "Catti," from which the fabulous historians have traced the family of Keith,) along with the other noble youths of the age. While he was accumulating knowledge, he did not forget the opportunities afforded him in France, of perfecting himself in the knowledge of arms, and the feats of athletic jugglery then in vogue. After some time, Keith left France, preferring a residence in Geneva, with the illustrious Theodore Beza, by whom he was instructed in divinity, history, and the art of speaking. During his residence there, an accident of a melancholy nature happened. His younger brother, William, who had accompanied him on his journey, and had apparently, with high promise of future eminence, shared in his studies, was killed in a tumult, during an excursion into the country. His eminent master,

<sup>1</sup> Douglas' Peerage, 193.

<sup>2</sup> Act. Parl., iii. 526.

<sup>3</sup> Middleton's account of the King's college of Aberdeen and of the great men there, MS. Bib. Ad. M. 6, 15.

<sup>4</sup> Oratio Funeris, in obitum maximi virorum Georgii Marischalli comitis, D. Keith et Altre, &c., Academia Marischallanae Aberdoniæ fundatoris, et Mecenatis munificentissimi; scripta et pronunciata a Gulielmo Ogstono, philosophiæ moralis ibidem professore. *Aberdonian*, 1623, 4to, p. 11.



along with Gaulter and Andrew Melville, have celebrated the memory and talents of this young man. Beza, in the dedication of his "*Icones virorum doctrina et pietate illustrium*," to king James, mentions, with much satisfaction, the circumstance of having been intrusted with the education of pupils so illustrious. After the death of his brother, Keith left Geneva, and visited the courts of Europe, where his rank and great wealth admitted his making a considerable figure. It is said that, even in this employment, presumed to be full of gayety, he was a grave and accurate student: that he indulged in the splendour of courts more for the purpose of acquiring historical knowledge, than of pursuing pleasure, and that he travelled less for the purpose of recreation and variety, than for the acquisition of correct knowledge of the various countries of the world, having seldom seen a country of which he did not show his acquaintance, by embodying his knowledge in a map.<sup>5</sup> He returned to his native country, after an absence of seven years. The Scottish peer who in the sixteenth century founded a university, and encouraged learning, must have been a man whose penetration and grasp of mind were very different from those of his colleagues in rank, yet he appears not to have been totally exempt from the barbarous habits and feelings of the day.

On the 8th of June, 1585, we find him obtaining a remission under the great seal, for "art and part" of the slaughter of his relative William Keith, apparent of Luduquhairn;<sup>6</sup> and in 1595, he is charged to appear before the king and council, as a person entertaining a deadly feud with the laird of Meldrum.<sup>7</sup> Soon after his accession to the earldom, the celebrated raid of Ruthven took place, a political movement, as to which it is difficult to discover his view, but with which his connexion seems to have somewhat displeased the king. He was, apparently, not present at the "raid," nor does he appear to have approached so hot a political atmosphere, until the king's escape from Falkland to St Andrews, whither he repaired, apparently as a neutral person; but he is represented as having retired to his own home in disgust, on the king changing the lenient measure he had at first proposed towards the rebels.<sup>8</sup> The earl was a member of that parliament which, on the 19th of October, 1582, approved the acts of the conspirators, holding their proceedings as legal, and protecting their persons from punishment, by an act which was afterwards expunged from the statute book.<sup>9</sup> It is not without surprise, that, after such a measure, we find him acting as chancellor of the assize of peers, which, with considerable partiality in its proceedings, found the earl of Gowrie guilty of treason, on account of his share in the raid of Ruthven.<sup>10</sup> It can scarcely be doubted, that in these proceedings he was guilty of inconsistency: it is not likely that any one attended a parliament held under the auspices of the conspirators, for the purpose of voting against them, and it was not customary for the crown to choose assizers who would acquit, while his having acted as chancellor leaves no doubt that he voted for a verdict of guilty! Charity can only palliate this tergiversation, on the circumstance, that Gowrie had, in the interval between these events, been guilty of additional acts of disobedience.

After the singular proceedings on the part of James towards the court of Denmark, in attempting a negotiation of marriage with the eldest daughter of Frederick the II., which terminated in that monarch (not presuming the king of Scotland to be serious in his proposals) marrying his daughter to the duke of Brunswick; the lover, disappointed of one daughter, was resolved to try more consistent plans for obtaining the other, and James proposed to send lord Altry,

<sup>5</sup> *Oratio Funebris* ut sup.

<sup>6</sup> *Douglas' Peerage*, i. 193.

<sup>7</sup> *Pitcairn's Criminal Trials*, i. 353.

<sup>8</sup> *Melville's Memoirs*, 270-71.

<sup>9</sup> *Act. Parl.*, iii. 326.

<sup>10</sup> *Pitcairn's Criminal Trials*, i. 116.



nucle to the earl Marischal, to Denmark, to make serious proposals to Frederick's second daughter, Anne. The disposition of the council of Scotland, was such as prompted Altry, an old and infirm statesman, averse to engaging in the excitement of politics, to decline the high office, and his nephew, the earl Marischal, showed a desire to officiate in his stead. "Now the earl Marischal," says Sir James Melville in his cautious manner, "was desirous to supply the place of his uncle, my lord of Altry: and his majesty was content that he should be sent thither. Whereupon I took occasion to represent to his majesty, that the said earl was very well qualified for that employment, and that he would go the better contented, if he might have in commission with him some of his own friends and acquaintance. His majesty answered, that it was his part to choose his own ambassadors; that the earl Marischal should have the first place as a nobleman, but," continues Sir James with his usual complacency, "that he would repose the chief handling with the regent and council of Denmark upon me."<sup>11</sup> It is probable that the great wealth of the earl, who was then the richest nobleman in Scotland, was a cogent reason for appointing him to superintend an expensive expedition. It was the policy of queen Elizabeth to object to the proposed alliance, and the privy council of Scotland showed a disposition to accede to her wishes. In the mean time, the tradesmen of Edinburgh, instigated, it is said, by the secret interference of James, took the matter into their hands, threatening the privy council, and denouncing vengeance against Thirstane, the chancellor, whom they looked upon as the chief agent of Elizabeth. James had made his resolution, and the earl was finally despatched to Denmark, along with the constable of Dundee, and lord Andrew Keith, whom he had requested permission to take as an associate. Owing to the vacillating policy of James, "his power to conclude was so limited, and his commission so slender, that he was compelled to send back again my lord Dingwall, either for a license to come home, or for a sufficient power to conclude."<sup>12</sup> Dingwall found the king at Aberdeen, who, as the chancellor and most part of the council were absent, found himself in a situation to give more ample powers. The storm which interrupted the voyage of the princess is well known, as an amusing portion of Scottish history; in the mean time, the chancellor, who was the deadly enemy of the earl Marischal, had, from his opposition to the measure, sunk in the favour of James, and did not recover his former estimation, without suffering the expense of procuring the handsome fast-sailing vessel, in which the monarch made that voyage to Denmark which has been considered so unaccountably inconsistent with his general character. We shall give, in the words of Sir James Melville, an account of the very characteristic squabbles which took place between the two rival peers at the court of Copenhagen. "The company who were with his majesty put him to great trouble to agree their continual janglings, strife, pride, and partialities. The earl Marischal, by reason that he was an ancient earl, and had been first employed in this honourable commission, thought to have the first place next unto his majesty so long as he was there. The chancellor, by reason of his office, would needs have the pre-eminence. There were also contentions between him and the justice-clerk. The constable of Dundee and my lord Dingwall could not agree about place. George Hume did quietly shoot out William Keith from his office of master of the wardrobe. At length they were all divided into two factions; the one for the earl Marischal; the other for the chancellor who was the stronger, because the king took his part; so that the chancellor triumphed."<sup>13</sup> The munificence and great wealth of the earl, prompted him to bear, in the first instance, the expense of the mission; he could not have done a service more acceptable to his sovereign,

<sup>11</sup> Melville's Memoirs, 337.<sup>12</sup> Ibid, 358.<sup>13</sup> Ibid, 363.



and it appears to have finally reinstated him in favour. In 1592, the earl received a parliamentary ratification of his acts as concerned the mission, and was at the same time empowered to recover, from a forfeited estate, the expense he had incurred, stated as amounting to 3156 merks.<sup>11</sup> Up to the commencement of the eighteenth century, the debt was, however, unrecovered,<sup>15</sup> and it is not probable that after that period it was ever paid.

In 1583, the earl was one of the commissioners appointed to superintend the "new erection" or alteration in management of the King's college of Aberdeen; and it is probable that the duties in which he was then engaged, prompted him, ten years afterwards, to perform that act of enlightened munificence, which has perpetuated his name as the founder of Marischal college. The charter of the university was granted by the earl on the 2nd April, 1593; it was approved of by the General Assembly of Dundee on the 24th of the same month, after having been submitted to the examination of a committee, and was ratified by Parliament on the 21st of July following. The college was endowed to maintain a principal, three regent professors, and six bursars. By the foundation, the languages and sciences appointed to be taught, were, Greek, Hebrew, and Syriac, natural history, geometry, geography, chronology, and astronomy. In opposition to the principle previously pursued, by which each professor conducted a class of students through all the branches of knowledge taught in any university, the subjects taught in Marischal college were divided among separate masters, each of whom adhered to his peculiar branch—an excellent regulation, afterwards departed from, but resumed in the middle of the eighteenth century.<sup>16</sup> Without descending to the particular benefits of this institution, the circumstance that many eminent names are connected with Marischal college, and that its small endowments have cultivated intellects which might have long lain unproductive, are sufficient of themselves to speak to the honour of its noble founder. The building erected for the accommodation of the students was not splendid, nor were the endowments great, when compared with those of universities abroad, or even of the other similar institutions of Scotland. The former, however, is still a protecting roof, and the latter have been creditably increased, especially in the bursaries, which amount to about twenty, of various values, from £3 to £15 annually—the smallest paying the full fee of the possessor for the four years during which he remains at the university, and the larger frequently forming for a time the chief support of one or two individuals who would otherwise remain uneducated; they are carefully protected as the rewards of talent and labour, and held by those who gain them as their right, independently of the authority of the officials of the university. The progress of Marischal college, in comparison with that of other universities, stands as an example, that in a civilized age, not superstitiously ruled by the church, a university without complete internal support, cannot succeed or become useful, except in a large and flourishing town. The prison-like dens of Marischal college, with their unplastered walls are annually filled with students, while the princely halls of St Andrews are empty and falling to ruin; and the university of Fraserburgh, which was in a flourishing state in the sixteenth century, has disappeared and been forgotten.

Within the same year, when Marischal college was founded, we find its patron

<sup>11</sup> Act. Parl., iii. 511.

<sup>15</sup> A short relation of the origin of the Keiths in Scotland, with a list of the predecessors of the present earl Marischal of that kingdom, being an abstract of the history of that noble family, anno Domini, 1690. Aberdeen, x die Aprilis, An. Dom. 1700.

<sup>16</sup> For a farther account of this matter, vide the memoir of Alexander Gerard in this collection.



engaged in other works of public utility. He granted a charter to Peterhead. And by the act 1593, c. 48, we find him empowered to exact a toll of twenty pence for every last of goods entering or leaving a harbour he had attached to that town.<sup>17</sup> At the same period, the secret transactions with the court of Spain, of which some of the northern peers were suspected, and the discovery of those mysterious documents known by the name of "the Spanish blanks," created alarm in the nation, and consternation at court; and by the same act of 1593, the earl Marischal, as a trusty statesman, was empowered to act the part of king's commissioner in the shires of Kincardine, Aberdeen, and Banff, and to inquire into the conduct of the earls of Errol, Huntly, Angus, and others.<sup>18</sup> A trust of still higher order was reposed in the earl, in June 6th, 1609, when, by commission under the great seal, he was appointed lord high commissioner to the parliament of Scotland.

In the year 1622, in the old age of a well-spent life, the earl felt his last illness come upon him, and he retired to his fortress of Dunnottar, where he is said to have borne his sickness with patience and religious resignation. Dr Dun, one of the professors of his college, attended him as physician, and the disease for a time yielded to medicine, but finally relapsed.<sup>19</sup> The latter days of this great and useful man do not appear to have been permitted to pass in domestic peace, and his death-bed was disturbed by the desertion and crime of an unfeeling wife. The circumstance to which we refer is one of a very singular nature; and as it is impossible at this period to trace all the motives from which it originated, we shall state it, almost verbatim, as it occurs in the criminal record, avoiding antiquated orthography. "On the 3rd of March, 1624, Dame Margaret Ogilvie, countess dowager of Marischal, along with her then husband, Sir Alexander Strauchane of Thornetoun, knight, and Robert Strauchan, doctor in physic, were accused before the high court of justiciary, of the ignoble crimes of masterful theft and stouthrief, in having stolen from the place of Benholm, belonging to the earl, certain jewels, silver plate, household stuff, gold, silver, and title deeds, in October, 1622, a little before the said earl's decease." On the same day, James Keith of Benholme was cited to answer for a similar crime, committed at the same time, and in the same place. The two cases are evidently connected together, and the minute in the latter provides us with the following inventory of articles stolen, which is an evidence of the magnificence and wealth of the earl, and an extraordinary feature in the transaction. Of Portugal ducats, and other species of foreign gold, to the avail of 26,000 pounds or thereby; thirty-six dozen gold buttons; a rich jewel set with diamonds, which the deceased earl received as a gift when he was ambassador in Denmark, worth 6,000 merks; the queen of Denmark's picture in gold, set about with rich diamonds, estimated at 5,000 merks; a jasper stone for stemming of blood, estimated at 500 French crowns; a chain of "equall perle," wherein were 400 pearls great and small; two chains of gold, of twenty-four ounce weight; another jewel of diamonds set in gold, worth 3,000 merks; a great pair of bracelets, all set with diamonds, price thereof 500 crowns; the other pair of gold bracelets at 600 pounds the pair; a turquois ring worth ten French crowns; a diamond set in a ring, worth twenty-eight French crowns, with a number of other small rings set with diamonds and other rich stones in gold, worth 300 French crowns; also 16,000 merks of silver and gold ready coined, which was within a green coffer; together with the whole tapestry, silver-work, bedding, goods, gear, and plenishing within the said place. The case, as regarded the countess, and Sir Alexander and Dr Strauchane, was postponed by a royal war-

<sup>17</sup> Act Par., iv. 35.

<sup>18</sup> Act. Parl., iv. 44. Pitcairn's Crim. Trials, i. 283.

<sup>19</sup> *O ratio Funeris* ut sup.



rant to the 2nd of July, from thence to the 27th of July, and from thence to the 8th of December, of which date no entry appearing, the lord advocate seems to have been prevailed with to give up the pursuit; Keith of Benholme, who seems to have occupied, or been steward of, the house so strangely dilapidated, was outlawed for not appearing.<sup>20</sup>

The earl died at five o'clock on the morning of the fifth day of April, 1623, and a monument with a poetical inscription was erected to his memory. The funeral oration so frequently referred to, was read at Marischal college on the 30th June, 1623, by Ogston, the professor of moral philosophy; it compares his death to an earthquake, and sundry other prodigies of nature—heaps too great a load of virtues on his shoulders for mankind to bear with comfort, and in detailing the perfections of the dead Mæcenas, the author does not neglect those of the living Solomon. A book of “Tears” was also published to his memory, chiefly composed by Massy and Alexander Wedderburn.<sup>21</sup> The lady already so equivocally mentioned was his second wife, a daughter of James, sixth lord Ogilvie: he had previously married Margaret, daughter of Alexander, fifth lord Hume,<sup>22</sup> and by both he had several children.

KEITH, (the Honourable) JAMES, commonly called marshal Keith, the younger son of William, ninth earl Marischal, and lady Mary Drummond, daughter to the earl of Perth, was born in the year 1696. His aptness for learning seems to have been very considerable, since he acquired in after-life a reputation for letters scarcely inferior to his military renown; a circumstance which was possibly in no small degree owing to his having had the good fortune to receive the rudiments of his education from the celebrated bishop Keith, who was allied to his family by consanguinity, and who officiated as tutor to himself and his elder brother, the tenth earl Marischal.

Mr Keith was originally designed for the law, and with the view of making it his profession, he was sent to Edinburgh to complete his studies. It was soon discovered, however, that he entertained a much stronger predilection for the camp than the bar;—he seems indeed to have been very early attached to the military profession. His language, when the subject happened at any time to be alluded to, was always full of martial enthusiasm, even while yet a mere stripling. “I have begun to study the law,” he said, “in compliance with the desires of the countess of Marischal, (his mother,) but commend me, gentlemen, to stand before the mouth of a cannon for a few minutes; this either makes a man in an instant, or he dies gloriously in the field of battle.” Such was the spirit in which the young soldier entered on his career of fame.

The earl Marischal, elder brother of the subject of this memoir, was one of those Tory noblemen who signed the proclamation of George I. The party being disappointed in their hopes of office under the new dynasty, he returned in a state of high irritation to Scotland, and at York met his brother James, who was on his way to London for the purpose of asking a commission in the army. The two young men returned home together, burning with resentment, and on the commencement of the insurrection of 1715, they were incited at once by their own feelings, and by the advice of their mother, who was a catholic, to declare for the Pretender. The meeting held by the earl of Mar, (who was their cousin,) under the semblance of a hunting match, was attended by the two brothers, and they continued, throughout the remainder of the campaign,

<sup>20</sup> Pitcairn's *Crim. Trials*, iii. 562.

<sup>21</sup> “*Lachrimæ Academicæ Marischallanæ sub obitum Mæcenatis et Fundatoris sui, munificentissimi, nobilissimi et illustrissimi, Georgii Comitis Marischalli, Domini de Keith et Altre, &c.*”—*Aberd. Raban*, 1623.

<sup>22</sup> Douglas's *Peerage*.



to act a bold and conspicuous part under that unfortunate leader. The immediate subject of this memoir is said to have manifested a degree of resolution and conduct which attracted much attention, and inspired hopes of his future fortune. On the final dispersion of the rebel army at Ruthven in Badenoch, they had no resource but to make the best of their way to a foreign land, where they might be safe from the consequences of their enterprise. They proceeded, in company with many other Lowland gentlemen, to the Western Isles, where they designed to wait till a vessel could be procured to convey them to France. While in the isles, where they were detained nearly a month, the fugitives were frequently alarmed by reports of their retreat having been discovered, and that an armament had been despatched in quest of them; and on one occasion they were informed that three frigates, with two battalions of foot on board, were within ten miles of them. They, however, were not molested. On the 20th of April, a ship which had been despatched from France for the purpose, arrived at the island on which they were concealed. Losing no time, they, along with about a hundred companions in misfortune, embarked on board of this vessel, and arrived in safety at St Paul de Leon in Brittany, on the 12th of May, 1716. On their arrival at this port, the greater part of them proceeded immediately to wait upon the Pretender, who was then at Avignon; the others, amongst whom was Keith, went straight to Paris, where the latter had at that time several relations residing. On reaching Paris, Keith waited upon the queen-mother, by whom he was most graciously received, and who, amongst other flattering things, said, that she had heard of his good services in her son's cause, and that neither of them should ever forget it. Keith now proposed to the queen-mother to visit the king, by which he meant the Pretender, and asked her permission to do so. She, however, dissuaded him from taking this step, saying that he was yet but young, and had better remain in Paris and recommence his studies, and concluded by proposing to bear the charge of his future education. Notwithstanding this flattering reception, a whole month elapsed before Keith heard any thing further from the queen-mother, and, in the mean time, he was reduced to great straits for want of money, living principally by selling horse furniture, which military officers were at this period in the habit of carrying about with them, and which, being sometimes richly ornamented with silver, was a very valuable article. There were many friends of himself and his family in Paris, who would readily have afforded him any pecuniary assistance he might have required, but, as he himself says, in a MS. memoir of his life, written with his own hand, to which we have access, "I was then either so bashful or so vain, that I would not own the want I was in." His wants, however, of this kind were soon amply provided for, and from various unlooked for sources. The queen-mother at length sent him 1000 livres, and much about the same time a Parisian banker waited upon him, and informed him that he had instructions from Scotland to supply him with money, and an order from king James to pay him 200 crowns a-year, with an apology for the smallness of the sum, as it was all that his (the king's) circumstances enabled him to do. Relieved now from his pecuniary difficulties, he betook himself to study, to which he devoted the whole of the remaining part of the year 1716, and a great part of the following year. Previous to this, and while pursuing his studies, he received a commission as colonel of horse in the service of the king of Sweden, who entertained a design of making a descent on Scotland in favour of king James. The project, however, was discovered long before it could be carried into execution, and thus both the intended invasion and Keith's commission fell to the ground. Another opportunity, although equally fruitless in its results, presented itself to the young soldier, now in his twentieth year, of pushing his fortune with his sword. This



was the appearance in Paris of Peter the first, emperor of Russia. Keith made every effort to obtain admission into the service of that potentate, but without effect, he himself supposes on account of his not having employed the proper means. In the following year, 1718, learning that there was an intention on the part of Spain, similar to that which had been entertained by the king of Sweden, viz., to attempt the restoration of king James by invading Scotland—Keith and his brother the earl Marischal set out for Madrid, with the view of offering their services in the proposed expedition. These were readily accepted, and the two brothers, after repeated interviews with cardinal Alberoni, then prime minister of Spain, were furnished with instructions regarding the intended descent, and with means to carry that part of it which was intrusted to them into execution. By previous appointment, Keith and his brother the earl Marischal were met at Havre de Grace, the point at which they had fixed to embark for Scotland, by several of the Scottish leaders in the rising of 1715, who were still lurking about France. All of them having been advised of the undertaking, were furnished with commissions from the king of Spain, to apply equally to the Spanish forces which were to be sent after them, and to those which they should raise in the country.

The co-operation in this enterprise which they were led to expect was the landing in England of the duke of Ormond with an army, which it was proposed should immediately take place. Two frigates, with Spanish troops on board, were also to follow them within a day or two, to land with them in Scotland, and enable them to commence their operations in that kingdom. On the 19th of March, the expatriated chiefs embarked on board a small vessel of about twenty-five tons, and after encountering some stormy weather and running great risk from some English ships of war which they fell in with, they reached the island of Lewis on the 4th of April. They were soon afterwards joined by the two frigates, and a debarkation on the main land was immediately determined upon. In the expectation of being joined by large bodies of Highlanders, they proposed to march forward to Inverness, from which they hoped to drive out the small force by which it was garrisoned.

The whole enterprise, however, hurried on to a disastrous conclusion. The duke of Ormond's fleet was dispersed: the Highlanders refused to embark in the desperate undertaking; a very few only joining the invaders, and these showing little enthusiasm in the cause: and to complete their ruin, they were attacked and defeated by a body of troops which had been despatched to arrest their progress. They were, however, not so completely routed but that they were enabled to retire in partial order to the summit of some high grounds in the vicinity of the scene of action. Here a council of war was held during the night, in which it was resolved that the Spaniards should on the next day surrender themselves prisoners of war, that the Highlanders should disperse, and that the officers should each seek his safety in the best way he could.

Thus Keith found himself placed in exactly the same desperate circumstances in which he was after the rising of 1715,—an outlawed fugitive, without means and without a home. After lurking some months in the Highlands, during the greater part of which, to add to his misfortunes, he was in bad health, he found his way to Peterhead, where he embarked for Holland, whither his brother had gone before him. Being here joined by the latter, they both proceeded to the Hague, and sometime afterwards to Madrid. Here Keith's pecuniary difficulties became as pressing and infinitely more desperate than they were in Paris on his arrival there in 1715. "I was now," he says, "as the French have it, *au pie de la lettre sur le pavé*. I knew nobody and was known to none, and had not my good fortune brought rear-admiral Cammoek to Madrid, whom I had known



formerly in Paris, I don't know what would have become of me; he immediately offered me his house and his table, both which I was glad to accept of." Thus shifting, together with the aid of some arrears of pay which he received from the king of Spain, he remained the greater part of the year 1720, and, with the exception of some short absences, all the year 1721, at Madrid. He then removed to Paris, where he lived for the next three or four years, receiving the pay of a Spanish colonel, but without being attached to any regiment. At the end of this period Keith again returned to Spain, and was employed in active service up to the year 1728. Thinking himself, however, rather overlooked, he in this year addressed a letter to the king, soliciting his patronage, and requesting that he might be appointed to the command of the first Irish regiment which should become vacant. The answer of his majesty to this application was, that so soon as he knew that he was a Roman catholic he should not only have what he asked, but that his future fortunes should be cared for. Finding all hopes of promotion in the Spanish service thus cut off on account of his religious belief, Keith solicited a recommendation from his Spanish majesty to the court of Russia, where he now determined to try his fortunes. The recommendation which he sought was at once granted, and forwarded to the emperor of Russia, who soon after intimated to him his admission into his service as a major-general. On Keith's leaving Madrid for Moscow, the king of Spain presented him with a *douceur* of 1000 crowns, and soon after his arrival in Russia he was promoted to the command of a regiment of guards, an appointment of great trust, and which had hitherto been bestowed on none but especial favourites of the sovereign. He was further named one of three inspectors of army details, and awarded as his department the frontier of Asia, with the country on both sides of the Volga and Don, together with part of the frontier of Poland. About this time one of his early instructors, a Mr Morton, hearing of his good fortune, wrote to him a letter of congratulation on his prosperity. The general's reply partook of his nature; it was kind and unaffected. "I am a true Scotsman indeed," he said amongst other obliging things, "wise behind the hand; for had I been more careful to imbibe the excellent instructions I received under your inspection, I had still made a better figure in the world." Hitherto the general, though he had proven himself at once a zealous and an able officer in the discharge of his military duties, had had no opportunity of exhibiting his talents for active warfare. Such an opportunity, however, at length offered. On the death of the king of Poland, that unhappy kingdom was entered by a Russian army to overawe, or rather control the election of a new king. On this occasion the general was despatched into Poland with six battalions of foot, 600 dragoons, and 4000 Cossacks. While on this service he was ordered by the commander-in-chief, prince Schahofskoi, to ravage the country. With a feeling of humanity and in a spirit of honour which reflects much credit on his character, both as a soldier and a man, he endeavoured to evade the painful, and as he felt it, dishonourable duty. Finding that no dictates of humanity would weigh with the commander-in-chief, he tried the effects of interested considerations; representing to him, that if the system of devastation was continued, not only would the inhabitants, but the Russian army also be reduced to a state of absolute starvation. This had the desired effect. The general was immediately ordered to desist from further spoliation. During the whole of this war the general conducted himself with a degree of judgment and gallantry, and in short, discovered throughout such a possession of the best and most valuable qualities of the soldier, as now ranked him indisputably amongst the first captains of the age. He was severely wounded in the knee in this service at Ocrakow. The injury was of so serious a nature that the Russian



surgeons recommended that the wounded limb should be amputated, and the general at once gave his consent to the operation being performed. But his brother, who had gone to visit him on this occasion, would not listen to the proposal. "I hope," he said, "James has yet more to do with that leg, and I will not part with it so easily, at least not until I have the best advice in Europe." In the spirit of brotherly affection which these expressions bespeak, he immediately removed the general to Paris, to procure the advice of the surgical skill of that city, and the result was highly favourable. The French surgeons, doing what those of Russia had neglected, laid open the general's knee, and extracted some pieces of cloth which had been driven into the wound by the shot, and had all along prevented that cure which was now soon effected.

The military fame of general Keith was now spread over all Europe, and had attracted in a particular manner the notice of the warlike Frederick of Prussia, who lost no time in inviting him into his service, offering him the rank of a field marshal and the governorship of Berlin, with ample means to support the dignity of these situations. These offers were too tempting to be refused. The general accepted them, and immediately proceeded to the Prussian court. His affable manners and military genius soon won him the personal esteem of his new master, who not only admitted but invited him to the most familiar intercourse, travelled with him throughout his own dominions and those of the neighbouring states, and acknowledged him as an adviser in matters of military business, and as his companion in his hours of relaxation. For some time after his arrival in Prussia the marshal enjoyed a respite from military service, Frederick happening then to be, we cannot say at peace, but not at actual war with any of the European powers. This leisure he devoted to literary pursuits, entering into and maintaining a correspondence with some of the most eminent politicians and philosophers of the day, all of whom bear testimony to the great talent and ability with which he discussed the various subjects on which he wrote, and not the smallest portion of their praise was bestowed upon the elegance and felicity of language which his correspondence exhibited.

Frederick's, however, was not a service in which much repose of this kind could be expected. He, of whom it is said, that he looked upon peace only as a preparation for war, was not likely either to remain long idle himself, or to permit such a man as marshal Keith to be so.

The outrageous conduct of Frederick in repeated instances had long given great umbrage to many of the European powers, but none of them had dared to come to open hostilities with him. At length, however, they fell upon the plan of combining their efforts for the chastisement of the warlike monarch, whom none of them would venture to face singly.

Austria, Russia, Germany, and France, all took the field against the Prussian monarch. During the vicissitudes and operations which ensued, in attacking at one time and resisting at another, the various efforts of his numerous enemies, Frederick intrusted the most important, next to those which he himself assumed, to marshal Keith, whose military talents and sound judgment he found during the arduous struggle which followed, had not been over-rated. When summoned by the prince of Saxe-Mildburg to surrender Leipsic, which Frederick had left him to defend with 8000 men, the gallant soldier, then upwards of 60 years of age, replied to the messenger, "Let your master know that I am by birth a Scotsman, by inclination as well as duty, a Prussian, and shall defend the town in such a manner that neither the country which gave me birth nor that which has adopted me shall be ashamed of me. The king my master has ordered me to defend it to the last extremity, and he shall be obeyed." Early on the



following morning, the marshal summoned the magistrates of the town together, told them of the communication which he had from the enemy, and advised them to wait upon the prince, and beg of him, for their own sakes and that of the inhabitants in general, to refrain from proceeding to extremities against the city; "for," said he, with a tact which showed the consummate soldier, "if he proceeds in this resolution, I will myself begin to set fire to the suburbs, and if that be not sufficient to oblige the enemy to desist from his enterprise, I will go further, and not spare even the city itself;" and with many expressions of reluctance to have recourse to such dreadful measures, to which he said necessity alone could compel him, he dismissed the terrified citizens, who instantly despatched a deputation to wait upon the prince. All, however, they could obtain from the latter was a modification of the terms of the original summons. Another was sent, in which the Prussians were offered the liberty of marching out of the town without molestation. This summons marshal Keith rejected with the same determination as the former, to the great provocation of the prince, who, in his resentment at the tone of defiance assumed by the Prussian commander, declared that if the latter carried his threat into execution regarding the burning of the town, he would lay Berlin or Potsdam in ashes. The extremities which were thus threatened on both sides were, however, prevented by the approach of the Prussian monarch, who arrived in the neighbourhood of Leipsic with a large force, and averted the destruction of the city by bringing on the celebrated battle of Rosbach, in which he was completely victorious. Soon after this, marshal Keith marched into Bohemia with an army, and laid that kingdom under contribution, having previously dislodged the Austrians from the mountains of Saxony, where they had been strongly posted. The brilliant career, however, of this soldier of fortune was now about to close for ever; the death which became him awaited him, and was close at hand.

Frederick had taken up a position in the village of Hochkirchen, which he was particularly desirous of retaining, and which the enemy were equally desirous of possessing. The consequence was, that this point was attacked during the night following its first occupation. On the first alarm of the enemy's motions, marshal Keith mounted his horse, and hastily collecting what troops were in his immediate neighbourhood, marched towards the village. On arriving there he found it already in the hands of the enemy. Charging, however, at the head of his troops, he drove them from the position. Fresh bodies of the enemy came up, and the marshal was in turn forced to retire. Again he returned to the combat, leading on his men, and cheering them as he advanced; and again he cleared the village of the enemy. Determined on possession of the position, the latter once more returned with increased numbers, until latterly the whole flower of the Austrian army were concentrated on this sanguinary spot, defended by a handful of Prussians. At eight o'clock in the morning, and while the combat was yet at the hottest, although it had now lasted several hours, the marshal received a severe and dangerous wound. He refused, however, to quit the field, but continued to conduct the desperate encounter with unabated enthusiasm and gallantry. At nine o'clock, an hour after he had received his first wound, a second shot passed through his breast, and instantly stretched him lifeless on the ground. His body was stripped by the Austrians, who had now driven the Prussians from the field, and was thus left exposed until it was recognized by count Laszi, who had been one of his pupils in the art of war. That nobleman immediately gave orders for its interment; but this having been done with little reverence, it was shortly afterwards taken up by the curate of Hochkirchen, and again committed to the earth, with every mark of decency and respect. The remains of the marshal were, by the special orders of the



king, finally removed to Berlin, and buried there with all the honours which a nation and a great monarch could pay to splendid talent and great moral worth.

If any thing were wanting to complete the illustrious character of this great man, it is to be found in the circumstance of his death having been nearly as much lamented by the Austrians, then the enemies of Prussia, as by the Prussians themselves. His humanity was ever on the alert to protect even those against whom he fought from any unnecessary violence, and the Austrians had, in a thousand instances, been indebted to this ennobling trait in a character admirably calculated in all its parts to gain the esteem and admiration of mankind. Marshal Keith died in the sixty-third year of his age. He was never married, but to whatever chance this was owing, it does not appear to have proceeded from any want of susceptibility, for, while in Paris in 1718, on being first urged by some of his friends to offer his services to the court of Spain, which he was then informed meditated some designs on Sicily, he says, "But I was then too much in love to think of quitting Paris, and, although my friends forced me to take some steps towards it, yet I managed it so slowly, that I set out only in the end of that year; and had not my mistress and I quarreled, and that other affairs came to concern me more than the conquest of Sicily did, it's probable I had lost many years of my time to very little purpose—so much was I taken up with my passion." Of the final result of this attachment we are not informed; but it does not appear that he ever formed another.

Some years after his death, a monument was erected in the church-yard of Hochkirchen to the memory of the marshal, by his relative Sir Robert Murray Keith. It bore the following inscription, composed by the celebrated Metastasio :

Jacobo Keith,  
Galielmi Comit̃s Marescelli Hered.  
Regni Scotiæ,  
Et Mariæ Drummond, Filio,  
Frederici Borussia Regis  
Summo Exercitus Prefecto;  
Viro  
Antiquis Moribus et Militari Virtute claro,  
Qui,  
Dum in prælio non præcul hinc,  
Inclinatam suorum aciem  
Mente, Manu, Voce, et Exemplo  
Restituebat,  
Pugnans ut Heroas decet,  
Occubuit,  
Anno 1758, Mense Oct.

The earl Marischal, elder brother of marshal Keith, also deserves some notice in the present work, as an enlightened and distinguished man. Attainted for his share in the insurrection of 1715, his fate continued for some time identified with that of his younger brother; till, in 1750, he was appointed by Frederick II. of Prussia as ambassador extraordinary to the court of France. He afterwards served the same sovereign as ambassador to the court of Spain, and in this capacity had an opportunity of reconciling himself to his native court. Having discovered the secret of the family compact, by which the different princes of the house of Bourbon had bound themselves to assist each other, he communicated that important intelligence through Mr Pitt, to the British government, to whom it was of the highest importance. The consequence was



a pardon extended by the king to earl Marischal, and an act of parliament to enable him to inherit property in Great Britain.

After this happy event, he proceeded to London, and was introduced to the king (George II.) who received him very graciously. It afterwards was discovered that, by this movement, he escaped a very considerable danger, for within thirty-six hours of his departure from Madrid, notice was received by that court of the communication he had made. The reconciliation of the earl to the house of Brunswick appears to have given great offence to the relics of the Jacobite party, who, it is needless to mention, still retained all their pristine antipathy to that family. Among the papers of bishop Forbes of Leith, is an anecdote to the following effect: "It had been a constant practice in the parish of Langside in Aberdeenshire, to have bonfires, and even to ring the parish bell, on the 2nd of April, O.S., the birth-day of earl Marischal. On Thursday, the 12th February, being a general fast throughout Scotland, when the bellman was ringing the first bell, the news came to Langside, containing the accounts of the earl Marischal having taken the oaths at London; and at that very instant, the said bell rent from the top downwards, and then across near the mouth, and that soon after the bell had begun to ring.

"A gentleman," continues this curious memorial, "walking in his garden, about a quarter of a mile from the church of Langside, asked a man passing by, what the matter was with the bell, in stopping so suddenly. The answer being that she was rent, 'Well,' said the gentleman, 'do you know what the bell says by that?—even, the deil a cheep mair sall I speak for you, earl Marischal!'"

The earl resided in Britain for several years, purchased back some of his family property, and intended finally to settle for the remainder of his life in Scotland. The king of Prussia, however, pressed him so warmly to return to his dominions—saying, in one of his letters, "if I had a fleet, I would come and carry you off by force,"—that he once more became an exile from his native land. He spent the rest of his life in Prussia, in the most intimate terms of friendship with its extraordinary monarch, and the enjoyment of every pleasure that a cultivated mind and a virtuous course of life can secure for mortals. Frederick had discovered that the earl was sincerely attached to his person, and he therefore bestowed upon him in return more of his own friendship than was ever experienced by any other individual. The earl was also the friend and correspondent of Hume, and other literary men of his own country, besides the European literati in general. He died at Potsdam, May 28, 1778, in the 86th year of his age,—two days before Voltaire, who had nearly attained the same age, expired at Paris. An "Eloge de My-lord Marischal," by the celebrated D'Alembert, was published at Berlin in 1779.

KEITH, ROBERT, commonly called bishop Keith, an eminent scholar and antiquary, was born at Uras in Kincardineshire, February 7, 1681. He was named Robert after the viscount of Arbuthnot, who had been suckled by his mother. His father, Alexander Keith, having died while he was only two years of age, the care of his education devolved upon his mother, a most exemplary woman, who spared no pains and no expense within the reach of a very limited income, to inculcate those lessons of virtue and religion, and that knowledge of letters which afterwards procured her son so much honourable distinction.

The bishop seems to have entertained, during his whole life, a deep sense of the obligations under which he lay to this amiable parent, and to have taken great pleasure in expressing it. Though in but indifferent circumstances in the

<sup>1</sup> The worthy bishop gives this anecdote as one related at his table by the celebrated Mr John Skinner, episcopal minister at Langside.



early period of his life, he was yet closely related to one of the most ancient and noble families in the kingdom, being lineally descended from Alexander, the youngest son of William, third earl Marischal.

When he had attained the age of seven years, his mother removed with him to Aberdeen, where he obtained the earlier part of his education. In 1703, he procured the situation of tutor to the young lord Keith and his brother, and in this employment he remained till 1710, when he was admitted to the order of deacons in the Scottish episcopal church, by Haliburton, (titular) bishop of Aberdeen; and in November following became domestic chaplain to Charles, earl of Errol, and his mother, the countess. Two years after, he accompanied his lordship to the baths of Aix-la-Chapelle, and had thus an opportunity of visiting some of the most celebrated towns and cities on the continent. Leaving the earl at Aix-la-Chapelle, he returned to England and landed at Dover, where he was compelled to remain for several months, in consequence of a severe illness, brought on by exposure during a violent storm which he had encountered in crossing the channel. On recovering sufficiently to enable him to undergo the fatigue of travelling, he set out for Edinburgh, where he arrived in February, 1713. He was shortly after this invited by a congregation of Scottish episcopalians in that city, to become their minister, and was accordingly raised to the priesthood by bishop Haliburton, on the 26th May, in the year just named. His talents and learning had already attracted some notice, and had procured for him a considerable degree of influence in the church to which he belonged, and of which he was always a steady, zealous, but rational supporter; for, although firmly attached to the faith in which he was educated, he was yet extremely liberal and tolerant in his religious sentiments. In June, 1727, he was raised to the episcopate, and was consecrated in Edinburgh by bishops Miller, Rattray, and Gadderar. He was, at the same time, intrusted with the superintendence of the district of Caithness, Orkney, and the Isles, and in 1733, was preferred to that of Fife.

For upwards of twenty years after this period, bishop Keith continued to exercise his duties in Edinburgh, filling a respectable, if not a dignified place in society, and employing his leisure, it would appear, chiefly in the compilation of those historical works which have transmitted his name to posterity. In a manuscript memoir by Mr Murray of Broughton, secretary to prince Charles Stuart—which the present writer has perused—it is clearly signified that, previous to the insurrection of 1745, the bishop corresponded on subjects relating to his depressed and suffering communion, with the court of the Pretender, and that the latter personage, as the supposed head of a supposed church, gave the *congé d'élire* necessary for the election of individuals to exercise the episcopal office.

The first historical work published by the bishop, appeared in 1734, in a folio form, under the title of a "History of the Affairs of Church and State in Scotland, from the beginning of the Reformation in the reign of James V., to the retreat of queen Mary into England." Though tinged here and there with high-church prejudices, the original narrative is a useful, and, upon the whole, a candid record of a very controverted part of our history; while the state documents quoted in the body of the work and at its close, have proved of incalculable service to every later writer upon the same subject. The list of subscribers prefixed to this work is highly curious, as being an almost complete muster-roll of the Jacobite nobility and gentry of the period: among the rest is the famous Rob Roy. In 1755, the bishop published his well-known "Catalogue of Scottish Bishops," which has also been a mine of valuable knowledge to later writers. The latter years of this venerable person appear to have been spent at a villa called Bonnyhaugh, on the banks of the water of Leith, which belonged to



himself. Here he died on the 20th of January, 1757, in the seventy-sixth year of his age. He was buried in the Canongate church-yard, a few feet from the wall on the western side, where a plain tomb-stone, inscribed simply with his name, has recently been erected.

Besides his eminent qualifications as an historian and antiquary, the subject of this notice possessed those of an acute and pains-taking genealogist, a study to which he was probably directed by the high value which he always attached to the dignity of his own descent, and which he was at much pains to establish. An instance of his tenacity in this particular, and of his peculiar talent for genealogical research, was exhibited in a dispute into which he entered with Mr Keith of Ravelstone, on the subject of the comparative proximity of their several families to the house of the earls Marischal.

On that occasion he printed a "Vindication of Mr Robert Keith, and of his young grand-nephew Alexander Keith, from the unfriendly representation of Mr Alexander Keith, jun. of Ravelston." In this vindication he not only succeeded in establishing his superior claims to the particular honour in dispute, but showed that he was also related to the dukes of Douglas and Hamilton. His reason for being at so much pains in vindicating the nobility of his descent, is thus spoken of in the document above alluded to: "For although he himself, (he speaks in the third person,) now in the close of the seventieth year of his age, and having only one daughter, might be pretty indifferent about any thing of this nature, yet he suspects his young grand-nephews, (for there are no less than three of them, Alexander, Robert, and John,) when they came of age, might reproach the memory of their uncle, and justly perhaps, for his not endeavouring to set their birth at right against so flagrant an attack, seeing the one was capable, and the others might not have the same means of knowing, or the same abilities to perform it."

The good bishop seems to have been no hoarder of money, for at his death he left only £450, while his colleague and assistant, died worth £3000.

KENNEDY, JAMES, bishop of St Andrews, was the younger of the two sons of James Kennedy of Dunure, and his wife, the countess of Angus, daughter of Robert III. king of Scotland. He was born about the year 1405 or 1406. The earlier part of his education he received at home, under the eye of his mother, and was afterwards, agreeably to the practice of the times, sent abroad to complete it. Being early destined to the church, the only road to preferment at that period, and the only profession, besides, worthy his dignified descent, he devoted himself to the study particularly of theology and the canon law; but, besides his acquirements in these departments of knowledge, he made a singular proficiency in the languages and other branches of learning, and was altogether looked upon as by far the most accomplished prelate of his day.

On his entering into holy orders, he was preferred (1437) by his uncle James I. to the see of Dunkeld. The good bishop was no sooner installed in his office than he set assiduously to work to reform abuses in the church, and to compel his vicars and parsons to a faithful discharge of their duties. He enjoined them to remain in their parishes, and to instruct their parishioners in the knowledge of religion, to preach to them regularly, and to visit, comfort, and encourage the sick. He himself visited all the churches within his diocese four times every year, preaching in each of them as he went along. On these occasions he never failed to inquire of the people if they were duly instructed by their pastors; if they had no complaints against them; whether their poor were properly cared for; and if their youth were brought up in the fear of God. Such were the pious labours of this excellent man at the outset of his career, and he never deviated from them during the whole of a long and active after-life. Finding



his own authority insufficient to enable him to accomplish all the good which he was desirous of doing, in reforming the abuses which had crept into the church, he went over to Florence to procure additional powers for this purpose from the pope, Eugenius IV. On this occasion his holiness, as a mark of his esteem for the worthy prelate, bestowed upon him the *commendam* of the abbacy of Leone.

On the death of Wardlaw, bishop of St Andrews, an event which happened on 6th April, 1440, Kennedy was chosen as his successor in that see; and to this new and more important charge, he brought all that activity and anxiety to do good which had distinguished him while he filled the bishopric of Dunkeld. He continued his efforts to reform the manners and practice of the clergy, and in 1446, set out on a second journey to Italy, to consult with and obtain the co-operation of the pope in his work of reformation. On this occasion he was accompanied by a train of thirty persons; for though moderate and temperate in all his pursuits and enjoyments, he was yet of an exceedingly liberal and generous disposition, and a scrupulous maintainer of the dignity of the sacred office which he held, and he had sufficient penetration to discover how much of this, as of all human dignities, depends upon extrinsic aids. His dislike of turbulence and anarchy, and his constant efforts to reconcile differences where they existed, and to discountenance oppression, and to restrain illegal power, rendered him peculiarly obnoxious to the house of Douglas, which, during the minority of James II., had nearly accomplished the total overthrow of the hereditary royalty of Scotland. In revenge of the part he took in restraining the power of that ambitious family, his lands were plundered by the earl of Crawford and Alexander Ogilvie of Inveraritie, at the instigation of the earl of Douglas, who had farther instructed them to seize, if possible, the person of the bishop, and to put him in irons. This fate he avoided by confining himself to his castle, the only mode of resistance which he thought consistent with his sacred character as a minister of religion. He was, however, eventually the means of reducing the power of the Douglasses within limits more consistent with the peace and safety of the kingdom. James II., almost driven from his throne by the increasing insolence and influence of the chief of that house, went in despair to St Andrews, to seek the counsel and advice of its able and amiable bishop. On the prince and prelate meeting, the former laid before him the desperate situation to which the growing power and daring effrontery of the earl of Douglas had reduced him. He informed him that he had learned that Douglas was mustering a large army either to dethrone him or drive him from the country; that he knew no means of resisting him, and was utterly at a loss what steps to take in this emergency. "Sir," replied the bishop, perceiving that the disconsolate king was exhausted with fatigue as well as depressed in spirits, "I entreat your grace to partake, in the mean time, of some refreshment, and while ye do so, I will pass into my chamber and pray to God for you and the commonwealth of this realm."

On retiring, as he had proposed, the good bishop fervently implored the interference of the Almighty in behalf of the unhappy prince, who, friendless and distracted, had sought his counsel and advice; and when the king had finished his repast, he came forth, and taking him by the hand, led him into the apartment in which he himself had been praying, and there they both knelt down and besought the guidance and assistance of Him who directs all things,—a scene than which it would not probably be easy to conceive anything more striking or interesting.

When they had concluded their devotions, the bishop proceeded to point out to the king such a mode of procedure as he deemed the most suitable to the circumstances. He advised the monarch immediately to issue proclamations, calling upon his subjects in the north to muster around his standard, which he afterwards



erected at St Andrews, and still more wisely, and as the issue showed, with a still better effect, proposed his offering pardon to all who, having previously attached themselves to the earl of Douglas, would now abandon his cause, and aid that of the king. The consequence was, that James soon found himself at the head of forty thousand men. The final muster took place at Stirling, and a battle, which was to decide whether a Douglas or a Stuart was to be king of Scotland, appeared to be at hand; for the former with an equal force was at that moment encamped on the south side of the Carron. But, while in the very act of advancing with his army to encounter the forces of the king, Douglas detected the effects of the amnesty proclaimed by James by the advice of the bishop of St Andrews. A spirit of disaffection and indications of doubt and wavering appeared in his ranks. Alarmed by these symptoms, he marched his army back to their encampment, hoping to restore their confidence in him by the following day, when he proposed again to march forth against the enemy. The result, however, was directly the reverse of what he had anticipated. The feeling which he expected to subdue, in place of subsiding, gained ground; so that in the morning, there were not a hundred men remaining of all Douglas's host. Finding himself thus suddenly deserted, the earl instantly fled; and in this manner fell the overgrown power of the house of Douglas,—a circumstance mainly, if not entirely attributable to the wisdom and energy of the bishop of St Andrews.

On the death of James II., bishop Kennedy was intrusted with the charge and education of his son, afterwards James III., then about seven years of age. His known wisdom, prudence, and integrity, pointed him out as the fittest person for this important duty, and on the same ground there was added to it a large share in the management of public affairs during the regency of the queen-mother. He had acquired an authority in the kingdom by the mere influence of his character, which few had ever attained by adventitious circumstances, and which no churchman had at any time before enjoyed; and he was thus enabled to accomplish more amongst a rude and barbarous people, than would have been yielded to the mere force of power or rank. The consequence was, that an unusual quietness and prosperity pervaded the whole kingdom during his administration. He enjoyed the confidence and good-will of all parties, and was no less esteemed for his probity, humanity, and wisdom, than admired for the splendour of his abilities; and so highly was his character appreciated, and so universal the satisfaction which his government afforded, that the chief management of public affairs was still left in his hands even after the death of the queen-mother, and remained with him until his own death, which took place on the 10th of May, 1466, an event which was widely and sincerely deplored.

Bishop Kennedy was not less remarkable for his munificence than for the other splendid qualities which composed his character. He founded the college at St Andrews, called St Salvator's, in honour of our Saviour, and endowed it with a fund for the maintenance of a provost, four regents, and eight poor scholars, or bursars, at an expense of about ten thousand pounds. He built a ship, which was afterwards known by the name of the Bishop's Barge, at a similar cost, and his tomb is said to have been equally expensive with the two former. In 1444, he was appointed chancellor of the kingdom, but this office he resigned in a few weeks afterwards, because he found it interfered with those projects for doing good in his clerical capacity, which he had resolved to follow out from the beginning of his career. He was, by his own desire, interred in the collegiate church of St Andrews, where his tomb is still shown, along with several silver maces which were found in it a few years ago.

KER, JOHN, third duke of Roxburgh, distinguished by his eminent bibliographical knowledge, and his extensive and valuable collection of books, was born



in Hanover Square, London, on the 23d April, 1740. He was the eldest son of Robert, the second duke, by Essex Mostyn, daughter of Sir Roger Mostyn, of Mostyn, in Kentshire, baronet. In 1755, he succeeded his father in the dukedom, to which was attached the British peerage of earl and baron Ker of Wakefield; and he appears to have soon after proceeded upon his travels on the continent. It is stated that, while in Germany, he formed an attachment to Christiana Sophia Albertina, eldest daughter of the duke of Mecklenburg Strelitz, and that their nuptials would have taken place, had not her sister Charlotte, just at that time, been espoused by the king of Great Britain. Etiquette then interfered, to prevent what would otherwise have been an equal and proper match, it being deemed improper that the elder should become the subject of the younger sister. Both parties, however, evinced the strength of their attachment, by devoting their after-lives to celibacy. It seems to have been to this event that Sir Walter Scott alludes, when he says of the duke:<sup>1</sup> "Youthful misfortunes, of a kind against which neither wealth nor rank possess a talisman, cast an early shade of gloom over his prospects, and gave to one splendidly endowed with the means of enjoying society, that degree of reserved melancholy, which prefers retirement to the splendid scenes of gayety." To whatever extent George III. might be the innocent cause of his grace's misfortune, it does not appear to have, in the least, marred a strong friendship which existed between them—"a tie of rare occurrence," Sir Walter Scott justly observes, "between prince and subject." In 1767, his grace was appointed a lord of the bed-chamber, and next year was invested with the order of the thistle. The former honour gave him a title to be much about the court; but he never farther engaged himself in a public career.

The taste which his grace imbibed to so extraordinary an extent for book-collecting, is stated by Sir Walter to have originated in an accidental circumstance. "Lord Oxford and lord Sunderland, both famous collectors of the time, dined one day at the house of the second duke of Roxburgh, when their conversation happened to turn upon the editio princeps of Boccaccio, printed at Venice in 1471, and so rare that its very existence was doubted of. The duke was himself no collector, but it happened that a copy of this very book had passed under his eye, and been offered to him for sale at a hundred guineas, then thought an immense price. It was, therefore, with complete assurance that he undertook to produce to the connoisseurs a copy of the treasure in question, and did so at the time appointed, with no small triumph. His son, then marquis of Beaumont, never forgot the little scene upon this occasion, and used to ascribe to it the strong passion which he ever afterwards felt for rare books and editions, and which rendered him one of the most assiduous and judicious collectors that ever formed a sumptuous library."

There can be no doubt, at the same time, that the duke chanced to possess that perseverance of character and genuine literary taste, without which such an impulse as this must have been of no avail. "Sylvan amusements," says Sir Walter, "occupied the more active part of his time when in Scotland; and in book-collecting, while residing in London, he displayed a degree of patience which has rarely been equalled, and never excelled. It could scarcely be said, whether the duke of Roxburgh's assiduity and eagerness were most remarkable, when he lay for hours together, though the snow was falling at the time, beside some lovely spring in the Cheviot hills, where he expected the precarious chance of shooting a wild goose, when the dawning should break; or when he toiled for hours, nay, for days, collecting and verifying his edition of the Black Acts, or Caxton's Boke of Troy."

<sup>1</sup> Quarterly Review, xliv. 416.



With the exception of singularly fortunate adventures in the procuring of old books, the duke's life passed on in an almost unvaried tenor, in the pursuits just alluded to. At his seat of Fleurs in Scotland, where he spent but a small portion of his time, he had a proportionately small library; but at his house in St James's Square, London, where he chiefly resided, he, in time, amassed the most valuable private library in the country. In 1796, he was appointed groom of the stable, and initiated a privy councillor, and in 1801 was honoured with the garter, which he was permitted to bear along with the thistle, a mark of honour conferred on no other subject since 1712, when the duke of Hamilton had the same distinction from queen Anne.<sup>2</sup> For upwards of forty years, he continued his book-collecting habits without intermission, being much aided during a great part of the time by Mr G. Nichol, bookseller to the king, whose services towards the excellent library collected by George III., and afterwards given by George IV. to the nation, were also very eminent. At length, on the 19th of March, 1804, the duke died of inflammation in the liver, at his house in London, in the 64th year of his age. He was buried at Bowden, near Melrose.

His library, at his death, consisted of upwards of ten thousand distinct articles, many of them of the greatest rarity and of high value, though it was understood that in many cases he had purchased them at comparatively low prices. It would be vain to pretend that his grace had made or could make a good use of such a vast mass of literature, much of it of an obsolete kind; yet, neither can there be any doubt that he read much of what he purchased, and seemed, upon the whole, to aim rather at gratifying an innate taste for letters, and a devout and worshipful regard for their brightest ornaments, than either for the pride of possessing so many curiosities, or the usual antiquarian appreciation of minute peculiarities in the *externe* of books.

Early English literature and the *Table Ronde* had been the chief objects of his research. Of the former he possessed not only the rarest, but, in point of condition, the most beautiful specimens in existence. He idolized the talents of Shakspeare and Cervantes, and collected every thing that could illustrate their works. Fifteen different editions of Shakspeare's complete works, with seventy-five separate plays in different editions, and fourteen distinct works respecting this great dramatic author, are to be found in the catalogue. In the poetical department of early English literature, he had a great collection; in which the most curious article was a very large assortment of ancient ballads and fugitive pieces of poetry in three volumes folio, which had been first formed for the library of the earl of Oxford, afterwards enlarged by major Pearson and Mr Isaac Reid, then increased to a great extent by the duke himself, and which brought, at the sale, no less than four hundred and seventy-seven pounds, fifteen shillings. The duke had also collected many ancient manuscripts, some of them splendidly illuminated; and it is mentioned, that he read these with great facility, as was testified by various remarks which he wrote upon them with his own hand. He had the largest and finest collection of the books printed by Caxton, in England. At his death he was in full pursuit of the English dramatic authors; and when the large collection he possessed is taken into account, along with the comparative briefness of the time during which he had directed his attention this way, his industry seems prodigious. He had an uncommon quantity of books and tracts relative to criminals, detections of witches, and other impostors. Mr Nichol, in the preface to the catalogue, says, "he had a particular pleasure

<sup>2</sup> No man could have borne these honours with more grace than the duke of Roxburgh, whose "lofty presence and felicitous address," according to Sir Walter Scott, "recalled the ideas of a court in which lord Chesterfield might have acted as master of the ceremonies."



in exercising those discriminating powers which he so eminently possessed, in tracing out the images by which the perverted ingenuity of the human mind often attempts to impose upon the credulity of its fellow creatures."

This splendid library was, after a long and distressing delay from litigation, brought to sale, in May, 1812; an event which may be said to have created more sensation than any other connected with literature during the present century—the disclosure of the Waverley secret alone excepted. Mr Dibdin, in his *Bibliographical Decameron*, has given an account of the proceedings, under the metaphorical semblance of a battle among the bibliomaniacs. He calls it *THE ROXBURGH FIGHT*; and to this record we must be indebted for the account of a transaction which it would be improper to overlook in this memoir.

"It would seem," says this facetious writer, "as if the year of our Lord 1811, was destined, in the annals of the book auctions, to be calm and quiescent, as a prelude and contrast to the tremendous explosion or contest which, in the succeeding year, was to rend asunder the bibliomaniacal elements. It is well known that Mr George Nichol had long prepared the catalogue of that extraordinary collection; and a sort of avant-courier or picquet guard preceded the march of the whole army, in the shape of a *preface*, privately circulated among the friends of the author. The publication of a certain work, cyleped the *Bibliomania*, had also probably stirred up the metal and hardened the sinews of the contending book-knights. At length the hour of battle arrived. \* \* \* For *two-and-forty* successive days—with the exception only of Sundays—was the voice and hammer of Mr Evans heard, with equal efficacy, in the dining-room of the late duke, which had been appropriated to the vendition of the books; and within that same space (some thirty-five feet by twenty,) were such deeds of valour performed, and such feats of book-heroism achieved, as had never been previously beheld: and of which the like will probably never be seen again. The shouts of the victors and the groans of the vanquished, stunned and appalled you as you entered. The throng and press, both of idle spectators and determined bidders, was unprecedented. A sprinkling of Caxtons and De Wordes marked the first day; and these were obtained at high, but comparatively with the subsequent sums given, moderate prices. *Theology, jurisprudence, philosophy, and philology*, chiefly marked the earlier days of this tremendous contest: and occasionally, during these days, there was much stirring up of courage, and many hard and heavy blows were interchanged; and the combatants may be said to have completely wallowed themselves in the conflict: At length came *poetry*, Latin, Italian, and French; a steady fight yet continued to be fought: victory seemed to hang in doubtful scales—sometimes on the one, sometimes on the other side of Mr Evans—who preserved throughout, (as it was his bounden duty to preserve,) a uniform, impartial, and steady course; and who may be said, on that occasion, if not to have 'rode the whirlwind,' at least to have 'directed the storm.' At length came *ENGLISH POETRY*!! and with that came the tug and trial of war: Greek met Greek: in other words, grandee was opposed to grandee; and the indomitable Atticus was compelled to retire, stunned by the repeated blows upon his helmet. The lance dropped from his hand, and a swimming darkness occasionally skimmed his view—for on that day, the *Waterloo* among book-battles, many a knight came far and wide from his retirement, and many an unfledged combatant left his father's castle to partake of the glory of such a contest. Among these knights from a 'far countree' no one shot his arrows with a more deadly effect than Astiachus! But it was reserved for Romulus to reap the greatest victories in that poetic contest! He fought with a choice body-guard; and the combatants seemed amazed at the perseverance and energy with which that body-guard dealt their death-blows around them!



"*Dramatic Poetry* followed ; what might be styled rare and early pieces connected with our ancient poetry ; but the combat now took a more tranquil turn : as after ' a smart brush ' for an *early Shakspeare* or two, Atticus and Coriolanus, with a few well known dramatic aspirants, obtained almost unmolested possession of the field.

" At this period, to keep up our important metaphor, the great *Roxburgh day* of battle had been somewhere half gone through, or decided. There was no disposition, however, on either side to relax from former efforts ; when (prepare for something terrific !) the *Romances* made their appearance ; and just at this crisis it was that more blood was spilt, and more ferocity exhibited, than had ever been previously witnessed."

We interrupt Mr Dibdin to mention, that the *great blow* of the day was struck for that volume which has been already alluded to, as purchased by the duke's father for a hundred guineas,—a volume of singular value, which Mr Nichol very properly intitles the most *notorious* in existence—the *Decameron* of Boccaccio, printed (folio) by Christopher Valdarfer at Venice in 1471, and supposed to be quite unique. " Mr Nichol, in his avant-courier of a preface," thus writes Mr Dibdin in a note, " had not a little provoked the bibliomaniacal appetites of his readers : telling them that ' in the class of Italian poets and novelists was the first edition of *Il Decamerone di Boccaccio*, 1471. This was certainly one of the scarcest, if not the very scarcest book, that existed. It has now for upwards of 300 years preserved its unicity, if that term be allowable.' It was also previously known that this very book had been a sort of bone of contention among the collectors in the reign of the two first Georges. Lord Sunderland had seen it, and lord Oxford had cast a longing eye thereupon ; but it was reserved for an ancestor of the duke of Roxburgh to secure it—for the gallant price of 100 guineas ! This purchase took place before the year 1740. \* \* I have a perfect recollection of this notorious volume, while in the library of the late duke. It had a faded yellow morocco binding, and was a sound rather than a fine copy. The expectations formed of the probable price for which it would be sold were excessive ; yet not so excessive as the price itself turned out to be. The marked champions were pretty well known beforehand to be the earl Spencer, the marquis of Blandford (now duke of Marlborough), and the duke of Devonshire. Such a rencontre, such a ' shock of fight,' naturally begot uncommon curiosity. My friends, Sir Egerton Bridges, Mr Lang, and Mr G. H. Freeling, did me the kindness to breakfast with me on the morning of the sale—and upon the conclusion of the repast, Sir Egerton's carriage conveyed us from Kensington to St James's Square.

———The morning lowered  
And heavily with clouds came on the day—  
Big with the fate of . . . and of . . .

In fact the rain fell in torrents, as we lighted from the carriage and rushed with a sort of impetuosity to gain seats to view the contest. The room was crowded to excess ; and a sudden darkness which came across gave rather an additional interest to the scene. At length the moment of sale arrived. Evans prefaced the putting up of the article by an appropriate oration, in which he expatiated upon its excessive rarity, and concluded by informing the company of the regret and even ' anguish of heart ' expressed by Mr Van Praet [librarian to the emperor Napoleon] that such a treasure was not to be found in the imperial collection at Paris. Silence followed the address of Mr Evans. On his right hand, leaning against the wall, stood earl Spencer : a little lower down, and standing at right angles with his lordship, appeared the marquis of Blandford. Lord Al-



thorp stood a little backward to the right of his father, earl Spencer. Such was 'the ground taken up' by the adverse hosts. The honour of firing the first shot was due to a gentleman of Shropshire, unused to this species of warfare, and who seemed to recoil from the reverberation of the report himself had made!—"One hundred guineas," he exclaimed. Again a pause ensued; but anon the biddings rose rapidly to 500 guineas. Hitherto however, it was evident that the firing was but masked and desultory. At length all random shots ceased; and the champions before named stood gallantly up to each other, resolving not to flinch from a trial of their respective strengths.

"*A thousand guineas*' were bid by earl Spencer—to which the marquis added '*ten*.' You might have heard a pin drop. All eyes were turned—all breathing well nigh stopped—every sword was put home within its scabbard—and not a piece of steel was seen to move or to glitter, except that which each of these champions brandished in his valorous hand. See, see!—they parry, they lunge, they bet: yet their strength is undiminished, and no thought of yielding is entertained by either. *Two thousand pounds* are offered by the marquis. Then it was that earl Spencer, as a prudent general, began to think of a useless effusion of blood and expenditure of ammunition—seeing that his adversary was as resolute and 'fresh' as at the onset. For a quarter of a minute he paused: when my lord Althorp advanced one step forward, as if to supply his father with another spear for the purpose of renewing the contest. His countenance was marked by a fixed determination to gain the prize—if prudence, in its most commanding form, and with a frown of unusual intensity of expression, had not bade him desist. The father and son for a few seconds converse apart; and the biddings are resumed. '*Two thousand two hundred and fifty pounds*' said lord Spencer! The spectators were now absolutely electrified. The marquis quietly adds his usual '*ten*,' \* \* and there is an *end of the contest*. Mr Evans, ere his hammer fell made a due pause—and indeed, as if by something preternatural, the ebony instrument itself seemed to be charmed or suspended 'in the mid air.' However, at length, down dropped the hammer. \* \* \* The spectators," continues Mr Dibdin in his text, "stood aghast! and the sound of Mr Evans' prostrate sceptre of dominion reached, and resounded from, the utmost shores of Italy. The echo of that fallen hammer was heard in the libraries of Rome, of Milan, and St Mark. Boccaccio himself started from his slumber of some five hundred years; and Mr Van Praet rushed, but rushed in vain, amidst the royal book-treasures at Paris to see if a copy of the said *l'aldarfer Boccaccio* could there be found! The price electrified the bystanders, and astounded the public!"<sup>3</sup>

"What boots it to recount minutely the various achievements which marked the conclusion of the *Roxburgh contest*, or to describe in the manner of Sterne, the melancholy devastations which followed that deathless day? The battle languished towards its termination [rather, we suspect, from a failure of ammunition than of valour or spirit on the part of the combatants]; but notwithstanding, there was oftentimes a disposition manifested to resume the glories of the earlier part of the day—and to show that the spirit of bibliomania was not made of poor and perishable stuff. Illustrious be the names of the book-heroes, who both conquered and fell during the tremendous conflict just de-

<sup>3</sup> The marquis's triumph was marked by a plaudit of hands, and presently after he offered his hand to lord Spencer, saying, "We are good friends still!" His lordship replied, "Perfectly, indeed I am obliged to you." "So am I to you," said the marquis; "so the obligation is mutual." He declared that it was his intention to have gone as far as £5000. The noble marquis had previously possessed a copy of the same edition, wanting five leaves; "for which five leaves," lord S. remarked, "he might be said to have given £2600."



scribed! And let it be said, that John duke of Roxburgh both deserved well of his country and the book cause."

Mr Dibdin gives many other instructive particulars respecting this sale. He mentions that the duke's library occupied a range of apartments in the second floor of his house; and in a room adjoining, and into which the library opened, "slept and died" the illustrious collector himself. "All his migrations," says Mr Dibdin, "were confined to these two rooms. When Mr Nichol showed me the very bed upon which this bibliomaniacal duke had expired, I felt—as I trust I ought to have felt, upon the occasion!" He also informs us that a gentleman who bought many articles was generally understood to be an agent of the emperor Napoleon, but at last turned out to have been a secret emissary of the duke of Devonshire. A letter which he received from Sir Walter Scott on the occasion of this sale, is too characteristic to be omitted. "The Roxburgh sale," says the author of *Marmion*, "sets my teeth on edge. But if I can trust mine eyes, there are now twelve masons at work on a cottage and offices at this little farm, which I purchased last year. Item, I have planted thirty acres, and am in the act of walling a garden. Item, I have a wife and four bairns crying, as our old song has it, 'porridge ever mair.' So, on the whole, my teeth must get off the edge, as those of the fox with the grapes in the fable. *Abbotsford, by Melrose, 3rd May, 1812.*"

It would be improper, in a memoir of the duke of Roxburgh, to omit a circumstance so honourable to his name as the formation of the society called the "Roxburgh." "The number of noblemen and gentlemen," says Sir Walter Scott,<sup>4</sup> "distinguished by their taste for this species of literature, who assembled there [at the sale] from day to day, and lamented or boasted the event of the competition, was unexampled; and in short the concourse of attendants terminated in the formation of a society of about thirty amateurs, having the learned and amiable earl Spencer at their head, who agreed to constitute a club, which should have for its object of union the common love of rare and curious volumes, and should be distinguished by the name of that nobleman, at the dispersion of whose library the proposal had taken its rise, and who had been personally known to most of the members. We are not sure whether the publication of rare tracts was an original object of their friendly re-union, or, if it was not, how and when it came to be engrafted thereupon. Early, however, after the formation of the Roxburgh Club, it became one of its rules, that each member should present the society, at such time as he might find most convenient, with an edition of a curious manuscript, or the reprint of some ancient tract, the selection being left at the pleasure of the individual himself. These books were to be printed in a handsome manner, and uniformly, and were to be distributed among the gentlemen of the club. \* \* \* \* Under this system, the Roxburgh Club has proceeded and flourished for many years, and produced upwards of forty reprints of scarce and curious tracts, among which many are highly interesting, not only from their value, but also their intrinsic merit."

It remains only to be added, that this association has been the model of several others in different parts of the world. We are aware, at least, of La Société des Biblioglyphes in Paris, and the Bannatyne, Maitland, and Abbotsford Clubs in our own country. Such institutions show that a taste for literary antiquities is extending amongst us; yet it must also be stated, that the desire of forming libraries such as that of the duke of Roxburgh is much on the decline, and that if his grace's stock had been brought to the hammer in our own day, it would have neither created the sensation which it did create, nor brought such "astounding" prices.

<sup>4</sup> Quarterly Review, xliv. 417.



KER, ROBERT, earl of Ancrum, a nobleman of literary accomplishment, and the direct ancestor of the present noble family of Lothian, was descended from a third son of Sir Andrew Ker of Ferniehurst, and entered public life as laird of Ancrum in Roxburghshire. He was born about the year 1578, and succeeded to the family estate in 1590, on the death of his father, who was assassinated by his kinsman, Robert Ker, younger of Cessford. He was cousin to the famous, or rather infamous Robert Ker, the favourite of James VI., and who was raised by that prince to the title of earl of Somerset. The subject of this memoir appears to have also been honoured, at an early period of life, with court favour. Soon after the king's accession to the English throne, he is observed to occupy a considerable station in the household of prince Henry, which was, perhaps, more splendid, and consisted of more persons than the present royal household. He afterwards was employed about the person of prince Charles, who became his patron through life. By the mediation of this prince, a match was effected between Sir Robert and the lady Anne Stanley, daughter of the earl of Derby.

In 1620, Sir Robert was involved in a fatal quarrel by a young man named Charles Maxwell, who insulted him, without the least provocation, as he was entering the palace at Newmarket. In a duel, which followed, Sir Robert killed his antagonist; and, although the friends of the deceased are said to have acquitted him of all blame, so strict were the rules established by the king for the prevention and punishment of duels, that he was obliged to fly to Holland, where he remained about a year. During his exile, he employed himself in the collection of pictures, for which, like his royal master, he had a good taste: those which he brought with him on his return, were eventually presented to the prince. He was also distinguished by his literary taste. In Drummond's works there are a letter and sonnet which he addressed, in 1624, to that poet, and which breathe an amiable and contemplative spirit. The latter is as follows:

A SONNET IN PRAISE OF A SOLITARY LIFE.

SWEET solitary life! lovely, dumb joy,  
 That need'st no warnings how to grow more wise  
 By other men's mishaps, nor the annoy  
 Which from sore wrongs done to one's self doth rise.  
 The morning's second mansion, truth's first friend,  
 Never acquainted with the world's vain broils,  
 Where the whole day to our own use we spend,  
 And our dear time no fierce ambition spoils.  
 Most happy state, that never takest revenge  
 For injuries received, nor dost fear  
 The court's great earthquake, the grieved truth of change,  
 Nor none of falsehood's savoury lies dost hear;  
 Nor knows hope's sweet disease that charms our sense,  
 Nor its sad cure—dear-bought experience!

R. K. A.

On the accession of Charles to the throne, in 1625, Sir Robert Ker was one of the friends who experienced his favour. He was in that year constituted a gentleman of the bed-chamber, and in June, 1633, when the king was in Scotland at his coronation, he was elevated to the peerage, under the title of earl of Ancrum. Previous to this period, his son William, by his first wife Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Murray of Blackbarony, had married his relative, Anne, countess of Lothian in her own right, and had been, by the king, en-



dowed with a full participation of that title. It was therefore arranged, in the patent granted to the subject of this memoir, that his own title should descend to the children of his second marriage. He thus enjoyed the singular honour of being father of two peers.

Unlike many other persons who owed every thing to this prince, the earl of Ancrum continued his steady adherent during the whole of his troubles; though he was unable to prevent his eldest son, the earl of Lothian, from acting one of the most conspicuous parts on the opposite side. On the death of Charles, his lordship took refuge in Holland, where he spent the remainder of his days in solitary afflictions and poverty, and died in 1654, in the seventy-sixth year of his age. His title was inherited by his son Charles, but ultimately merged in that of Lothian. In Park's edition of Walpole's *Royal and Noble Authors*, there is a beautiful portrait of his lordship, assigning him a thoughtful and strongly-marked countenance, and apparently done in old age.

KERR, ROBERT, a miscellaneous writer, was born in the year 1755.<sup>1</sup> He was the son of Mr James Kerr of Bughtridge, jeweller in Edinburgh, convener of the trades and M.P. for the city, which honours he held at the same time,<sup>2</sup> by Elizabeth, daughter of lord Charles Kerr, second son of Robert, first marquis of Lothian. Mr Kerr was educated at the High school and university of Edinburgh; and having qualified himself to act as a surgeon, entered into business as partner with an aged practitioner named Wardrope, whose daughter he subsequently married. He had the misfortune to be very lame in one of his limbs, which caused him to sink greatly to one side in walking. His first literary effort was a translation of Lavoisier's *Elements of Chemistry*, published in 1789, in which year he also gave to the world a version of Berthollet's *Essay on the New Method of Bleaching by means of Muriatic Acid and Oxygen*. The approbation with which these publications were received, induced him to commence a translation of Linnæus's *Zoological System*; two volumes of which were published, (4to) in 1792, but which did not meet with so much success as to tempt him to proceed with the rest. Having failed with the dry classifications of the Swedish philosopher, he commenced a translation of the more popular work of Buffon on *Oviparous Quadrupeds and Serpents*, the first volume of which appeared in 1793, and the fourth and last in 1800. The execution of these translations was highly extolled in the reviews of the time, and caused Mr Kerr to be respectfully known in the world of letters.

The political predilections of this gentleman being decidedly whiggish, he published in 1794, a pamphlet, entitled "A Vindication of the Friends of Freedom from the aspersion of Disloyalty;" being designed, as its name imports, to prove that the liberality of his party was not inconsistent with a steady attach-

<sup>1</sup> The exact place of his birth is not known; but it was a mansion in Roxburghshire, near the Cheviot hills, where his mother happened to be on a visit at the time. The usual residence of his parents was in Edinburgh.

<sup>2</sup> An intimate friend of Mr Robert Kerr, supplies us with the following information respecting his father:—

"Mr James Kerr was the son of a jeweller in the Parliament Square, Edinburgh, whose shop was attached to the walls of the old cathedral of St Giles; the first on the right hand in going into the square. The house occupied by this person was a mere cellar under the shop, and partly projecting below the adjacent pavement, from which its sole light was derived by means of a grating. In consequence of the family, which was very numerous, being brought up in this miserable and unhealthy hovel, they all died in infancy, except the father of the author, whose life was saved by his being removed to more roomy accommodations on the opposite side of the square. Mr James Kerr was the last citizen who had the honour to represent the city in parliament. It may be mentioned that he was one of the jury on the famous trial of Carnegie of Finhaven, for the murder of the earl of Strathmore in 1728, when, through the persuasive eloquence of the first lord president Dundas, then at the bar, and counsel for the prisoner, the jury recognized the liberty of Scotland, by resuming the right to judge not only of the naked fact, but of the fact and the law conjunctively."



ment to the existing monarchical form of government. The prevailing tone of his mind was political, and he used to argue on topics which interested him with great ardour and even enthusiasm, insomuch that he often appeared suffering from passion when he was not.

In the year 1794, Mr Kerr was induced to embark his fortune, which was not inconsiderable, in the purchase and management of a paper-mill at Ayton in Berwickshire. The speculation, after a trial of several years, turned out unfortunately, and reduced him in the latter part of life to circumstances very inconsistent with his merits, either as a man or as an author. These circumstances, however, renewed his exertions in literature, after they had been long intermitted. In 1809, he published a *General View of the Agriculture of Berwickshire*, and in 1811, *Memoirs of Mr William Smellie*, and a *History of Scotland during the reign of Robert Bruce*, both of which last were in two volumes octavo. About the same time, he conducted through the press, for Mr Blackwood, a *General Collection of Voyages and Travels*, in eighteen volumes octavo. The memoirs of Mr Smellie, though disproportioned to the subject, contain much valuable literary anecdote. Mr Kerr's last work was a translation of Cuvier's *Essay on the Theory of the Earth*, which was published in 1815 (after his death), with an introduction and notes by professor Jamieson. The event just alluded to took place on the 11th of October, 1813, when he was about fifty-eight years of age. He left one son, a captain in the navy, and two daughters, both of whom were married.

Mr Kerr was a kind and warm-hearted man, liberal and honourable in his dealings, possessed of extensive information, and in every respect an ornament to society.

KIRKALDY, WILLIAM, one of the earliest converts to the protestant faith in Scotland, and a brave and accomplished man, was the eldest son of Sir James Kirkaldy of Grange, high treasurer to James V. of Scotland.<sup>1</sup> Of the period of his birth and the method of his education we have been unable to discover any satisfactory information; but like the greater number of the Scottish barons at that time, he seems to have chosen, or to have been devoted by his parents, to the profession of arms. At the death of James, his father seems to have lost his situation in the government; yet with a view of procuring that nobleman's assistance to the cause of protestantism, he was one of the most active assistants in raising Arran to the regency; but in the hope he had formed, he was to a considerable extent disappointed.

Young Grange, as well as his father, had embraced the principles of the Reformation; and his first appearance in the historic page is as one of the conspirators against the persecutor, cardinal David Beaton. The circumstances of this renowned conspiracy are well known to the readers of history, and have already been commemorated in these pages. The conspirators, who, for some time after they had performed their zealous act in the cause of their creed, are said to have spent the period of their dangerous residence in the castle of St Andrews in riot and debauchery, surrendered themselves after a siege to a French force in the end of July or the beginning of August, 1546. It was stipulated that the lives of all that were in the castle should be spared; that they should be transported to France, whence, if they did not choose to continue in that country, they were to be transported to whatever other country they chose, Scotland excepted. The victors, however, did not find it necessary or convenient to attend to the terms of the stipulation; the greater part of the garrison were sent to the gal-

<sup>1</sup> The facts in this article are in general taken from the memoir of Kirkaldy of Grange by Mr Graham Dalziel, a gentleman who has been so minute in his investigations that it would be difficult to find a fact of importance omitted by him.



leys, and the leaders immured in different dungeons. Norman Leslie, Peter Carmichael, and the subject of this memoir, were imprisoned in Mount St Michael, where they lay a considerable time. From this place they wrote a letter to John Knox, who was in the galleys, asking the somewhat superfluous question whether they might not with a good conscience break their prison. To this Knox naturally answered in the affirmative, with the proviso, that they were not morally entitled to shed blood in the attempt.

Embracing the opportunity of a festival night, when the garrison were intoxicated, they bound every man in the castle, locked the doors, and departed, having, it is said, strictly adhered to the humane recommendation of Knox. The two Leslies came to Rohan, and speedily escaped; but Kirkaldy and Peter Carmichael, disguised as beggars, wandered through the country for upwards of a quarter of a year; at the termination of which period they got on board a French ship, which landed them in the west of Scotland, whence they found their way into England.

Kirkaldy appears to have spent a considerable portion of the ensuing period of his life in France, where he entered the army, and was distinguished as a brave and skilful soldier in the wars between the French king and the emperor Charles V. Sir James Melville informs us, that in these wars he commanded a hundred light horsemen; and for his useful services, received the commendation of the duke of Vendome, the prince of Condé, and the duke of Aumale. Henry II., he adds, used to point him out and say, "Yonder is one of the most valiant men of our age." Henry indeed seems to have used him with the most endearing familiarity, and in all the pastimes which he attended, is said to have chosen Grange as a supporter of his own side, in their mimic battles; while, according to the same writer, who is always circumstantial in recording the honours paid to a Scotsman, the great constable of France would never speak to him uncovered. We are not aware of the exact date of his return to Scotland, but we find him in that country in the year 1559.

During the border wars of this period, an incident occurred peculiarly characteristic of the chivalrous temper of Kirkaldy, which is otherwise remarkable as being the latest "passage of arms" which has been handed down to us, described with all the minute "pomp and circumstance" of Froissart. Lindsay of Pittscottie, who describes the circumstance, tells us, that lord Evers's brother desired to fight with Kirkaldy "ane singular combatt upone horseback with speares." Sir William was "very weill content" with such a species of amusement, and consented to meet the challenger on any spot he might prefer. The lord Evers's brother was attended by the governor of Berwick and his whole garrison, while Kirkaldy was waited on by "Monseor Doswell (Mons. d' Oswell?), the king of France lieftennent," with the garrison of Heymouth, and other Scottish gentlemen. In bringing the opposing armies so near each other, and within view of example so seducing, it was necessary to "decerne under paine of treasoun, that no man should come near the championes, be the space of ane flight shot." Each of the champions had a squire to bear his spear, there were two trumpeters to sound the charge, and after the most approved method, two lords were appointed as judges of the field, "to sie the matter finished." "And when all things war put to ordour, and the championes horsed, and their speirs in their hands, then the trumpeters sounded, and the heralds cryed, and the judges let them go, and they ran together very furiously on both sides, bot the laird of Grange ran his adversar, the Inglisman, throw his shoulder blaid, and aff his hors, and was woundit deadlie, and in perill of his lyff; but quhiddir he died or lived I cannot tell,<sup>2</sup> bot the laird of Grange wan the victorie that day."

<sup>2</sup> Lindsay of Pittscottie, ii. 524.



Kirkaldy became after this incident actively engaged in the cause of the Reformation. When the French troops arrived to subdue Scotland, and by means of the popish faction reduce it to a province of France, no man stood firmer to the interests of his country, and in the first encounter he is said to have slain the first man with his own hand. To the French, who were aware of his bravery and military skill, he was particularly obnoxious, and in one of their inroads through Fife they razed his house of Grange to the foundation. Naturally exasperated at such an act, Kirkaldy sent a defiance to the French commander; reproached him for his barbarity, and reminded him of the many Frenchmen whom he had saved when engaged in quarrels not his own. The commander, less chivalrous than Grange, paid no regard to the communication; and the latter took vengeance by waylaying a party of marauders, and cutting them off to a man. During this invasion of Fife by the French, he had a mere handful of men, and these were but poorly provided, yet he retarded the powerful and well-appointed troops of France at every village and at every field, disputing as it were, every inch of ground, and making them purchase at a ruinous price every advantage.

In common with all the wise and good among his countrymen, Kirkaldy was convinced of the danger of the French alliance, and of the far superior advantages which might be derived from a connexion with England, which by a barbarous and ignorant policy had been always overlooked or despised, and he contributed materially to the formation of that friendship which subsisted between the ministers of Elizabeth and the Scottish reformers, without which, it may be doubted if the reformation of that country could have been effected. In the contests that arose between Mary and her subjects, while it must be admitted that his correspondence with the English was clandestine, contrary to the law, and not perhaps dictated by motives quite purely patriotic, he steadily adhered to the popular cause. Kirkaldy was among the number of the adherents of Moray, who on the temporary success of the queen, were compelled in 1565, to take refuge or "banish themselves" in England, and the criminal record shows us some instances of barbarous punishment denounced on those who had intercourse with them, as "intercommuning with rebels."<sup>3</sup>

When after her unhappy marriage and flight to Dunbar, she returned with an army to meet the lords who had entered into a confederation for the preservation of the prince, Grange was one of the most active and influential among them, having the command of two hundred horse, with which he intended at Carberry hill, by a stratagem, to have seized upon the earl of Bothwell, which he hoped would have been the means of putting an end to the contest between the queen and her subjects. The queen, however, who highly respected him, perceiving the approach of the troop, and understanding that he was their leader, requested to speak with him, which prevented the attempt being made. While he was in this conference with the queen, Bothwell called forth a soldier to shoot him, who was in the very act of taking aim, when the queen perceiving him, gave a sudden scream, and exclaimed to Bothwell, that he surely would not disgrace her so far as to murder a man who stood under her protection. With that frank honesty which was natural to him, Kirkaldy told her that it was of absolute necessity, if she ever expected to enjoy the services and the confidence of her subjects, that she should abandon Bothwell, who was the murderer of her husband, and who could never be a husband to her, having been so lately married to the sister of the earl of Huntly. Bothwell, who stood near enough to overhear part of this colloquy, offered to vindicate himself by single combat, from the charge of any one who should accuse him of murdering the

<sup>3</sup> Pitcairn's Crim. Trials, i. (p. i.) 466, 478.



king. Grange told him he should have a speedy answer ; and returning to the lords, found little difficulty in persuading them of the propriety of his accepting the challenge, which he did without hesitation. Bothwell, however, thought it prudent to decline, on the plea that Kirkaldy being only a baron, was not his equal. To the laird of Tullibardine he objected on the same ground. The lord Lindsay then came forward, whom he could not refuse on the score of inequality ; but he finally declined to engage. The queen then sent again for Grange, and proposed surrendering herself to the lords. Bothwell, in the mean time, made his escape. The queen holding out her hand, Kirkaldy kissed it, and taking her horse by the bridle turned him about, and led her down the hill. This was almost the full measure of Mary's humiliation, which was accomplished by her entry into Edinburgh amidst the execrations of the rabble. The lords, (particularly Kirkaldy) were still willing to treat her with kindness, if she could have been prevailed on to abandon Bothwell. The same night, however, she wrote a letter to him, calling him " her dear heart, whom she should never forget nor abandon, though she was under the necessity of being absent from him for a time ;" adding, that she had sent him away only for his own safety, and willing him to be comforted, and to be watchful and take care of himself. This letter falling into the hands of the lords, convinced them that her passion for Bothwell was incurable ; and they determined to secure her in Lochleven. Grange alone wished to excuse her, and hoped that gentle usage might yet reclaim her ; but they showed him her letter to Bothwell which had fallen into their hands, which left him no room to speak more on her behalf. The queen, in the mean time, sent him a letter, lamenting her hard usage, and complaining of broken promises. He wrote to her in return, stating what he had already attempted in her behalf, and how his mouth had been stopped by her letter to Bothwell ; " marvelling that her majesty considered not that the said earl could never be her lawful husband, being so lately before married to another, whom he had deserted without any just ground, even though he had not been so hated for the murder of the king her husband. He therefore requested her to dismiss him entirely from her mind, seeing otherwise that she could never obtain the love or respect of her subjects, nor have that obedience paid her which otherwise she might expect."

His letter contained many other loving and humble admonitions which made her bitterly to weep. Eager to free the queen and the nation of Bothwell, Grange most willingly accepted the command of two small vessels that had been fitted up from Morton's private purse (for Bothwell had not left a sufficient sum for the purpose in the Scottish treasury), with which he set sail towards Orkney, whither it was reported Bothwell had fled. He was accompanied by the laird of Tullibardine and Adam Bothwell, bishop of Orkney. Bothwell having made his escape from Orkney, was pursued by Grange to the coast of Norway, where, at the moment when they had almost overtaken the fugitive, the impetuosity of Kirkaldy, who called on the mariners to hoist more sail than the vessel was able to carry, lost them their prize, and they were wrecked on a sand bank. Bothwell escaped in a small boat to the shore, leaving his ship and his servants a prey to Kirkaldy. This unhappy man fled to Denmark, and the method of his end is too well known to be repeated.

The regent Moray was in the mean time establishing order and tranquillity generally through the country. The king, an infant, had been crowned at Stirling, and his authority in the person of the regent very generally acknowledged, when the queen, making her escape from Lochleven, and putting herself into the hands of the Hamiltons, created new and serious calamities. The regent being at that time in Glasgow, holding his justice-eyre, was just



at hand, and meeting with the queen and her followers at Langside, on the way for Dumbarton castle, gave them, though they were far more in number than all the king's friends that he could muster, an entire overthrow. The regent led the battle himself, assisted by Grange, who being an experienced soldier, was appointed to oversee the whole battle; to ride to every wing, and to encourage and make help wherever it was most required. The dispositions of the regent were excellent, and his followers behaved with great courage; so that the victory was soon won, and there being few horsemen to pursue, and the regent calling out to save and not to kill, there were not many taken or killed; the greatest slaughter, according to Sir James Melville, being at the first rencounter by the shot of some troops that were planted behind the dykes at the head of the lane leading up to the village.

Having taken the command of the castle of Edinburgh from Sir James Balfour, the regent bestowed it upon Grange, who appears to have had the principal direction of affairs during the time that Moray through the intrigues of the queen's faction was called up to the conferences at York. Lethington, subtle, restless, and changeable, had by this time changed to the queen's side, whom he almost openly owned during the time of these conferences, and he had imposed upon the unsuspecting disposition of Grange, enticing him into a kind of doubtful neutrality, which had an unhappy influence upon the public cause, and ended fatally for Grange himself. Lethington and Sir James Balfour having been both at last arrested under an accusation of having been concerned in the king's murder, Grange took them into his own hands, and protected them in the castle, which he refused to deliver up to the regent. On the murder of the regent Moray in 1570, it did not immediately appear what party Grange would embrace. It was evident, however, that for some time previous to this event he had leaned to the side of the queen, and the castle of Edinburgh in a short time became the resort and general rendezvous of all who opposed the party of the prince.

The earl of Lennox succeeding to the regency was supported by Elizabeth, who sent an army into Scotland for that purpose, and to retaliate upon some of the border chieftains, who had made inroads into the English territories, particularly Buccleugh and Fernihurst. Grange, in the mean time, by the orders of the queen's faction, who now assembled parliaments of their own, liberated all those who had been formerly given him in charge as prisoners, for their opposition to the king in the person of the regent. These, dispersing themselves over the country, some pretending to be employed in a civil, and others in a military capacity, carried dissension and rebellion along with them, to the entire ruin of the miserable inhabitants. Lord Seaton, to intimidate the citizens of Edinburgh, who in general leaned to the side of the king, assembled his vassals at Holyrood house, while the Hamiltons, with the whole strength of their faction, assembled at Linlithgow, when they made a sudden and unexpected attack upon the castle of Glasgow, the residence of Lennox the regent. Coming upon the place by surprise, they gained the court, and set fire to the great hall; but they were soon repulsed, and the approach of the king's army, a principal part of which was English, compelled them to raise the siege. The Hamiltons suffered most severely on this occasion, their lands in Clydesdale being ravaged, Cadzow plundered, and the town of Hamilton, with the seat of the Hamiltons, burned to the ground. Nor did this suffice; they also burned the house of the duke of Chatellherault in Linlithgow, the palace of Kinnoull, the house of Pardovan, and Bynie, Kincavil, and the chapel of Livingston.

Grange, meanwhile, acting somewhat dubiously, and not supporting the extreme measures of either of the parties, was confounded to see a foreign foe in



the heart of the kingdom, and Mary's friends used with such extreme rigour; and afraid of being entrapped himself, began to fortify the castle with all haste, and lay in every thing necessary for a siege. Lennox, in the mean time, summoned an army in the king's name to attend him, with twenty days' provision, and to complete his equipments, he applied to Grange for some field-pieces. The request was, however, refused, under a pretence that he would not be accessory to the shedding of blood. The purpose of this armament was to interfere with a parliament which the queen's party intended to have held at Linlithgow, which it effectually accomplished; and on the following month (October) Lennox held one for the king in Edinburgh. The insignia of royalty being supposed necessary to the legality of parliaments, they were demanded from Grange, who flatly refused them, and from that time forth he was regarded as determinedly hostile to that cause for which he had done and suffered so much. Through the mediation of Elizabeth, however, who was at the time amusing Mary and her friends with proposals for restoring her to some part of her authority, a cessation of hostilities was agreed upon for two months, which being renewed, was continued till the succeeding April, 1571.

The truce, however, was not strictly observed by either of the parties. Fortresses were taken and retaken on both sides oftener than once, and in the month of April, Dumbarton castle, reckoned impregnable, was taken by surprise by the friends of the regent, who, on a sentence of forfeiture in absence, hanged Hamilton, archbishop of St Andrews, who had taken refuge in the place. Alarmed at the fate of Dumbarton, Grange repaired the walls of the castle, cut away all the prominences on the rock, and smoothed the banks to prevent the possibility of an escalade. He also prepared the steeple of St Giles for receiving a battery, and carried away the ordnance belonging to the town. His brother James at the same time arrived from France with "ten thousand crowns of gold, some murrions, corslets, hagbuts, and wine, whilk was saiflie convoyit from Leyth be the horsemen and soldiers of the town." All men who favoured not the queen were now commanded to leave the town, and even his old tried friend and fellow sufferer, John Knox, was obliged to quit his place, which was supplied by Alexander, bishop of Galloway. The regent's soldiers, however, took possession of some ruinous houses close to the walls, whence they annoyed the town. There was now an end to all business; public worship ceased, and there was nothing to be heard but the thundering of artillery. The queen's party had now, however, the pride of also holding a parliament in Edinburgh, which declared the demission of Mary null; forbade any innovation to be made in the presbyterian religion; and after two or three hours deliberation, rode in procession from the Canongate to the castle, having the regalia borne before it. Prayers for the queen were ordered by this meeting, and all who omitted them were forbidden to preach. During these proceedings, there were daily skirmishes on the streets, and the regent still kept possession of Holyrood house. In the month of August in this year, an envoy arrived from the king of France, with money, arms, and ammunition for Grange; but the money fell into the hands of the regent. In the ensuing month, Grange laid a plan for seizing the regent at Stirling, and bringing him safe to the castle, which failed of success only through the imprudence of those who conducted it. The regent was actually made a prisoner, and on the road for Edinburgh, when, principally through the valour of Morton, he was rescued, but shot by one of the party, when they saw they could not carry him away. David Spens of Wormiston, who had him in charge, and used every endeavour to save him, was also shot in revenge, though the wounded regent attempted to protect him. This was unfortunate for Grange. Mar was immediately elected regent; a man of far higher merit, and much



more respected than Lennox, and in still greater favour with the ministers of Elizabeth; and he in the end proved too strong for the misled, though patriotic Grange. The war now assumed the most ferocious character. Morton destroyed the whole of Grange's property in Fife. Grange, on the same day retaliated by burning Dalkeith; and for upwards of two months they reciprocally hanged their prisoners.

The distress of the town and the surrounding districts now became extreme; the poor were turned without the gates, and the empty houses pulled down and sold for fuel; a stone weight being sold for what would purchase a peck of meal. Through the mediation of the English and French ambassadors, an armistice was at last agreed to, and all the differences between Morton and Grange nearly made up. Through the intrigues of Maitland, however, who had gained an extraordinary influence over him, Grange rose in his demands, and nothing was accomplished further than a renewal of the truce. In the mean time Mar, who was a sincere, good man, and truly devoted to the public interests, died, and was succeeded by Morton, a man of great address, and the mortal enemy of Maitland. He too, however, professed to desire peace, and offered the same terms as Mar. Grange was to deliver up the castle in six months, and a convention was called to consider the means of effecting a double peace. Both parties were at the same time attempting to over-reach each other. Morton thirsted for the wealthy estates of some of the queen's adherents; and the queen's adherents wanted to gain time, in the hope of procuring effectual aid from France. The Hamiltons, Huntly, Argyle, and their followers, were now weary of the war; and in a meeting at Perth accepted of the terms offered by Morton, and, according to Sir James Melville, abandoned Grange, who would willingly have accepted the same terms; but from that time forth Morton would not permit the offers to be mentioned to him. The day of the truce had no sooner expired than a furious cannonade was commenced by Grange on the town from the castle. He also shortly after, on a stormy night, set fire to the town, and kept firing upon it to prevent any person coming forth to extinguish the flames; a piece of wanton mischief, which procured him nothing but an additional share of odium. Being invested by the marshal of Berwick, Sir William Drury, with an English army, the garrison was soon reduced to great straits. Their water was scanty at best, and the falling of one of the chief towers choked up their only well. The Spur, a building of great strength, but imperfectly manned, was taken by storm, with the loss of eight killed, and twenty-three wounded. Sir Robert Melville, along with Grange, were, after beating a parley, let over the walls by ropes, for the gate was choked up with rubbish. They demanded security for their lives and fortunes, and that Maitland and lord Hume might go to England, Grange being permitted to go or stay as he might deem best. These conditions not being granted, they returned to the garrison, but their soldiers refused to stand a new assault, and threatened in case of another that they would hang Lethington, whom they regarded as the cause of their protracted defence, over the wall. Nothing remained, therefore, but an unconditional surrender; and so odious were the garrison to the citizens, that an escort of English soldiers was necessary to protect them from the rabble. After three days they were all made prisoners. Lethington died suddenly, through means, it has been supposed, of poison, which he had taken of his own accord. Grange, Sir James Kirkaldy, (his brother,) James Mossman and James Leckie, goldsmiths, were hanged on the third of August, 1573, and their heads afterwards set up on the most prominent places of the castle wall.

Thus ignominiously died one of the bravest warriors<sup>4</sup> of his age; the dupe of

<sup>4</sup> In the case of Kirkaldy there appears to have been considerable debate on the relevancy of the indictment on which he was tried, too technical to be interesting to the general reader.—*Pitcairn's Crim. Trials*, ii. 3.



a volatile and crafty statesman, and of his own vanity to be head of a party. He had been one of the earliest friends, and, during its first days of peril, one of the most intrepid defenders of the Reformation. Knox, who knew and loved him well, lamented his apostasy, and with that sagacity which was peculiar to his character, admonished him of the issue. "That man's soul is dear to me," said Knox, "and I would not willingly see it perish; go and tell him from me, that, if he persists in his folly, neither that crag in which he miserably confides, nor the carnal wit of that man whom he counts a demi-god, shall save him; but he shall be dragged forth, and hanged in the face of the sun." He returned a contemptuous answer dictated by Maitland; but he remembered the warning when on the scaffold with tears, and listened with eagerness when he was told the hope that Knox always expressed, that, though the work of grace upon his heart was sadly obscured, it was still real, and would approve itself so at last; of which he expressed with great humility his own sincere conviction.

KIRKWOOD, JAMES, an eminent teacher and writer on grammar, in the latter part of the seventeenth century, was born near Dunbar. The circumstances of his education are unknown; he was first schoolmaster of Linlithgow, and subsequently of Kelso. His school at Linlithgow was one of considerable reputation, and he would appear to have been intrusted, like many teachers of the present day, with pupils who boarded in his house. The celebrated John, second earl of Stair, was thus educated by him. The first work ascertained to have been published by him, was an "Easy Grammar" of the Latin language, which appeared at Glasgow in 1674. In 1677, he published at London an octavo fasciculus of "Sentences," for the use of learners. In the succeeding year appeared his "Compendium of Rhetoric," to which was added a small treatise on Analysis. After the Revolution, he was sent for by the parliamentary commissioners for colleges, on the motion of lord president Stair; and his advice was taken about the best Latin grammar for the Scottish schools. The lord president asked him what he thought of Despauter. He answered, "A very unfit grammar; but by some pains it might be made a good one." The lord Crossrig desiring him to be more plain on this point, he said, "My lord president, if its superfluities were rescinded, the defects supplied, the intricacies cleared, the errors rectified, and the method amended, it might pass for an excellent grammar." The lord president afterwards sent for him, and told him it was the desire of the commissioners that he should immediately reform Despauter, as he had proposed; as they knew none fitter for the task. He accordingly published, in 1695, a revised edition of Despauter, which continued to be commonly used in schools till it was superseded by Ruddiman's Rudiments. Kirkwood was a man of wit and fancy, as well as of learning; and having fallen into an unfortunate quarrel with his patrons the magistrates, which ended in his dismission, he took revenge by publishing a satirical pamphlet, entitled "The twenty-seven gods of Linlithgow," meaning thereby the twenty-seven members of the town-council. He appears to have afterwards been chosen schoolmaster at Kelso, where he probably died.

KNOX, JOHN, the most eminent promoter of the Reformation in Scotland, was born at Haddington in the year 1505. His father, though himself a man of no note, was descended from the ancient house of Ranfurly in the shire of Renfrew. Of the mother of the great reformer nothing farther is known than that her name was Sinclair,—a name which he frequently used in after-life, when to have subscribed his own would have exposed him to danger: thus many of his letters in times of trouble are signed "John Sinclair." Though a man of no rank in society, his father would yet seem to have been possessed of a competency beyond that of the ordinary class of the peasantry of the times, if such an inference be permitted from the circumstance of his having given his son an



education which was then attainable only by a very few. This is a point, however, on which there has been also much dispute; some representing his parents as in a "mean condition," others as persons of extensive property. Whatever may have been the condition of his parents—a matter of little moment—there is no doubt regarding the only circumstance of any importance connected with the question, namely, that he received a liberal education.

His course of learning began at the grammar-school of Haddington, where he acquired the elements of the Latin language. He was afterwards, about the year 1524, sent to the university of St Andrews. From the circumstance of the name "John Knox" appearing on the list of matriculated students, for the year 1520, in the Glasgow college, it has been presumed that he studied there also, and this, as appears by the dates, four years previous to his going to St Andrews; but the supposition that this John Knox was the reformer, is much weakened by the fact, that many of the Knoxes of Ranfurly, the house from which his father was descended, were educated at the university of Glasgow. Amongst the last of these of any note were Andrew Knox, bishop of the Isles, and, after him, his son and successor, Sir Thomas Knox. In the absence, therefore, of all other evidence, this circumstance in the life of the reformer must be held as extremely doubtful, especially as no allusion is made to it, either by himself, his contemporaries, or any of the earlier writers who have spoken of him. Knox, when he went to St Andrews, was in the nineteenth year of his age, and was yet undistinguished by any indications of that peculiar character and temper, or that talent, which afterwards made him so conspicuous. His literary pursuits had hitherto been limited to the acquisition of the Latin language, Greek and Hebrew being almost unknown in Scotland, although at an after period of life Knox acquired them both. His removal to St Andrews, however, opened up new sources of learning and of knowledge. John Mair, a celebrated doctor of the Sorbonne, who had studied at the colleges of England and Paris, was then principal of St Salvator's college, St Andrews. He was a man of no great strength of mind, nor of very high attainments; but he had while in Paris imbibed, and he now boldly inculcated, civil and religious principles directly at variance with the opinions and practices of the times. He denied the supremacy of the pope, and held that he was amenable to a general council, which might not only rebuke and restrain him, but even depose him from his dignity. He held that papal excommunications were of no force, unless pronounced on just and valid grounds, and that tithes were not of divine origin. He, besides, fearlessly censured the avarice and ambition of the clergy. And with regard to civil matters, his opinions were no less daring, and not less boldly inculcated. He taught his pupils to consider kings as having no other right to their elevation, but what proceeded from their people, to whom they were amenable for their conduct, and by whom they might be judicially proceeded against. Such were some of the doctrines taught by Mair; and that they had taken a strong hold of Knox, who was one of his pupils, his after life sufficiently shows. For we find him, with the courage which belonged to his character, practising himself, and showing others how to practise that which his preceptor only taught.

In the studies of the times, Knox now made rapid progress. He was created master of arts, and ordained a priest before he had attained the age (twenty-five) appointed by the canon law for receiving ordination. It will not, perhaps, be lost time to pause for a moment at this period of his life, since it presents us with the interesting sight of a great mind slumbering in its strength, and unconscious at once of the darkness with which it was surrounded, and of there being a brighter and a better world beyond the narrow precincts which it had been taught to consider as the utmost limits of its range. Here we find the



great reformer, passively, and without remark or objection, becoming a minister of that church which he was afterwards to overturn and erase from his native soil ; becoming a minister of that religion which he was afterwards to drive from the land, with a violence which shook both the kingdom and the throne. A little longer, however, and we find this mighty mind emerging gradually but majestically into the light of day. The discovery had been made that there lay a wider and a fairer region beyond the bounds of the prison-house, and Knox hastened himself to seek and to point out the way to others.

He soon betook himself to the study of the writings of the fathers of the Christian church ; and, in the works of Jerome and Augustine, found the doctrines and tenets which effected that revolution in his religious sentiments, afterwards productive of such important results. He was now in the thirtieth year of his age, but he did not either publicly avow the change which had taken place in his religious creed, or attempt to impress it upon others, for several years afterwards. In the mean time the work of reformation had been making irregular but rapid progress. Patrick Hamilton had already preached the new faith in Scotland, and had fallen a martyr to its doctrines, and many others of not less zeal, but of less note, had shared a similar fate. Copies of the Scriptures were now surreptitiously introduced into the kingdom, and eagerly read by those into whose hands they fell. Poets employed their fascinating powers in bringing the church of Rome and its ministers into contempt. The effect of all this was a violent agitation of the public mind. The reformed doctrines were every where spoken of and discussed. They became the topics of common conversation, and were the themes of disquisition amongst the learned. It was at this critical period, about the year 1542, in the midst of this feverish excitement of public opinion, that Knox first stepped into the arena as a combatant in the cause of the new faith. He was still a teacher of philosophy in the college of St Andrews, but he availed himself of the opportunities which this appointment afforded, of disseminating his doctrines amongst his pupils, whom he taught to look with abhorrence and contempt on the corruptions and errors of the Romish church. Though such opinions were now spreading widely, and were made matter of ordinary discussion, their abettors were not yet, by any means, safe from the vengeance of the Romish ecclesiastics, who were yet struggling hard to suppress the heresies which were every where springing up in the land, and threatening the speedy ruin of their church. Knox's case was too marked and too conspicuous an instance of defection, to escape for any length of time some proof of that wrath which it was so well calculated to excite. He was degraded from the priesthood, had sentence passed against him as a heretic, and only escaped assassination by flying from St Andrews, that fate having been marked out for him by cardinal Beaton. On leaving St Andrews, Knox found protection in the family of Douglas of Langniddrie, where he acted in the capacity of tutor. Here, Douglas himself being a zealous advocate for the new faith, Knox continued to preach the doctrines which had driven him from St Andrews ; and in these doctrines he not only instructed the family with which he lived, but also the people in the neighbourhood, whom he invited to attend his prelections. From the consequences which must infallibly have attended this perseverance in disseminating principles so inimical to the church, Knox was only saved by the death of cardinal Beaton, who was assassinated in the castle of St Andrews, on the 29th of May, 1546. Though, by the death of Beaton, Knox probably escaped the utmost severities which prelacy could inflict ; he yet did not escape all visitation from its wrath.

John Hamilton, the successor of Beaton, sought his destruction with as much eagerness as his predecessor had done, compelling him to flee from place to place,



and to seek his safety in concealment. Apprehensive of falling at last into the hands of his enemies, he, after having led a vagrant and miserable life for many months, at length sought an asylum in the castle of St Andrews, which had been in the possession of the cardinal's assassins since the period of his death, and which they had held out against repeated attempts of the earl of Arran, then regent of Scotland, to take it. Knox entered the castle of St Andrews at the time of Easter, 1547. This step he had been prevailed upon to take by two of his warmest friends, the lairds of Langniddrie and Ormiston, at a time when he had himself determined to retire to Germany.

The circumstance of Knox's having taken shelter, on this occasion, with the assassins of Beaton, has given rise to reflections on his character, involving charges of the most serious nature. Some of them are wholly unfounded, others unreasonable. He has been accused of being one of the conspirators who projected the death of Beaton; which is totally unsupported by any evidence, and must, therefore, in common justice, be utterly rejected. He has been said to have made himself accessory to the crime of the cardinal's murder by taking shelter amongst those by whom it was perpetrated; a most unreasonable and unwarrantable conclusion. His own life was in imminent danger, and he naturally sought shelter where it was most likely to be found, without reference to place or circumstances, and we cannot see by what reasoning he could be reduced to the dilemma of either sacrificing his own life or submitting to be accused as an accessory to murder; the one consequence threatening him by his remaining at large, the other by his flying to a place of refuge. He has been accused of vindicating the deed in his writings. This length he certainly has gone; but, considering all the circumstances connected with it, such vindication on the part of Knox is not much to be wondered at, nor is it calculated to excite much reasonable prejudice against him. Beaton eagerly sought his life; he was his personal enemy, and a relentless and cruel enemy to all who were of the same faith. If, therefore, we are called upon to disapprove of Knox's justification of the death of Beaton, we should at the same time be permitted to remark, that it was an event which he had but little reason to regret.

After entering the castle of St Andrews, Knox resumed his duties as a teacher, and proceeded to instruct his pupils as before. He also resumed his lectures on the Scriptures, and regularly catechised his hearers in the parish church of the city. Hitherto Knox's appearances as a disciple and teacher of the reformed doctrines had been rather of a private character, or at least only before select audiences, such as his own class of pupils, or a few neighbours congregated together as at Langniddrie. He was now, however, about to come forward in a more public, or at least more formal capacity. At the time that he sought refuge in the castle of St Andrews, there were three persons of note there, all zealous reformers, who had also fled to it as a sanctuary. These were Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, Henry Bahaves of Hallhill, and John Rough, a celebrated reformed preacher, and who was at this moment publicly preaching in St Andrews. These persons were so much struck with Knox's talents and his manner of instructing his pupils, that they earnestly exhorted him to come publicly forward as a preacher of the reformed doctrines. This, however, Knox declined; not from any unwillingness to expose himself to the dangers which then attended the discharge of such a duty, nor from any reluctance to devote himself to the great cause which he had espoused, and of which he was afterwards so singular a promoter; but from a feeling of diffidence in his own powers, and a deep sense of the awful importance of the charge to which he was invited; he besides entertained some scruples as to the regularity of the call which was now made upon him, and with a conscientiousness and feeling of delicacy which became his



religious professions, expressed a fear that his coming forward as a preacher, on the summons of only two or three individuals, might be deemed an intrusion into the sacred office of the ministry.

Bent on their object, however, the three persons above named, without Knox's knowledge, consulted with the members of the church in which Rough preached, and the result was the fixing of a certain day when Knox should, in the name and in the face of the whole congregation, be called upon by the mouth of their preacher to accept the office of the ministry. On the day appointed, and while Knox was yet wholly unaware of what was to take place, Rough, after preaching a sermon on the election of ministers, in which he maintained the right of a congregation, however small its numbers, to elect its own pastor; and he farther maintained, that it was sinful to refuse to obey such a call when made: then suddenly turning to Knox—"Brother," he said, "you shall not be offended although I speak unto you that which I have in charge, even from all those that are here present, which is this,—In the name of God and of his Son Jesus Christ, and in the name of all that presently call you by my mouth, I charge you that you refuse not this holy vocation, but, as you tender the glory of God, the increase of Christ's kingdom, the edification of your brethren, and the comfort of me, whom you understand well enough to be oppressed by the multitude of labours, that you take the public office and charge of preaching, even as you look to avoid God's heavy displeasure, and desire that he shall multiply his graces unto you." Turning now to the congregation, "Was not this your charge unto me?" he said, "and do ye not approve this vocation?"—"It was, and we approve it," was the reply. Deeply impressed with the circumstance, Knox made an attempt to address the audience, but his feelings overcame him; he burst into tears, and rushed out of the church. Though not without the hesitation and the doubts and fears of an ingenuous and religious mind, Knox accepted the charge thus solemnly and strikingly imposed upon him, and on an appointed day appeared in the pulpit. On this occasion, a highly interesting one, as being the first public appearance of the great reformer as a preacher of the gospel, he gave out the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth verses of the seventh chapter of Daniel, a choice which shows the great changes which he already anticipated in the religious establishments of the land, and the confidence with which he looked forward to the result of the contest now begun with the church of Rome. The sermon which he preached on this occasion subjected him to the high displeasure of the church dignitaries; he and Rough were summoned before a convention of learned men to answer for the heretical doctrines which they entertained and promulgated. In the controversy which took place in this assembly between Knox and the person appointed to dispute with him, a grey friar of the name of Arbukill, on the various points at issue, the former so utterly discomfited his opponent, and so strongly established his own positions, that the Romish clergy, resigning all hopes of maintaining their ground, either by scriptural appeals, or by force of reasoning, carefully avoided for the future all such exhibitions of public disputation. The castle of St Andrews, in which Knox still found refuge, was soon after this, June, 1547, besieged by a French fleet, which had been despatched from France to assist the governor in its reduction; and after a stout resistance of several weeks' duration, the garrison was compelled to capitulate, and all within it were made prisoners of war. Knox and all the others who were taken with him were carried on board the French ships, which soon afterwards proceeded with them to France. On their arrival there the greater part of them were distributed throughout different prisons; but Knox, with two or three others, were detained on board the galleys in the Loire during the whole of the succeeding winter. His confinement



on ship-board altogether extended to nineteen months. At the end of that long period his liberation took place; but how it was effected is not certainly known.

On obtaining his liberty, Knox immediately proceeded to England, where the Reformation was making considerable progress, under the auspices of archbishop Crammer, and other powerful persons in that kingdom. Knox's reputation as a preacher and zealous reformer was already well known to Crammer and his colleagues, who were not long in finding him suitable employment. He was despatched by the privy council to Berwick to preach the reformed doctrines, and was allowed a salary for his maintenance. Here he remained for two years, daily strengthening the great cause in which he was embarked, and weakening that of its opponents. During this period too, great numbers were converted by his powerful reasoning and impressive eloquence; nor were the good effects of his ministry confined to the effecting a beneficial change in the religious sentiments of his hearers; their morals and manners were also greatly improved by the force of his example, and the striking truths exhibited in his precepts. While in Berwick, Knox was involved in another controversy or public disputation similar to that in which he had been engaged in St Andrews. The scene on this occasion was Newcastle, whither he had been summoned by the bishop of Durham to appear before an assembly of the learned men of his cathedral, to discuss the doctrines which he taught. These Knox defended with his usual ability, and with his usual success. He retired triumphant from the debate, leaving his opponents silenced and confounded by the ingenuity and strength of his arguments, and the fervour and energy of his eloquence.

His reputation was now daily spreading wider and wider, and so highly did the privy council appreciate the value of his services, that they conferred on him in December, 1551, a singular mark of their approbation, by appointing him one of the king's chaplains. While residing in Berwick, Knox formed an acquaintance with a young lady of the name of Marjory Bowes. This lady afterwards became his wife, but without the consent of her father, who could never be induced to approve of the connexion. He, however, had a warm friend in the young lady's mother, who not only gave her sanction to the marriage of her daughter, but used every effort, though without effect, to reconcile her husband to the event. Family pride, together with some differences of opinion in religious matters, are supposed to have been the cause of Mr Bowes's objection to accept the reformer as a son-in-law. As a natural result, the malevolence of Knox's enemies, those who adhered to popery, kept pace with the success which attended his efforts against the Romish church. They narrowly watched his every word and action, and at length laying hold of some expressions of a political nature which they conceived might be employed to his prejudice, they denounced him to the privy council. In consequence of this charge, which was supported by the duke of Northumberland, who entertained a personal dislike to Knox, he was summoned up to London. The result, however, was in the highest degree favourable to him. He not only convinced the council of the uprightness of his intentions and the malice of his accusers, but succeeded in gaining a yet greater degree of favour with that body than he had before enjoyed. He was appointed to preach to the court, and gave such satisfaction in the discharge of this duty, that the privy council determined to invite him to preach in London and the southern counties during the following year. They offered him the living of All Hallows in the city. He, however, declined the appointment, as also that of a bishopric, which was soon afterwards tendered him at the special request of the king, by whom he was much esteemed. These splendid offers of promotion he refused for conscience' sake,—there being several



things connected with the English ecclesiastical establishment repugnant to the faith which he had adopted ; such as the reading of homilies, the chanting of matins and even-song, the prevalence of pluralities, &c.

In the mean time, the king, Edward VI. who had evinced so much readiness to patronize our reformer, died, and was succeeded by one of the most sanguinary and relentless enemies which the reformed religion had, during any period, to contend with. This was Mary. The accession of this princess to the throne totally altered Knox's situation and his views. Her bigotry and persecution soon made England unsafe for him to live in.

Finding his danger becoming daily more and more imminent, he at length came to the resolution, though not without much reluctance, of retiring to the continent ; and making choice of France, proceeded to Dieppe in that kingdom in the year 1554. Here he remained till the latter end of the following year, occasionally visiting Geneva, then the residence of the celebrated Calvin, with whom he formed a close intimacy. At the latter end of the autumn of 1555, Knox returned to Scotland, induced by the temporary favour which the queen dowager, Mary of Lorraine, had extended to the protestants in her dominions. As this favour, however, did not proceed from any feeling of regard for those who had adopted the new faith, but was employed as a means of checking the clergy who had been averse to the dowager's obtaining the regency of the kingdom, it was of short duration, and lasted only so long as that princess thought it necessary to her interests. In the mean time, Knox was zealously and industriously employed in disseminating the doctrines of the reformed religion. He went from place to place preaching the gospel, and gradually increasing the number of his disciples, amongst whom he was soon able to reckon some of the first persons in the kingdom. While thus employed, he received an invitation from an English congregation at Geneva to become their pastor. With this invitation he thought it his duty to comply, and accordingly proceeded thither in the month of July, 1556. He was on this occasion accompanied by his wife and mother-in-law, the husband of the latter being now dead. On learning that he had left Scotland, the clergy there proceeded to evince those feelings regarding him which they had not dared to avow, or at least to act upon, while he was present. Knowing that he could not appear, they summoned him before them, passed sentence against him in absence, adjudging his body to the flames, and his soul to damnation. The first part of the sentence they made a show of carrying into effect, by causing his effigy to be burned at the cross of Edinburgh. On reaching Geneva, he immediately took charge of his congregation, and spent the two following years in promoting their spiritual interests. This was perhaps the happiest period of Knox's life. He lived upon the most affectionate footing with the members of his church, by all of whom he was greatly beloved. He enjoyed the society and friendship of Calvin, and the other ministers of the city ; and to complete his felicity, he lived in the bosom of his own family, a happiness of which he had hitherto had but a small share. No degree of enjoyment, however, or of earthly felicity, could wean him from the desire of promoting the Reformation in his native country ; to this he continued to look forward with unabated eagerness, and only waited for more favourable times to gratify this ruling passion of his life.

When he had been about two years in Geneva, the long-cherished wishes of our reformer to exercise his ministry in his native land, seemed about to be realized. Two persons, citizens of Edinburgh, the one named James Syme, the other James Barron, arrived in Geneva with a letter signed by the earl of Glencairn, the lords Lorn and Erskine, and lord James Stewart, an illegitimate son of James V., and afterwards earl of Murray, inviting him to return to Scotland.



Knox immediately obeyed the call, and had proceeded as far as Dieppe on his way to Scotland, when he received letters from the latter country containing the most discouraging accounts of the state of the kingdom and of the protestant interest there. Grieved and disappointed beyond expression, he again returned to Geneva, where he remained for another year. During this period he assisted in making a new translation of the Bible into English, and also published his "Letter to the Queen Regent," his "Appellation and Exhortation," and "The first Blast of the Trumpet against the monstrous Regiment of Women." Matters having at length taken a more favourable turn in Scotland, the protestant lords sent a second invitation to Knox to join them, accompanied by the gratifying intelligence that the queen-regent had promised them her countenance and protection. He placed little reliance on these promises, but he readily obeyed the call of his friends to return to his native country.

He sailed from Dieppe on the 22nd of April, and arrived safely in Leith on the 2nd of May, 1559. The distrust which Knox entertained of the good faith of the queen-regent was not without sufficient cause. By the time he arrived, that artful but able princess, conceiving that she had no longer any occasion for assistance from the protestants, not only gave them to understand that they had nothing more to hope from her, but openly avowed her determination to suppress the Reformation by every means in her power, and to employ force for that purpose if it should be found necessary.

In this spirit she authorized archbishop Hamilton to summon the reformed preachers before him in St Andrews to answer for their conduct, giving him at the same time, a similar assurance of protection and support with that which she had a short while before given to the protestants. A threat, however, having been conveyed to her that the preachers would not go unattended to the impending trial, she deemed it prudent to prorogue it until she should be in a better state of preparation, and accordingly wrote to the primate to delay any further proceedings in the matter for the time. On the faith of receiving assistance from France, which had united with Spain for the extirpation of heresy, she soon after resumed the process against the protestant preachers, and summoned them to stand trial at Stirling. Thither Knox, though he had been proclaimed an outlaw and a rebel, by virtue of the sentence formerly pronounced against him, determined to repair to assist his brethren in their defence, and to share the dangers to which they might be exposed.

The artifice of the queen-regent, however, deprived him of the opportunity of carrying this generous resolution into effect. The preachers in their progress to Stirling, were attended by large bodies of people, who had determined to abide by them during the impending trial. Unwilling, however, to give the queen-regent any offence by approaching her in such numbers, they halted at Perth, and sent Erskine of Dun before them to Stirling to assure her that they meditated no violence nor entertained any but the most peaceable intentions. Not reconciled, however, by this representation to the approach of so great a multitude, she had recourse to dissimulation to prevent their coming nearer. She informed Erskine, that she would stop the trial, if he would prevail upon his brethren to desist from their journey. Unsuspicious of the deception she intended to practise, Erskine was persuaded to write to the assembled protestants, requesting them to proceed no further, and intimating that he was authorized by the queen to promise them that no trial of their preachers should take place. Rejoiced by these very welcome and very unexpected overtures, they instantly complied with the regent's request, and the greater part of them returned to their homes. When the appointed day of trial came, however, the summonses of the preachers were called in court by the express orders of the queen. They



were outlawed for non-appearance, and all persons prohibited under pain of rebellion from harbouring or assisting them. When this infamous proceeding took place, Knox was with the rest of his brethren at Perth, where he had preached a sermon against idolatry and the celebration of mass, on the very day on which intelligence reached that place of what had occurred at Stirling.

On the conclusion of the sermon, a priest who was present had the impudence to uncover an altar-piece on which were some images, and prepared to celebrate mass, regardless of the excited state of the public feeling, which had just been roused by the eloquence of Knox, and armed, as it were, for violence by the duplicity of the regent. Under these circumstances little was required to bring on a crisis, and that little was not long wanting. A boy having uttered some disrespectful expressions, was instantly struck by the hot-headed priest. The boy retaliated by throwing a stone, which, missing his assailant, for whom it was intended, struck the altar and broke one of the images. This fired the train. In an instant all the interior decorations of the church were torn down and destroyed, altar and images were overturned and trampled under foot; a mob collected outside, but finding the work of destruction already completed here, they proceeded to the monasteries, which they in a short time laid in ruins. This was the first ebullition of popular feeling connected with the Reformation, and Knox has been accused of having been the cause of it. If he was, he certainly was so unconsciously and innocently, for he reprobated the violence which had taken place, and in speaking of it, says it was perpetrated by "the rascal multitude,"—language sufficiently indicative of the light in which he viewed it. The protestant lords, finding now that they had not only nothing more to hope for from the queen, but that she was their declared enemy, determined to make a vigorous effort to establish the reformed religion without either her assistance or consent. They proceeded to ascertain the numbers of their friends, established a correspondence with them, and united the whole by procuring their subscriptions to a religious covenant, copies of which they despatched for that purpose to different districts throughout the country. These thus united were distinguished by the name of The Congregation, and the noblemen who were included by that of the Lords of the Congregation. The latter, still desirous of accomplishing their purpose rather by the force of reasoning than by the sword, engaged Knox to meet them on a certain day at St Andrews, where they proposed he should deliver a series of sermons. On his way to St Andrews he preached at Anstruther and Crail, and arrived at the first named place on the 9th of June.

Here occurred a striking instance of that personal intrepidity for which the great reformer was so remarkable. The archbishop, informed of his design to preach in his cathedral, assembled an armed force, and sent word to Knox, that if he appeared in the pulpit, he would order the soldiers to fire upon him. Alarmed for his safety, Knox's friends endeavoured to dissuade him from preaching, but in vain. "He could take God to witness," he said, "that he never preached in contempt of any man, nor with the design of hurting an earthly creature; but to delay to preach next day, unless forcibly hindered, he could not in conscience agree. As for the fear of danger that may come to me," he continued, "let no man be solicitous, for my life is in the custody of him whose glory I seek. I desire the hand nor weapon of no man to defend me." Knox accordingly appeared in the pulpit at the appointed time, and preached to a numerous assembly, without experiencing any interruption; but although the threatened attempt upon his life was not made, he retains a full claim to all the courage which a contempt and defiance of that threat implies.

On this occasion he preached for three successive days; and such was the ef-



fect of his eloquence and the influence of his doctrine, that both the inhabitants and the civil authorities agreed to set up the reformed worship in the town. The monasteries were demolished and the church stripped of all images and pictures. The example of St Andrews was soon after followed in many other parts of the kingdom. At the latter end of the month, Knox arrived with the forces of the Congregation in Edinburgh, and on the same day on which he entered the city, he preached in St Giles's, next day in the Abbey church, and on the 7th of July, the inhabitants met in the tolbooth, and appointed him their minister, there being then only one place of worship in Edinburgh, viz. St Giles's church. In this charge, however, he was not long permitted to remain. The forces of the regent soon after obtained possession of the city; and, although against his own inclination, his friends prevailed upon him to retire from the town. On leaving Edinburgh, he undertook a tour of preaching through the kingdom; and in less than two months had gone over the greater part of it, disseminating with the most powerful effect the doctrines of the reformed religion. He next retired to St Andrews, where he officiated as minister for several months; and on the conclusion of the civil war, which the determination of the Congregation to establish the reformed religion and the regent's efforts to suppress it, had created, he returned to Edinburgh. In 1560, after an arduous struggle and many vicissitudes, the faith for which Knox had fought such a "good fight," seemed to be securely established in the land. The queen-regent was dead, and by the assistance of England, an assistance which Knox had been the chief instrument in procuring, the arms of the forces of the Congregation were completely triumphant.

The accession, however, of Mary, who was known to be strongly attached to popery, to the actual government, again excited the fears of the protestants, and of no one more than Knox, who insisted that the invitation sent to France to that princess to ascend the throne of her ancestors should be accompanied by the stipulation, that she should desist from the celebration of mass; and when the rest of the council urged that she ought to be allowed that liberty within her own chapel, he predicted that "her liberty would be their thralldom."

A few days after the queen's arrival at Holyrood she sent for Knox, and taxed him with holding political opinions at once dangerous to her authority and the peace of her realm, and with teaching a religion different from that allowed by its princes. Knox entered at great length into these subjects, defending himself and his doctrines with his usual ability and boldness. His language, at no time very courtly, is said to have been so harsh in some instances on this occasion as to drive the young queen to tears; but whether this, if true, ought to be considered as a proof of the severity of his expressions, or of the queen's irritability of temper, is questionable, since it is probable that she may have wept without sufficient cause. The arrival of the dinner hour broke off this interesting interview, and Knox retired from the presence with some expressions of good wishes for the queen's happiness. Frequent conferences of a similar nature with this took place afterwards between the reformer and Mary, but with little increase of regard on either side. On one of these occasions, when he had spoken with even more than his usual boldness, and just as he was about to retire, he overheard some of the queen's popish attendants say, "He is not afraid."—"Why should the pleasing face of a gentlewoman frighten me?" replied the stout reformer, turning round upon them; "I have looked in the faces of many angry men, and yet have not been afraid beyond measure." Knox's ministerial duties were in the mean time exceedingly laborious. His charge, as already mentioned, was St Giles's church, where he had discharged these duties since the year 1550. He preached twice every Sabbath, and thrice on other



days of the week, besides meeting regularly with his kirk-session once every week for discipline, and with others for exercises on the Scriptures. Besides all this, he regularly attended all the meetings of the general assembly and the provincial synod; and at almost every meeting of the former, a mission to visit and preach in some distant part of the country was imposed upon him. With the view of relieving him of part of these overwhelming labours, the town council, in April, 1562, solicited John Craig, minister of Canongate, to undertake the half of his charge. From the difficulty, however, of obtaining an additional stipend, Knox remained without assistance till June in the following year. It has been already said that many interviews took place from time to time between the queen and Knox; these were still occasionally occurring; but their only effect was to increase her dread and dislike of the reformer; and although some instances occurred in which there was something like an approach to a better understanding, yet on the part of the queen it was never sincere; and there is little doubt that she longed for an opportunity of getting rid of so troublesome a subject, whom neither her threats nor blandishments could divert for an instant from what he conceived to be the strict path of his duty. Such an opportunity as she desired, or at least such a one as she certainly rejoiced in, seemed now unexpectedly to present itself. Two persons, protestants, were indicted to stand trial for having with several others, intruded into the palace during a temporary absence of the queen, for the purpose of interrupting the celebration of certain Roman catholic rites which was about to take place in the chapel of Holyrood. The protestants of Edinburgh, dreading that the queen would proceed to extremities against these men, requested Knox to write circular letters to the principal gentlemen of their persuasion, detailing the circumstances of the case, and inviting their presence on the day of trial.

One of these letters falling into the hands of the bishop of Ross, he immediately conveyed it to the queen, who again lost no time in laying it before her privy council, by which it was pronounced treasonable, and the writer was soon afterwards indicted to stand trial in Edinburgh for the crime of high treason. The queen presided in person at the trial, and with an ill-judged and ill-timed levity, burst into a fit of laughter, when on taking her seat in court she perceived Knox standing uncovered at the foot of the table. "That man," she said, pointing to the reformer, "had made her weep, and shed never a tear himself: she would now see if she could make him weep." The trial now proceeded, and after the charge against him had been read, Knox entered upon his defence at great length, and with such self-possession, intrepidity, and ability, that although he had several enemies amongst his judges, he was, by a great majority acquitted of the crime of which he had been accused.

Alluding to the queen's feelings on this occasion, he says in his History, "That night, (the evening after the trial) was nyther dancing nor fiddling in the court; for madame was disapoynted of hir purpose, quhillk was to have had John Knox in hir will, be vot of hir nobility." A second attempt on the part of the queen and her husband Darnley to suppress the stern and uncompromising truths, both political and religious, which the reformer continued to proclaim to the world, was soon after made. He had given out a text which gave such offence to the stripling king, that on the afternoon of the same day he was taken from his bed and carried before the privy council, who suspended him from his office. As the suspension, however, was limited to the time of their majesties residence in the city, it was but of short duration, as they left Edinburgh before the following Sabbath, when Knox resumed his ministry, and delivered his sentiments with the same boldness as before. This occurrence was soon after followed by the murder of Rizzio, the queen's secretary; an event which gave the



queen, now at Dunbar, a pretence for raising an army, ostensibly to enable her to resent the indignity which had been shown to her person by the assassins of Rizzio, and to punish the perpetrator of that deed, but in reality, to overawe the protestants. On the approach of the queen and her forces to Edinburgh, Knox, long since aware of the dislike which she entertained towards him, deemed it prudent to leave the city. On this occasion he retired to Kyle, and soon afterwards went to England to visit his two sons, who were there living with some relations of their mother's. Knox returned again to Edinburgh, after an absence of about five or sixth months. During that interval two events had taken place, which entirely ruined the queen's authority in the kingdom, and left him nothing to fear from her personal resentment; these were the murder of Darnley and her marriage with Bothwell. He therefore resumed his charge without interruption, and proceeded to take that active part in the national affairs, both political and religious, which the times required, and for which he was so eminently fitted; and, soon after, had the satisfaction of seeing the protestant religion securely established by the laws of the land, and that of the popish church utterly overthrown by the same authority.

In the month of October, 1570, he was struck with apoplexy, and although it only interrupted his preaching for a few days, he never recovered from the debility which it produced.

The irritability of the times, and the vindictive spirit of the popish faction, still animating its expiring efforts, placed the life of the great reformer once more in danger, and once more compelled him to seek safety in flight. His enemies endeavoured first to destroy his reputation by the most absurd and unfounded calumnies; and failing utterly in these, they made an attempt upon his life. A shot was fired in at the window at which he usually sat; but happening to be seated at a different part of the table from that which he generally occupied, the bullet missed him, but struck the candlestick which was before him, and then lodged in the roof of the apartment.

Finding that it was no longer safe for him to remain in Edinburgh, he retired to St Andrews, where he continued till the end of August, 1572, when he again returned to Edinburgh. His valuable and active life was now drawing fast to a close. On the 11th of the November following he was seized with a cough, which greatly affected his breathing, and on the 24th of the same month expired, after an illness which called forth numerous instances of the magnanimity of his character, and of the purity and fervour of that religious zeal by which he had been always inspired. He died in the sixty-seventh year of his age, "not so much," says Dr McCrie, "oppressed with years as worn out and exhausted by his extraordinary labours of body and anxieties of mind." His body was interred in the church-yard of St Giles, on Wednesday the 26th of November, and was attended to the grave by all the nobility who were in the city, and an immense concourse of people. When his body was laid in the grave, the regent, who was also at the funeral, exclaimed in words which have made a strong impression from their aptness and truth, "There lies he who never feared the face of man."

## L

LAING, ALEXANDER GORDON, whose name is so mournfully connected with the history of African discovery, was born at Edinburgh on the 27th of De-



ember, 1793. His father, William Laing, A.M., was the first who opened an academy for classical education in the new town of the Scottish capital; where he laboured for thirty-two years, and was one of the most popular teachers of his day. His maternal grand-father, William Gordon, was also a teacher of very considerable note, and is known in the schools as the author of a system of geography, a treatise on arithmetic, a translation of the first six books of Livy, &c.

With such a parentage it might naturally have been supposed, that the subject of this memoir was more likely to have spent his days amid the quiet pursuits of literature, than in the bustle of the camp, and amid the din of arms; the appearances of his early years seemed to favour the supposition. Under the tuition of his father, young Laing received the elementary education that was necessary to prepare him for the university, and he was enrolled in the Humanity class at the early age of thirteen years. Previous to this he had acquired a very considerable knowledge of the Latin language, of which he was passionately fond; and the appearances he made in the class then taught by professor Christison, were of so marked a kind as to secure him the very flattering notice of his preceptor; he was held up as a model for the imitation of his fellow students, and there were but few who could entertain any hope of excelling him.

At the age of fifteen Mr Laing entered on the business of active life, having engaged himself as assistant to Mr Bruce, a teacher in Newcastle. In this situation he remained only six months, when he returned to Edinburgh, and entered into company with his father, taking charge of the commercial department of the academy, for which his beautiful penmanship and other acquirements singularly qualified him.

But the time was fast approaching when the subject of our memoir was to exchange the *ferula* for the *sword*. In 1809, volunteering was very general in Edinburgh, and young Laing attached himself to a corps then forming. In 1810, he was made an ensign in the prince of Wales' volunteers, and from that period the academy had no more charms for him. In his eighteenth year he abandoned the irksome duties of teaching, and set off for Barbadoes to his maternal uncle, then colonel, now lieutenant-general Gordon, through whose kind offices he looked forward to an introduction into the army. At that time colonel Gordon held the office of deputy quarter-master-general in Barbadoes, and on his nephew's arrival he gave him a situation as clerk in his counting house. In this situation Mr Laing repeatedly came in contact with Sir George Beckwith, then at the head of the command of the military on the station, who was so much pleased with the young clerk, and took so deep an interest in his fortunes, as to secure for him unsolicited an ensign's commission in the York light infantry.

But we must hurry over the first years of Laing's service in the army, in order that we may have space to detail the more important passages in his history. Having obtained the ensigncy in the York light infantry, he immediately joined his regiment in Antigua; in two years he was made a lieutenant, and shortly after, on the reduction of the regiment, he was put on half-pay. Dissatisfied with the inactivity consequent on such a measure, as soon as the necessary arrangements could be made, he exchanged into the 2nd West India regiment, and proceeded to Jamaica. Here over exertion in consequence of his discharging the duties of quarter-master-general caused him to suffer much from disease on the liver. He retired to Honduras for the recovery of his health, where colonel Arthur, appreciating his excellence as an officer, detained him with another division of the regiment, and appointed him fort major. His distemper, however, which at first seemed to yield in Honduras, returned with increasing violence, and compelled him to seek relief in the air of his native land and the sympathies of his relations.



During the eighteen months he remained at home, the division of the 2nd West India regiment to which he belonged, was reduced, and he was again put on half-pay. Restored, however, to health, he could not remain inactive. Towards the end of 1819, he went to London, was sent for by the colonel of his regiment, the late Sir Henry Torrence, received many flattering compliments for his former services, and having been appointed lieutenant and adjutant, he proceeded to Sierra Leone.

From the beginning of the year 1822 his history as an *African traveller* may properly be dated. In January of that year he was despatched by Sir Charles McCarthy, governor of Sierra Leone, on an important embassy to Kambia and the Mandingo country, where he collected much valuable information regarding the political condition of these districts, their dispositions as to commerce, and their sentiments as to slavery. Having so far achieved the object for which he set out, he crossed to Malacouri, a Mandingo town, situated on the banks of the river Malageea. There he learned that Sannasee, the chief of the district of Malageea, and a friend of the British government, had been captured by Amara, the king of the Soolimas, and was about to be put to death. Well knowing the unrelenting disposition of Amara, Laing, although labouring under a severe attack of fever and ague, resolved to go to the Soolima camp, and intercede for the life of the unfortunate Sannasee.

With this view he crossed the Malageea near its source, and after experiencing many difficulties in meeting with Soolima guards, he at length reached the camp. Having witnessed the feats of warlike exercise, the dancing, and the music exhibited by Soolimas, Bennas, Sangaras, and Tambaccas, he was invited to a *palaver* with Yarradee, the general of the Soolima army. This officer received him with much kindness, and with many protestations of friendship. Subsequently he was introduced to, and had a conversation with Amara himself, and having obtained an assurance that Sannasee would not be put to death, he retired to Sierra Leone, where he arrived on the 6th day, exhausted by the fatigues of his journey and continued illness.

Scarcely had Laing recovered, when a report at Sierra Leone that his mission had been of no avail, induced the governor to send him on another embassy for the same object. Having once more visited the Soolima camp, he was assured indeed that Sannasee had been set at liberty, but he also learned that his town had been burned, and his property plundered or destroyed. Of this conduct he expressed in the name of his government the most decided reprobation; and after a journey of six and a half days, during which he had never for a single hour been under shelter, he once more reached Sierra Leone.

It was now that lieutenant Laing assumed the character of a *volunteer traveller*. Having been led to believe during the last embassy that the Soolimas were in possession of considerable quantities of gold and ivory, he suggested to the governor the propriety and probable advantages of the colony opening up a commercial intercourse with them; and the suggestion having been approved of by the council at large, he left Sierra Leone again on the 16th of April, 1822, with the view of furthering such an object, accompanied by two soldiers of the 2nd West India regiment, a native of Foutah Jallow, eleven carriers, natives of the Jolof district, and a boy a native of Sego.

When he set out upon this journey little was known of the Soolimas except the name; they were said to be distant from Sierra Leone four hundred miles to the eastward: it afterwards appeared that Palaba, the capital, is only distant two hundred miles. They were represented as a powerful nation, rich in gold and ivory; but this also turned out not to be the fact.

On his arrival at Toma in the country of the Timmanees, our traveller found



that no white man had ever been there before him, although the town is situated only sixty miles from Sierra Leone. His appearance, as was to be expected, excited no little astonishment—one woman, in particular, stood fixed like a statue gazing on the party as they entered the town, and did not stir a muscle till the whole had passed, when she gave a loud halloo of astonishment, and then covered her mouth with both her hands. Of the Timmanees he writes in his journal very unfavourably; he found them depraved, indolent, avaricious, and so deeply sunk in the debasement of the slave traffic, that the very mothers among them raised a clamour against him for refusing to buy their children. He further accuses them of dishonesty and gross indecency, and altogether wonders that a country so near Sierra Leone, should have gained so little by its proximity to a British settlement.

From the country of the Timmanees Lieutenant Laing proceeded into that of Kooranko, the first view of which was much more promising—he found the first town into which he entered neat and clean, and the inhabitants bearing all the marks of active industry. It was about sunset when he approached it, and we give in his own language a description of the scene. “Some of the people,” says he, “had been engaged in preparing the fields for the crops, others were penning up a few cattle, whose sleek sides denoted the richness of their pasturages; the last clink of the blacksmith’s hammer was sounding, the weaver was measuring the cloth he had woven during the day, and the guarange, a worker in leather, was tying up his neatly stained pouches, shoes, and knife-sheaths; while the crier at the mosques, with the melancholy call of ‘Allah Akbar,’ summoned the decorous Moslems to their evening devotions.” Such were our traveller’s first impressions of the Koorankoes; but their subsequent conduct did not confirm the good opinion he had formed of them.

On approaching the hilly country, lieutenant Laing informs us that nothing could be more beautiful or animating than the scene presented to his view,—well clothed rising grounds, cultivated valleys, and meadows smiling with verdure; the people in the different towns were contented and good-humoured, and, in general, received the stranger with very great kindness. In illustration of this he has given us the burden of the song of one of their minstrels:—“The white man lived on the waters and ate nothing but fish, which made him so thin; but the black men will give him cows and sheep to eat, and milk to drink, and then he will grow fat.”

At Komato, the last town of the Koorankoes, on his route, our traveller found a messenger from the king of Soolimana, with horses and carriages to convey him to Falaba, the capital of that nation. Crossing the Rokelle river, about a hundred yards broad, by ropes of twigs suspended from the branches of two immense trees, (a suspension bridge called by the natives Nyankata,) he proceeded to that city; and having been joined by the king’s son at the last town upon this side of it, he entered Falaba under a salute of musketry from 2000 men, who were drawn up in the centre of the town to receive him.

Not long after reaching Falaba, lieutenant, now captain Laing (for about this time he was promoted,) was seized with a fever which brought on delirium for several days. While in this state he was cupped by one of the Soolima doctors, and that so effectually as to satisfy him that it was the means of saving his life. The operation differed in no respect from ours, except that the skin was scarified by a razor, and the cup was a small calabash gourd.

Our traveller enters, in his journal, into a long detail of the habits and manners of the Soolimas, with which he had made himself fully acquainted during his three months’ residence in Falaba. To give even a short abstract of this, would be inconsistent with the limits assigned to this memoir. Suffice it to say,



that the main object of his mission failed. The king all along promised to send back with him a company of traders; but when the time of departure arrived, these promises ended in nought. Although within three days' journey of the source of the Niger, he was not permitted to visit that often sought spot, and deep was the grief which the loss of such an opportunity cost him; by measuring, however, the height of the source of the Rokelle, which he found to be 1441 feet, and by taking into account the height of the mountains in the distance, which gave rise to the Niger, he calculated, (as he himself thought,) with a tolerable degree of accuracy, that that river which has had so much importance assigned to it, has an elevation at its source of from 1500 to 1600 feet above the level of the Atlantic. We cannot resist quoting here the testimony of an eminent writer in the *Edinburgh Journal of Natural and Geographical Science*, (June, 1830,) more especially as the measurements of captain Laing have been rather lightly spoken of in the *Quarterly Review*, (we believe by Mr Barrow :) "Major Laing," says the *Edinburgh Journalist*, "assigned the position and the elevation above the sea of Mount Loma, from whence the Niger takes its origin: and he first traced on the map the first part of its course towards the north for an extent of about twenty-five leagues."

On the 17th of September our traveller quitted Falaba, accompanied by numbers of the natives, who escorted him to a considerable distance, the last to leave him was the king himself. Of his "adieu" the captain speaks in the most affecting terms. On returning, the route of the party was nearly the same as that by which they set out. The conclusion of the journey we give, in the traveller's own words, in a note.<sup>1</sup>

Before our traveller's return, hostilities had commenced between the British government and the king of the Ashantees—the consequence was, that no sooner had he tasted the comforts of a British settlement, than he was ordered to join his regiment on the Gold coast without delay. Having transmitted details to his friend, captain Sabine in London, of the geographical determinations of the latitude, longitude, and elevation of the places he had lately visited, he hastened to obey the order he had received. On his arrival on the Gold coast he was employed in the organization and command of a very considerable native force, designed to be auxiliary to a small British detachment which was then expected from Britain. During the greater part of the year 1823, this native force was stationed on the frontier of the Fantee and Ashantee countries, and was frequently engaged, and always successfully, with detachments of the Ashantee army. On one of these occasions the enemy was completely beaten, and the fame of the victory spread over the whole coasts; in so much, and so effectually, that Sir Charles McCarthy received the allegiance of most of the Fantee tribes. On another occasion captain Laing made two gallant and successful attacks on a larger division of the enemy; and entering into the territories of the king of Aju-

<sup>1</sup> "We left Ma Koota at six A. M., and after a fatiguing march of twenty-five miles over a vile Timmanee path, we reached Rokon at four P. M., where I rejoined my party, which had arrived a few hours before. At six I embarked in a canoe, with an intention of pushing direct for Sierra Leone, but perceiving a small boat at anchor off the small town of Maherre, I went on shore, and in a few minutes had the gratification of shaking hands with Senor Albavilla, Portuguese commissary judge at Sierra Leone, and captain Stepney of the 2nd West India regiment, who, on hearing of my approach had gone so far on the way to meet me. About midnight we were joined by Mr Kenneth Macauley, when we all embarked in his barge; and proceeding down the river, arrived at Tombo to breakfast, where I *deprived myself of the decoration of my face, now of seven months' growth*, and by the help of some borrowed garments effected an alteration in my appearance which was very requisite. Leaving Tombo after breakfast, we proceeded down the Rokelle, on a fine calm morning, and at two P. M. I had the satisfaction of being welcomed by my friends at Sierra Leone, so many of whom, so much esteemed and so highly valued, are now no more."



macon, who was suspected to be friendly to the Ashantees, he compelled that prince to place his troops under the British command.

On the fall of Sir Charles McCarthy, which took place in 1824, lieutenant-colonel Chisholm, on whom the command of the Gold coast devolved, sent the subject of our memoir to England, to acquaint government more fully than could otherwise be done, of the state of the country, and the circumstances of the war. He arrived in England in August, and immediately afterwards obtained a leave of absence to visit Scotland for the recovery of his health, which had been seriously affected by so many months of constant and extreme exposure in Africa. In Scotland, however, he did not continue long. In October he returned to London, and an opportunity having unexpectedly presented itself to him, of proceeding under lord Bathurst's auspices, in the discovery of the course and termination of the Niger, an opportunity which he had long and anxiously desired, he gladly embraced it. It being arranged, that he should accompany the caravan from Tripoli to Timbuctoo, in the ensuing summer, it became necessary that he should depart early in the year from that father land, which, alas! he was destined never to revisit.

Our traveller, now promoted to a majority, left London for Tripoli, in the month of February, 1825. While in the latter city he had occasion to have frequent intercourse with the British consul, Mr Warrington; a close intimacy was formed between them, and the bond was strengthened by the major's marrying Emma Maria, the daughter of the consul. This event was celebrated on the 14th of July, 1825; and two days after the marriage the major proceeded on his pilgrimage to Timbuctoo.

He left Tripoli in company with the sheik Babani, whom he afterwards discovered to be no less a personage than the governor of Ghadamis. The sheik engaged to conduct him to Timbuctoo in ten weeks; the wife and the family of Babani resided there. The travellers proceeded with their *kaffila* by the route of Beneoled, the passage by the Gharan mountains being rendered unsafe, in consequence of the turbulence of a rebellious chief in that district. On the 21st of August the party reached Shaté, and on the 13th of September, after a tedious and circuitous journey of nearly a thousand miles, they arrived at Ghadamis. Already had the major experienced much to vex and annoy him; his barometer had been broken; his hygrometers had been rendered useless by evaporation; the tubes of most of his thermometers had been snapt by the warping of the ivory; his glasses had been dimmed by the friction of the sand; his chronometer had stopped (in all likelihood from the insinuation of sandy particles); and in addition to this lengthened list of mishaps, his rifle stock had been broken by the tread of an elephant.

Our traveller left Ghadamis, where he was treated with the utmost kindness and hospitality, on the 27th of October; and on the 3rd of December he arrived at Ensala, a town on the eastern frontier of the province of Tuat, belonging to the Tuaric, and said to be thirty-five days' journey from Timbuctoo. Here as in Ghadamis, he experienced the kindest reception, and he did all he could to repay it, by administering of his medicines to the diseased.

From Ensala he wrote the last letter to his relations in Scotland, which they ever received from him. As it is a document of great interest, and, in some passages, highly characteristic of the writer, we shall present a considerable extract:

"Ensala in Tuat, December 8, 1825.

\*

\*

\*

\*

"I arrived here in the afternoon of the 2nd instant; and the curiosity which my appearance among these people has excited, is not yet nearly allayed, insomuch that I am beset during



nearly the whole day with myriads of wondering spectators, who flock to the house which I inhabit, and stare at me with about as much curiosity as you would at the great lioness in Exeter Change, which whelped three young lions, and condescended to suckle them herself. The natives of this place are of the tribe called Musticarab, and live under no law or control. They do not employ themselves either in trade or cultivation, but, like a set of outlaws, roam about the desert, robbing and plundering kaffilas wherever they can fall in with them. There has been murderous work among them this year,—more than half a dozen fights of one kind or another, and between two and three hundred slain. I shall quit them, please God, in seven or eight days more, as I accompany a large kaffila, which proceeds on the 15th instant towards Timbuctoo, from which I am now only thirty days' journey. Every thing appears to favour me, and to bid fair for a speedy and successful termination to my arduous enterprise. I am already possessed of much curious and valuable information, and feel confident that I shall realize the most sanguine expectations of my numerous friends. I shall do more than has ever been done before, and shall show myself to be what I have ever considered myself, a man of enterprise and genius. My father used often to accuse me of want of common sense; but he little thought that I gloried in the accusation. 'Tis true, I never possessed any, nor ever shall. At a very early age, I fell in with an observation of Helvetius, which pleased me much, and clung in with my way of thinking to the tenth part of a second. 'A man of common sense is a man in whose character indolence predominates: he is not endowed with activity of soul, which, in high stations, leads great minds to discover new springs by which they may set the world in motion, or to sow the seeds, from the growth of which they are enabled to produce future events.' I admit that common sense is more necessary for conducting the petty affairs of life than genius or enterprise; but the man who soars into the regions of speculation should never be hampered by it. Had I been gifted with that quality which the bulk of mankind consider so inestimable, I might now have been a jolly subaltern on half-pay, or perhaps an orthodox preacher in some country Kirk, in lieu of dictating this letter to you from the arid regions of central Africa. This is a long rhapsody, but you must just bear with it patiently, as it is not every day that you can hear from me.

"I hope you have written to my dearest Emma, the most amiable girl that God ever created. She is, indeed, such a being as I had formed in my mind's eyes but had never before seen, and has just as much common sense as has fallen to the lot of your most worthy elder brother." \* \* \*

He quitted Ensala on the 10th of January, 1826, and on the 26th of the same month entered on the cheerless, flat, and sandy desert of Tenezaroff. Hitherto neither his enthusiasm nor his health had failed him; the people had all been friendly and kind to him, the elements only had been his foes; but in the desert he was to enter on a different course of experience, and bitter assuredly it was. The Tuarics attacked, and plundered, and most cruelly mangled him. The following letter, written by himself, and addressed to his father-in-law, discloses the amount of authentic information concerning this barbarous outrage.

*Blad Sidi Mahomed, May 10th, 1826.*

My Dear Consul,—

I drop you a line only by an uncertain conveyance, to acquaint you that I am recovering from my severe wounds far beyond any calculation that the most sanguine expectation could have formed; and that to-morrow, please God, I leave this place for Timbuctoo, which I hope to reach on the 18th. I have suffered much, but the detail must be reserved till another period, when I shall "a tale unfold" of treachery and woe that will surprise you. Some imputation is attachable to the old shiek (Babani); but as he is now no more, I shall not accuse him; he died very suddenly about a month since.



When I write from Timbuctoo, I shall detail precisely how I was betrayed, and nearly murdered in my sleep. In the mean time, I shall acquaint you with the number and nature of my wounds, in all amounting to twenty-four; eighteen of which are exceedingly severe. I have five sabre cuts on the crown of the head, and three on the left temple; all fractures, from which much bone has come away. One on my left cheek, which fractured the jaw-bone, and has divided the ear, forming a very unsightly wound. One over the right temple, and a dreadful gash on the back of the neck, which slightly scratched the *windpipe*,\* &c. I am, nevertheless, as already I have said, doing well, and hope yet to return to England with much important geographical information. The map indeed requires much correction, and please God, I shall yet do much in addition to what I have already done towards putting it right.

It would appear from this letter, that the major intended on the day after he wrote it, to set out for Timbuctoo. The intention, however, was frustrated. The illness, and subsequent death of Sidi Mahomed Mooktar, the marabout and sheik of the place, together with a severe attack of fever in his own person, detained him for two months longer. By this distemper he lost also his favourite servant *Jack*, to whom he was much attached. We can easily enter into his feelings when, writing again on the 1st of July to his father-in-law, he concludes the epistle by saying, "I am now the only surviving member of the mission."

On the 18th of August he arrived at Timbuctoo, and from the following letter, which he left behind him there, which was afterwards forwarded to Tripoli by the nephew of Babani, and is the last that any of his relations ever received from him, we learn only enough to deepen our regret that he should have perished in the hour of success, and that his valuable papers should have been lost to the world.

"Timbuctoo,† September 21, 1826.

"My Dear Consul:—A very short epistle must serve to apprise you, as well as my dearest Emma, of my arrival at and departure from the great capital of central Africa; the former of which events took place on the 18th ultimo, the latter, please God, will take place at an early hour to-morrow morning. I have abandoned all thoughts of retracing my steps to Tripoli, and came here with an intention of proceeding to Jenne by water; but this intention has been entirely upset, and my situation in Timbuctoo rendered exceedingly unsafe by the unfriendly dispositions of the Foulahs of Massina, who have this year upset the dominion of the Tuarek, and made themselves patrons of Timbuctoo, and whose sultan, Bello, has expressed his hostility to me in no unequivocal terms, in a letter which Al Saidi Boubokar, the sheik of this town received from him a few days after my arrival. He has now got intelligence of my arrival in Timbuctoo, and as a party of Foulahs are hourly expected, Al Saidi Boubokar, who is an excellent good man, and who trembles for my safety, has strongly urged my immediate departure. And I am sorry to say, that the notice has been so short, and I have so much to do previous to going away, that this is the only communication I shall for the present be able to make. My destination is Sego, whither I hope to arrive in fifteen days; but I regret to say that the road is a vile one, and my perils are not yet at an end; but my trust is God, who has hitherto borne me up amidst the severest trials, and protected me amidst the numerous dangers to which I have been exposed.

"I have no time to give you any account of Timbuctoo, but shall briefly state, that in every respect, except in size, (which does not exceed four miles in circumference), it has completely met my expectations. Kabra is only five miles distant, and is a neat town situated on the margin of the river. I have been busily employed during my stay, searching the records in the town, which are abundant, and in acquiring information of every kind; nor is it with

\* It should be the *Spine*.

† In this letter the major always spells the name of the capital *Tinbuctu*.



any common degree of satisfaction that I say my perseverance has been amply rewarded. I am now convinced that my hypothesis concerning the termination of the Niger is correct.

"May God bless you all! I shall write you fully from Sego, as also my lord Bathurst, and I rather apprehend that both letters will reach you at one time, as none of the Ghadamis merchants leave Timbuctoo for two months to come. Again may God bless you all! My dear Emma must excuse my writing. I have begun a hundred letters to her, but have been unable to get through one. She is ever uppermost in my thoughts, and I look forward with delight to the hour of our meeting, which, please God, is now at no great distance."

The following abstract of the testimony of Bungola the major's servant, when examined by the British consul, gives the catastrophe of this melancholy story :

When asked if he had been with the major at Mooktar's, he answered, Yes.

Did you accompany him from thence to Timbuctoo? Yes.

How was he received at Timbuctoo? Well.

How long did he remain at Timbuctoo? About two months.

Did you leave Timbuctoo with major Laing? Yes.

Who went with you? A kofle of Arabs.

In what direction did you go? The sun was on my right cheek.

Did you know where you were going? To Sansanding.

Did you see any water, and were you molested? We saw no water, nor were we molested till the third day, when the Arabs of the country attacked and killed my master.

Was any one killed beside your master? I was wounded, but cannot say if any were killed.

Were you sleeping near your master? Yes.

How many wounds had your master? I cannot say, they were all with swords, and in the morning I saw the head had been cut off.

Did the person who had charge of your master commit the murder? Sheik Bouraboushi, who accompanied the reis, killed him.

What did the sheik then do? He went on to his country; an Arab took me back to Timbuctoo.

What property had your master when he was killed? Two camels; one carried the provision, the other carried my master and his bags.

Where were your master's papers? In his bag.

Were the papers brought back to Timbuctoo? I don't know.

Thus perished, a few days after the 21st of September, 1826, by the hand of an assassin, one of the most determined, enthusiastic, and thoroughly accomplished of those daring spirits who have periled their lives in the cause of African discovery. The resolution of the unfortunate Laing was of no ordinary kind; his mother has told the writer of this article, that years before he entered on his last and fatal expedition, in providing against hardships and contingencies, he had accustomed himself to sleep on the hard floor, and to write with the left hand; yea more, with the pen between the first and second toes of the right foot. It is melancholy to think that he should have perished unrequited by that fame for which he sacrificed so much, and undelivered of that tale of the capital of central Africa, which he had qualified himself so well to tell. In any circumstances the death of such a man had been lamentable; but it seems the more so, inasmuch as the result of his successful enterprise is likely for ever to be unavailing for the benefit of the living. Seven years have now elapsed since his melancholy murder, and there seems not the shadow of a hope that his papers will ever be recovered.

But we cannot conclude this memoir without adding a few sentences regarding



these important documents. Facts which were established at Tripoli during the year 1829, and established to the entire satisfaction of the consuls of Britain, the Netherlands, Denmark, Sweden, and Sardinia, develop a system of treachery and plunder regarding the major and his property, which almost amounts to the incredible. It seems to have been fully made out, that the very guide (Babani,) who set out with the traveller from Tripoli, was under the secret direction of Hassunah D' Ghies, son of the prime minister of the Tripolitan bashaw, and the conspirator against the major's life—that by his (D' Ghies') instructions the ferocious Bourabouschi, the eventual murderer, was appointed to be the conductor of the major from Timbuctoo, and that into his (D' Ghies') hands the major's papers (fourteen inches long by seven thick,) were put by another of his emissaries shortly after the murder. In short, it has been fully ascertained that this packet was secreted in Tripoli so lately as July or August, 1828.

The most amazing part of the tale of treachery yet remains to be told. It would further appear that the documents referred to were given by D' Ghies to the French consul at Tripoli, the baron de Rosseau, and that during the greater part of the major's journey this official from France had been in secret correspondence with the conspirators—that he exerted himself in securing the flight of Hassunah D' Ghies after the treachery had been discovered, and gave protection to, and tampered with his brother Mohamed, who made the disclosure.

It were out of place, in this memoir, to detail the strong chain of evidence by which these allegations are supported. A masterly summary of it will be found in the Quarterly Review, No. 84. Suffice it to say, that neither M. Rosseau nor the French government have, as yet, done any thing to acquit themselves of the fearful charge there preferred against them. Till removed, it must stand a foul blot upon their national honour.

LAING, MALCOLM, a lawyer and distinguished constitutional historian, was born in the year 1762, at Strynzia, his paternal estate, situated on the main-land of Orkney. He received the rudiments of his education at the humble but respectable grammar school of Kirkwall; a seminary which is generally attended by about a hundred boys, the sons of the neighbouring proprietors and farmers. When he had reached the proper age, he was sent to the university of Edinburgh, then superintended and attended by men of great talent. Along with many of the latter class, he joined in the establishment of the Speculative Society, an institution whose subjects of discussion were perhaps to a certain extent guided by his peculiar tastes, and certainly coincided remarkably with those in which he afterwards distinguished himself.

In 1785, he passed as a Scottish advocate: we do not know whether he had any predilection for the practice of the law, or whether he made choice of the profession, for the mere respectability of the title, and the opportunity it might afford of attracting notice as a politician; but assuredly, notwithstanding his very high talents in general, and his peculiarly great powers as a reasoner or special pleader, he never was much employed, or known as a distinguished practising barrister. It will scarcely account sufficiently for this circumstance, that the manner in which he delivered his powerful arguments was neither majestic nor pleasing, that "his speeches were uttered with an almost preternatural rapidity, and in harsh and disagreeable tones." If he could speak and compose with facility—and in parliament he was considered an able speaker—such arguments as *he* might have used did not require the extraneous assistance of *manner*, even for a jury; while almost the whole pleading in Scotland at that period was addressed to the judges, from whose well-practised intellects, reason and powerful argument only could find attention. Laing has shown in his writings



a minute knowledge of all branches of Scottish law: he voluntarily acted the part of a lawyer, in historical subjects, in a manner which has called forth the highest praise to his merely forensic talents; and it may, on the whole, be safely concluded, that the limited extent of his practice at the bar must be attributed more to his choice than to his talent. The first fruit of Mr Laing's laborious constitutional investigations, was the preparing for the press the last volume of Dr Henry's History of Great Britain in 1793, after that author's death. The matter collected by Henry did not extend to a period at which the work could be terminated, and Laing was requested by his executors to write two terminating chapters, to which he annexed a dissertation on the alleged crimes of Richard III. The labours of the two authors could not be very aptly united, and many consider Laing as a fierce liberalist, whose doctrines appeared harsh and prejudiced, when compared to the calm narrative of Henry. The authors were indeed extremely dissimilar, but we must pause before we decide in favour of the former. Henry was a man of tame mind and tolerable good sense; but if he appeared calm and moderate in his historical opinions, he was so, in the very safe and reputable cause of despotism, in which he insconced himself as an impregnable fortress, which it did not require much skill to defend. Laing, on the other hand was a man of strong judgment and profound speculation; and if he was violently argumentative in support of the opinions he had adopted, he was so, not as a man who is determined to maintain a given point because he has chosen it, and is personally interested in its being shown to be true; but as one who had considered the matter accurately, had submitted it to the arbitration of his strong judgment, and was resolved to crush those prejudices which prevented others from seeing it as it appeared to himself. It is the height of all prejudice to blame an historian for his opinions; but many have deserved too much blame for twisting facts to support opinions, instead of bending opinions to accommodate them to facts. It was the object of Laing to discover the truth. Perhaps prepossession in favour of the line of principles he had adopted may have, therefore, prompted him to derive improper deductions from the facts which he produced; but his strongest political opponents have never accused him of perverting facts. Laing is said likewise to have composed the memoir of Henry which accompanied the History; but it certainly does not display his usual energy of style. Whatever defects some may have discovered in the continuation of Henry's History, the critical world in general saw its merit, and bestowed the countenance of its approbation. The author thus encouraged to new historical labours, looked towards his native country, and in 1800, he published "The History of Scotland, from the union of the crowns, on the accession of king James VI. to the throne of England, to the union of the kingdoms, in the reign of queen Anne. With two dissertations, historical and critical, on the Gowry Conspiracy, and on the supposed authenticity of Ossian's Poems." As in the previous case, his book was very dissimilar to that of the person of whose labours his were a continuation—Dr Robertson. Of the flowing academical ease of that author it is very destitute. It cannot be called either inelegant or harsh, but it is complicated; and by being laboured to contain much meaning, is occasionally obscure. There is much in the profundity of the remarks and reflections which Dr Robertson could not have reached; but the chief merit lies in the display of critical power on matters of evidence, in which he displays all the acumen of the practised lawyer, and the close observer of human nature. From this peculiar merit, the separate dissertations, containing nothing but special pleadings, are the most useful and admirable parts of the book. In all parts of the work, the author's ruling spirit has prompted him to search for debated facts, few of which he has left without some sort of settlement



of the point. He has treated in this manner many points of English history, among which is the celebrated question of the author of Eikon Basilike, concerning which he has fully proved, that whatever share Charles may have had in the suggestion or partial composition, Gauden was the person who prepared the work for the press. Mr Laing appears to have enjoyed a peculiar pleasure in putting local and personal prejudices at defiance, and exulting in the exercise of strong reasoning powers; he has not hesitated to attack all that is peculiarly sacred to the feelings of his countrymen; a characteristic strikingly displayed in his dissertation on the authenticity of Ossian's Poems. These productions required no depth of argument, or minute investigation of facts, to support their authenticity in the feelings of an enthusiastic people: and those who did not believe them, had not troubled themselves with calmly meeting what they considered unconquerable prejudices.

Laing may, therefore, be considered as the first person who examined the pretensions of Macpherson on the broad ground of an investigation into facts. The arguments in this dissertation may be considered as of three sorts: the first, a logical examination of the arguments and proofs adduced, or supposed to be adduced, in favour of the authenticity of the poems, which, as the author has only sceptical arguments to produce, is the least interesting and satisfactory part of the investigation. The second body of arguments is drawn from contemporary documents and chronological facts,—a portion of the subject in which the author showed his vast reading, and his power of clearly distinguishing truth from falsehood, constituting a body of evidence which finally demolished any claim on the part of "the Poems of Ossian" as authentic *translations* of the productions of a Highland bard of the fourth century. The third part of our division, containing an examination of the internal evidence drawn from the poems themselves, if not the most conclusive part of the examination, is certainly that which gives us the strongest idea of the author's critical ingenuity, and his powers as a special pleader. He produces terms and ideas which could not be presumed to have entered into the minds of the early inhabitants of Britain, from their never having encountered the circumstances which legitimately rouse them, such as the idea attached to the term "desert," which cannot be a part of speech with men who inhabit a wild and thinly peopled country, and can only be comprehended by those who are accustomed to see or hear of vast barren tracts of country, as opposed to cities, or thickly peopled districts.

He produces similes, and trains of ideas derived, or plagiarised from the writings of other authors, particularly from Virgil, Milton, Thomson, and the Psalms; and finally, he enters into a curious comparison between the method of arranging the terms and ideas in the Poems of Ossian, and that exhibited in a forgotten poem called "The Highlanders," published by Macpherson in early life. The author of such an attack on one of the fortresses of the national pride of Scotland, did not perpetrate his work without suitable reprobation; the Highlanders were "loud in their wail," and the public prints swarmed with ebullitions of their wrath. Mr Laing was looked on as a man who had set all feelings of patriotism at defiance: to many it seemed an anomaly in human nature, that a Scotsman should thus voluntarily undermine the great boast of his country; and, unable otherwise to account for such an act, they sought to discover in the author, motives similar to those, which made the subject sacred to themselves. "As I have not seen Mr Laing's History," says one gentleman, "I can form no opinion as to the arguments wherewith he has attempted to discredit Ossian's Poems: the attempt could not come more naturally than from Orcadians. Perhaps the severe checks given by the ancient Caledonians to their predatory Scandinavian predecessors raised prejudices not yet extinct. I con-



ceive how an author can write under the influence of prejudice, and not sensible of being acted upon by it."<sup>1</sup> This gentlemen, who had not seen Mr Laing's History, probably conceived his observation to be one which would go bitterly home to the feelings of his opponent; but we fear Mr Laing's feelings regarding the Celts were a strong armour against the arrow, as we have heard that he was personally partial to the Highlanders, so much so as to be designated by those who knew him, "a regular Celt." Mr Laing's dissertations on the Poems of Ossian had the merit of causing to be produced "The Report of the Committee of the Highland Society, appointed to inquire into the nature and authenticity of the Poems of Ossian," conducted under the superintendence of Henry Mackenzie, published in 1805.

At the same period, Mr Laing brought the controversy to a final issue, by publishing a work, which, with a sneer in its designation he entitled "The Poems of Ossian, &c. containing the poetical works of James Macpherson, Esq., in prose and rhyme, with notes and illustrations." The nature of the "notes and illustrations" may easily be presumed; the work indeed is a curiosity in literature. The edition of Ossian is a very splendid one; and, like an animal decked for sacrifice, the relentless editor introduced it conspicuously to the world, with the apparent purpose of making its demolition the more signal. Within the same year, Mr Laing's line of argument was answered by Mr M'Donald, and two years afterwards, a long and elaborate work, complacently termed a "confutation," was produced by the reverend Mr Graham, who, however, made a somewhat unlucky development of his qualifications for this task, by quoting the "*De Moribus Germanorum*" of Tacitus, referring entirely to the Teutonic nations, as authority concerning the Celts. Mr Laing never confuted his arguments, having never made the attempt.

In the mean time, Mr Laing's controversial disposition had prompted him to discover another subject, in the treatment of which he excited a still greater degree of wrath. In 1804, he published an edition of his History of Scotland, to which he prefixed two volumes, containing "A Preliminary Dissertation on the participation of Mary queen of Scots in the murder of Darnley." The purpose of the treatise was, with the author's usual decision and boldness, declared in the title, and through the whole of the lengthy detail of two volumes on one historical incident, he never wavers in the slightest degree from the conclusion of guilt. Having first formed his opinion in the matter—on good grounds, it is charitably to be presumed—he lays down and arranges his documents and arguments with the precision and conciseness of a lawyer, and no more hints at the possibility of the innocence of the queen, than the crown lawyer at that of his victim. Few who have ever read this extraordinary work can forget the startling exactness with which the arguments are suited to the facts, and to the guiding principles of the whole narrative of the renowned event laid before the reader. "Mr Laing's merit," says a writer in the Edinburgh Review, who refers to this work as to one peculiarly characteristic of his genius, "as a critical inquirer into history, an enlightened collector of materials, and a sagacious judge of evidence, has never been surpassed. If any man believes the innocence of queen Mary, after an impartial and dispassionate perusal of Mr Laing's examination of her case, the state of such a man's mind would be a subject worthy of much consideration by a philosophical observer of human nature. In spite of his ardent love of liberty, no man has yet presumed to charge him with the slightest sacrifice of historical integrity to his zeal. That he never perfectly attained the art of full, clear, and easy narrative, was owing to the peculiar style of those writers who were popular in his youth, and may

<sup>1</sup> Rev. Mr Gallie's Letter to the Highland Society Committee,—Report 39.



he mentioned as a remarkable instance of the disproportion of particular talents to general vigour of mind."<sup>1</sup>

Laing was intimately acquainted with Charles Fox, with whom he conducted an ample correspondence, the letters of which on both sides, still, we believe, exist unpublished, and would certainly form a very interesting addition to our epistolary information regarding great men. That eminent statesman frequently quoted the historical works of Mr Laing, as containing matter which could be relied on for its authenticity; and Laing became an active and zealous supporter of the short administration of his friend, during which he represented his native county in parliament. It is said, that notwithstanding the disadvantages of his manner, he was listened to and much respected as a speaker; and he gave all the assistance which so short a period admitted to the plans of the ministry for improving the Scottish courts of law. After his brief appearance as a legislator, the state of his health prevented him from interfering in public business. Whether from excessive study and exertion, or his natural habit of body, he suffered under a nervous disorder of excessive severity, which committed frightful ravages on his constitution; and it is said that he was required to be frequently supported in an artificial position, to prevent him from fainting. He retired to his estate in Orkney, and his health being to a certain extent restored by a cessation from laborious intellectual pursuits, his ever active mind employed itself in useful exercise within his narrow sphere of exertion: he improved his own lands, introduced better methods of cultivation than had been previously practised in the district, and experimented in the breeding of Merino sheep. He died in the end of the year 1818, having, notwithstanding the great celebrity of his works, been so much personally forgotten by the literary world, that it is with difficulty that we have been enabled to collect matter sufficient for an outline of his life. He was married to Miss Carnegie, daughter of a gentleman in Forfarshire, and sister-in-law to lord Gillies, who still survives him. His property was succeeded to by Samuel Laing his "elder" brother.<sup>2</sup> Besides the works we have discussed above, it may be mentioned that he edited the *Life of James VI.*, published in 1804.

LAUDER, (Sir) JOHN, lord Fountainhall, an eminent lawyer and statesman, was born at Edinburgh, on the 2nd of August, 1646.<sup>3</sup> His father was John, afterwards Sir John Lauder, baronet, a merchant and baillie of Edinburgh, a younger branch and afterwards chief of the family of Lauder of Bass and Lauder. The subject of our memoir was his eldest son, by his second marriage with Isabel Ellis, daughter of Alexander Ellis of Mortonhall. By this wife he had fourteen sons and two daughters; by a previous marriage he had three children, and by a third wife, of whom mention will be made hereafter, he had four sons and two daughters. Of the early education of young Lauder, we know nothing, with the exception of a passing memorandum in his voluminous memorials of legal matters, which shows that he had passed some time at the university of Leyden, at that time the principal continental resort of students at law. "The university of St Andrews," he says, "claims to be freed from paying excise for all drink furnished to the scholars, and that upon the general privilege competent to all universities by custom. I remember we enjoyed that privilege at Leyden, after our immatriculation." Having accomplished his preparatory studies, he passed as an advocate on the 5th of June, 1668, and commenced the

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Rev. xlv. 37.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. Annual Register, 1818, p. 250

<sup>3</sup> Register of baptisms in Edinburgh. For this, and all the other information relative to lord Fountainhall, not to be found in printed works, we are obliged to a very curious MS. collection regarding him, made by his descendant Sir Thomas Dick Lauder, of which that gentleman has kindly permitted us the use.



practical pursuit of his profession with vigour, after having previously, as his early proficiency as a lawyer shows us, prepared his mind by intense and accurate study. "From my admission as an advocate," he says, "in June, 1668, I began to mark the decisions of the court of session;" and it is to his uninterrupted industry in this occupation that we owe that valuable mass of precedents, known by the name of "Fountainhall's Decisions," published in two volumes folio, and lately more fully re-edited from the original manuscripts. In a case which he reports during his earlier years at the bar, strong internal evidence, arising from the use of the first person singular—the unusual proximity of the speech,<sup>4</sup> and the absence of the name of the counsel, shows himself to have acted in that capacity. This action was at the instance of the town of Stirling, against the unfreemen in Falkirk and Kilsyth, bearing date January 18, and June 25, 1672. Lauder's speech is a curious specimen of the mixed logical and rhetorical eloquence of the forensic pleading of the age, when the judges acted more as a deliberative assembly, than as a body of lawyers bound to the letter of certain enactments; and the person who addressed them, if he could not sway their passions as those of a modern jury are affected, had a wide field of influence in their reason or prejudices. Contrasted with the restricted legal pleadings of the present day, the following commencement on the part of "the learned gentleman for the prosecution," would appear very singular: "My lord commissioner, may it please your grace, what happiness and cheerfulness the eminent and most eloquent of all the apostles, St Paul, expresses, when he is put to plead his cause before Festus and Agrippa, because the one had long been a judge in his nation, and the other was expert in all the manners and customs of the Jews, the same gladness possesses the town of Stirling, and with them the whole royal burghs, that they are to plead in behalf of their privileges this day, before your grace, the great patron and conservator of them." It is to be remarked, that, in this case, Lauder is pleading for the exclusive privileges of burghs, and in favour of monopolies. He opens his speech with a sketch of the arguments of his adversary, on which, probably with a wish to caricature them, he has bestowed an amiable liberality of doctrine, which Adam Smith could not have excelled, and told many politico-economical truths, which few had then imagined. His own answers to the principles he thus beautifully lays down, sound harsh and jarring in comparison, although they were far more accordant to the principles of the time. "Do not," he says with considerable tact, "think it a light matter to rob the royal burghs of their privileges, which are become their property by as good a title as any of you bruik your lands and estate. By what hand ye shall communicate these liberties (now called in question,) to the defenders, by that same shall ye lop off the royal burghs from being the third estate in the kingdom. Remember that a threefold cord ought not to be easily broken. Consider that lamentable confusion may follow on loosing one pin of the government; that the touching such a fundamental sacred constitution may unhinge the whole; that government is like a sheaf of arrows fast bound, pull out one, all will follow and fall to the ground; and how terribly dangerous such an innovation may be." It will be held in mind, however, that each counsel was feed for the principles he maintained, and that the genuine opinions of both may have almost united in "a happy medium." The speech, on the whole, is full of classical learning, and statistical information, and cannot fail to convey a pleasing idea of the intelligence and talent of a forensic orator of the seventeenth century.

<sup>4</sup> Extending from p. 642, to 679, of Brown's Supplement, where it is styled "Fountainhall's Speech for the Pursuers."



Soon after this period, we find the subject of our memoir connected with one of those constitutional acts of resistance, for which the bar of Scotland has only, in a very few instances, been celebrated. It is well known to those acquainted with Scottish history, that a private litigation betwixt the earls of Dunfermline and Callender interested the feelings or cupidity of Lauderdale, who was determined to influence the decision in favour of the former, by swaying the judges through his personal appearance on the bench, in virtue of his honorary title of "an extraordinary lord of session." The affair was managed by having the cause prematurely called in court, in defiance of statute; and, a decision being come to in favour of the pursuer, Callender lodged an appeal to parliament, a novel procedure, which it was the interest of the king and of the judges to stifle at its first appearance. There are few who will not acknowledge, that a final appeal of litigated cases to the legislative tribunal of the country, is, if not a preventive, at least a check to the consequences of influence or prejudice in inferior judicatories. The absence of such a principle, and the decay of jury trial in Scotland, had both originated from the same cause. Parliament was anciently the great jury of the nation, and, with the king as its president, the court of last resort in all litigations: but becoming, from the nature of the inferior courts, overburdened with judicial business, which a large body of men could not easily accomplish, the full powers of parliament, in this respect, were bestowed on a judicial committee called the Lords Auditors, from which, through a gradation of changes, was formed the court of session, which thus, by its origin, united the duties of the jury, the law court, and the legislative body of last resort. In these circumstances, it was not difficult for government to discover, that a measure so unpleasing to itself, was a daring innovation of the "constitution." The counsel for the appellants, Lockhart and Cunningham, were desired to make oath regarding their share in this act of insubordination, and not only refusing, but maintaining the justice of appeals, were summarily prohibited the exercise of their profession. The members of the bar united to resent the insult and protect their rights, and fifty advocates, (probably very nearly the whole number then at the bar,) of whom Lauder was one,<sup>5</sup> followed their distinguished brethren to retirement, and at the instance of Lauderdale, were banished twelve miles from Edinburgh. After a year's exile, they were allowed to return, having managed to effect a compromise with the court. In another appeal, which was attempted not long after, the appellant was persuaded to trust to the effect of recalling his appeal; but the judges, on whom the mixture of intimidation and flattery appears to have produced little effect, adhered, notwithstanding an implied promise to the contrary, to their previous interlocutor. "And so," remarks Lauder in reference to the case, "he was either ill or well served for his complimenting them. But the times were such that no rational man could expect a rectification from them of what had once, even through unawares, escaped them. When their honour was once engaged at the stake, they blushed to confess what is incident to humanity itself, *nam humanum est errare*." With regard to his own sufferings for judicial integrity, he remarks, "I have few or no observations for the space of three sessions and a half, viz. from June, 1674, till January, 1676, in regard I was at that time debarred from any employment, with many other lawyers, on the account we were unclear to serve under the strict and servile ties seemed to be imposed on us by the king's letter, discharging any to quarrel the lords of session their sen-

<sup>5</sup> Mackenzie's Memoirs, 293, where Lauder, among others, subscribes an address by the debarred advocates to the privy council. For a farther account of the affair, see the memoirs of Sir G. Lockhart, and Sir G. Mackenzie.



tences of injustice, and was not restored till January, 1676." After his restoration to his powers, his collection of decisions shows that he was a well employed and active counsellor.

His next appearance in public life, is at the celebrated trial of the earl of Argyle in 1681, for a treasonable explanation of the test, for whom Lauder acted as counsel, along with Lockhart and six others. The vulgar prejudice against vindicating a person accused of any crime, together with the cautious vigilance of the crown, trammelled for a long time the legitimate powers of counsel in Scotland, and especially in cases of treason, brought their duty so much under the arbitration of the court, that a practice prevailed by which it was considered illegal to defend a person accused of such a crime, without the permission of government; and therefore every prudent advocate declined interfering till he could produce a royal warrant. In the present instance, Argyle's counsel had prepared and signed, as lawyers, an "opinion" that his explanation of the test was a legal one. The consequence of this, as detailed in Lauder's own words, was, that "The counsell named a committee to call my lord Argyle's eight advocates, viz<sup>t</sup>, Sir George Lockhart, Sir John Dalrymple, Messieurs Walter Pringle, David Thoires, Patrick Home, John Stewart, James Graham, and myself, for subscribing an opinion that his explanation contained nothing treasonable in it. We were examined upon oath; and it was called a new practice to sign opinions with us, especially in criminal cases importing treason, and a bad preparative; though lawyers should not be prelimited nor overawed freely to plead in defence of their clients; the privy council having authorized us to that purpose. Tho' some aimed at imprisoning and depriving us, yet, after we had spoke with his royal hynes, he was pleased to pass it; tho', he said, if any bad use were made of our signed opinion, by spreading it abroad in England to incense them, or reproach the duke or the judges, he could not but blame us. It was afterwards printed in England, and Argyle's trial, with another piece, called a Scotch Mist to wet ane Englishman to the Skin: being sundry animadversions on Argyle's process."

Although his political proceedings do not seem to have been calculated to bring him within the atmosphere of court favour, he early received the dignity of knighthood; at what precise period is not known, but apparently previous to the year 1681. Much about the same period, or some years afterwards, he appears to have acted as one of the assessors to the city of Edinburgh; a circumstance discoverable from his remarking, that on the 4th of November, 1685, the other gentleman who held that office was removed, from some cause connected with burgh politics, while he was retained.

In 1685, Sir John Lauder became a member of the Committee of Estates; and for more than twenty years,<sup>6</sup> until the treaty of union, he appears from the journals of the house to have performed his parliamentary duties with activity and zeal. He was returned for the shire of Haddington on the 23rd of April, along with Sir John Wedderburn of Gosford. His election was disputed by Sir James Hay of Simplum; and the committee on controverted elections having reported that the votes were equally divided, a new election was proposed, when one of the voters for Sir James Hay being discovered to have given his vote after the election had been formally terminated, Sir John Lauder was declared the sitting member by a majority of one. Lauder was early discovered in his legislative, as he had been in his professional capacity, not to be a do-

<sup>6</sup> The record shows him to have been returned of the following dates: 23d April, 1685; 29th April, 1686; 3rd September, 1690; 9th May, 1695; 8th September, 1696; 21st May, 1700; 6th May, 1703; 6th July, 1704; 28th June, 1705; 3rd October, 1706.—*Act. Parl.* vols. viii, ix, x, xi.



cile and obedient supporter of the measures of government. In the first parliament which he attended, he refused to vote for the forfeiture of the earl of Melville, who had fled from the wrath of government after the discovery of the Rye-house plot.<sup>7</sup>

He was a zealous friend to the protestant faith, when there were few in Scotland who risked an open defence of the religion to which they were so ardently attached. The government, who found it difficult to make the protection of protestantism a crime, had nevertheless power enough to harass him. "On May 1st, 1686," he says, "Mr James Young, son to Andrew Young, writer to the signet, is apprehended by captain Graham, and kept in the court of guard, being delated as a copier and dispenser of a paper, containing reasons why the parliament should not consent to the dispensing with the penal laws against papists, and reflecting in the end on such protestants as had apostatized! and for having verses against the bishop of St Andrews and bishop of Edinburgh; and he having in his examination named John Wilson and John Nasmyth, my servants,<sup>8</sup> as bringers of these papers to his chamber, the chancellor signed an order to captain Graham to arrest them, apprehending possibly to reach myself for libelling, as he termed it. But they having named their authors from whom they had them, were liberated, and their authors, viz. Mr John Ellis, Robert Keill, &c. were cited."—"My two servants," he afterwards says, "being imprisoned, and I threatened therewith, as also that they would seize upon my papers, and search if they contained anything offensive to the party then prevailing, I was necessitated to hide the manuscript, and many others, and intermit my historick remarks till the Revolution in the end of 1688, after which I began some observes of our meeting of estates of parliament held in 1690-93 and 95, and other occurrents forreign and domestick, briefly summed up, and drawn together yeirly, (but not with such enlargements as I have used heir,) and are to be found up and downe in several manuscripts besyde me, to be reviewed *cum dabit otium Deus*."

When James made his well-known recommendation to the parliament of Scotland to rescind the penal statutes against Roman catholics, Lauder joined in the debate on the appropriate answer, in a spirit of moderation, which, according to the amount of his charity, the reader may attribute to prudence, or liberality, or both united. On the question, what term the parliament should bestow on those who professed the Romish faith, "I represented," says he, "that there was no man within the house more desirous to have these odious marks of division buried, and that we might all be united under the general name of Christian. It is true the names under which they were known in our law were the designations of the papistical kirk, heresy, error, superstition, popish idolatry, and maintainers of the cruel decrees of the council of Trent; and though it was not suitable to the wisdom and gravity of parliament to give them a title implying as if they were the true church, and we but a sect, yet I wished some soft appellation, with the least offence, might be fallen on, and therefore I proposed it might run thus, *those commonly called Roman Catholics*; that the most part of our divines calls *us* the catholics, and so Chamier begins his Panstratia, 'Vertuntur controversiæ, Catholicos inter et Papistas.' The chancellor called this a nicknaming of the king, and proposed it might run in general terms thus, *as to those subjects your majesty has recommended to us, &c.*" The motion of the archbishop of Glasgow, that they should be simply termed "Roman Catholics,"—a repetition of the king's own words—was finally carried. But

<sup>7</sup> Act Parl., ix. Ap. 45.

<sup>8</sup> The term "servant" is invariably used by Lauder and other lawyers of the period for "clerk."



however he might be inclined to be conciliatory about epithets, Lauder resisted with firmness the strong attempt made by James and his commissioner, the earl of Moray, towards the conclusion of the parliament, finally to abolish the penalties against Roman catholics. In his manuscripts are preserved seventeen closely written pages of matter on this subject, entitled "A Discourse in defence, whereof part was spoken in the parliament, of the Penal Laws against Popery, and why the Toleration Act should not pass; and the rest was intended, but was prevented by the sudden rising of the parliament." Frequent application, often in the most contemptible of causes, has made the arguments contained in this able document too hackneyed to please a modern taste; an impartial posterity, however, will reflect, that though liberal feeling has often been disgusted by a similar discussion of a question, which to this day bears the same name, the supporters of the penal laws against Roman catholics in the reign of James the Seventh, were not striking against freedom of opinion; that they were a party which had just halted from a battle for their own privileges and liberties, and once more beheld them sternly menaced; that they did not wish to dictate to the consciences of an oppressed body of men, but were boldly preserving the purity of their own, by using the only means in their power to prevent the resuscitation of a church which sat in judgment over the mind, and was armed with a sword to compel obedience to its dictates. "It were," says Lauder, "a strange excess and transport of Christian lenity and moderation, to abolish our laws against papists, who, by the principles and practice of their church, may show no favour to us; but will turn the weapons we arm them with to the total subversion of our religion:" words which had a meaning when a bigoted papal monarch sat on the throne, and the horrors of a high commission were in too fresh recollection; but which have none when used towards a poor and powerless body, desiring to enjoy their own religion in peace.

We must not omit to mention, that at the trial of the duke of Monmouth in 1686, Sir John Lauder and other two counsel were employed to protest for the interest of the duchess, who was absolute proprietrix of the estate enjoyed by her husband. The criminal court would not condescend to receive a protest in a matter purely civil; but did condescend to forfeit the property of the duchess for the crime of her husband. It was afterwards, however, given back by the king.

We pause in the history of his political career, to record a few domestic events which characterized the life of Sir John Lauder. He had been married on the 21st January, 1669, to Janet Ramsay, daughter of Sir Andrew Ramsay, lord Abbotshall, whose father was the celebrated Andrew Ramsay, minister of the Grey-friars' church. This lady, after bearing him eleven children, died in 1686. Her husband has thus affectionately noted the event, "27 Februarii, 1686, at night happened *mors charissimæ meæ conjugis mihi amarissima et luctuosissima*; so there is little to the 10th of March, I not having come abroad till then." On the margin is written *nota non obliviscenda*. In the curious familiar memorials which he has left behind him, we find frequent instances of that warm domestic feeling which is often the private ornament of men illustrious for their public and political intrepidity. To any disaster in his numerous family—for he had seven children by a second wife—we sometimes meet such simple allusions as the following, buried among the legal notanda, or the political events of that feverish period: "17 Decembris, 1695, I entered on the bills; and my dear child Robert dying this day, the observes are the fewer, in respect of my absence for two days, and my other affairs, which diverted my constant attention that week." Again, "21 July, 1696, Tuesday: my dear son William



dying this day, I was absent till his burial was over." Sir John was a second time married on the 26th of March, 1687, to Marion Anderson, daughter of Anderson of Balram, who survived him.

The domestic tranquillity of this excellent man was long harassed by the machinations of a step-mother,—his father's third wife, of whose heteroclite proceedings we must give a slight sketch. This woman, Margaret Ramsay, daughter to George Ramsay of Iddington, to whom Sir John Lauder's father was united in 1670, at the ripe age of 86, prevailed on her husband to procure a baronet's title, which he obtained in July, 1688, and the lady, showing that she had more important designs than the gratification of female vanity, managed, by an artifice for which parental affection can scarcely form an excuse, to get the patent directed to her own son George, and the other heirs male of her body without any reference to the children of the previous marriage.

A document among the papers of Sir John Lauder, being a draft of an indictment, or criminal libel, at the instance of the lord advocate, before the privy council, against the lady and her relations, gives us his own account of the transaction: it is dated 1690, and commences "Memorandum for Sir John Lauder, to raise an libell at privy counsell at the instance of Sir J. D. (Sir John Dalrymple), his majesty's advocate, for his majesty's interest, and of Sir John Lauder, Mr William and Andrew Lauders, his brothers german, against Margaret Ramsay, &c." Neither the *Medea* of Euripides, nor the old ballad of "Lord Randal my Son," gives a more *beau ideal* picture of the proceedings of the "cruel step-dame," than this formidable document. It accuses her of having "wearied her husband by her excessive importunity and ambition to procure and accept ane knight baronet's patent;" that, having managed through her relations to direct the destination in the manner we have mentioned, the old gentleman immediately sent the patent to Mr Robert Lauder to be altered, and Mr Robert, certainly not having the fear of what are awfully termed consequences before his eyes, proceeded to his duty, when the enraged lady "with several others of her accomplices, intending by force to have taken the patent from him, threatened to see his heart's blood if he did not deliver it presently." Farther, "to fright her husband to comply with her unreasonable and unjust demands, she threatened that she would starve herself if that patent was not taken to her son, and that she would kill herself if she saw any of the complainers come near the house, and if he did not absolutely discharge them his presence;" and still more emphatically, "she tore the clothes off her body, and the hoods off her head, and sware fearful oaths, that she would drown herself and her children, and frequently cursed the complainers, and defamed and traduced them in all places, and threatened that she hoped to see them all rooted out, they and their posterity, off the face of the earth, and her children would succeed to all."<sup>9</sup> A decree appears to have been obtained against the defenders in the privy council; and the patent being reduced in the civil court, a new destination was obtained, by which Sir John Lauder succeeded to the family title and estates on the death of his father in 1692.

<sup>9</sup> Notwithstanding her ferocity, this woman seems to have managed to be regretted at her death. She is the only person to whom, from the date (April 18, 1713), we can apply a piece of doggerel. "In obitum pie ac generosissimæ Domine D.A. Fountainhall, Elegidium, ad usum et captum adolescentuli ejusdem filii Alexandri Lauder, ex industria accommodatum. It thus elegantly commences:

An quia matrona es, generoso stemmate nata  
Fatorum rigido numine, sancta cadis."

Or as it is Englished,

"Fallen by the dismal stroke of harsher fate,  
Because by birth, but more by virtue great.

*Pamphlets Ad. Lib. M. 4. 4.*



Meantime, the Revolution had brought him a relief from the dangers and difficulties of opposition, and the hope of preferment and influence. He was appointed a lord of session, and took his seat with the title of "lord Fountainhall," on the 1st November, 1689. On the 27th of January following, he was also nominated a lord of justiciary. In 1692, Sir John Lauder was offered the lucrative and influential situation of lord advocate; but the massacre of Glencoe, an act characteristic of a darker age and a bloodier people, had just taken place; the lukewarmness, if not criminality of the government, formed an impediment, and to his honour be it mentioned, he would not accept the proffered situation except on the condition of being allowed to prosecute the murderers. At the time when the Scottish parliament found it necessary to strike a blow for the property of the nation invested in the Darien scheme, it was proposed that the parliament should vote an address to the king, calling on him to vindicate the honour of Scotland, and protect the company. The more determined spirits in that exasperated assembly demanded an act as the legitimate procedure of an independent body. Among these was Lauder. The address was carried by 108 to 84, and a body of those who voted otherwise, with Hamilton and Lauder at their head, recorded their dissent.<sup>1</sup> He began at this period to show opposition to the measures of government. Along with Hamilton, he recorded a dissent from the motion of the high commissioner, for continuing for four months the forces over and above the 3000, which constituted the regular establishment.<sup>2</sup> He attended parliament during the tedious discussion of the several articles of the union, and we find his protest frequently recorded, although to one or two articles which did not involve the principle of an incorporating union, he gave his assent. In the final vote, his name is recorded among the noes.

Soon after the union, on the appointment of circuits, old age interfered with lord Fountainhall's performance of all his laborious duties, and after some unwillingness on the part of royalty to lose so honest a servant, he resigned his justiciary gown, and a short time before his death, he gave up his seat in the court of session. This good and useful man died in September, 1722, leaving to his numerous family a considerable fortune, chiefly the fruit of his own industry. On a character which has already spoken for itself through all the actions of a long life, we need not dilate. His high authority as a rational lawyer is well known to the profession. His industry was remarkable. His manuscripts, as extant, fill ten folio and three quarto volumes; and there is reason to believe, from his references, that several were lost.

In 1822, was published "*Chronological Notes of Scottish Affairs from 1680 till 1701*, being chiefly taken from the *Diary of lord Fountainhall*." Unfortunately this volume is not taken from the original manuscript, but from an abridged compilation by a Mr Milne, a writer in Edinburgh; a fierce Jacobite, who has disturbed the tranquil observations of the judge with his own fiery additions, apparently judging that his cause might be well supported by making an honest adversary tell falsehoods in its favour. A genuine selection from the historical manuscripts of lord Fountainhall would be a useful addition to our historical literature.

LAUDER, WILLIAM, a man renowned in literary history, for having turned superior talents, and very high classical acquirements, to an attempt to defraud Milton of his fame. Of the period of his birth, which has escaped the patient investigation of Chalmers, we are totally ignorant. The earlier part of his life was passed in great obscurity, although it has been ascertained from his own remarks—in after life we believe—that he was connected, and not very distantly, with the respectable family of Lauder of Fountainhall. He received all his edu-

<sup>1</sup> Act. Parl., x. 269.

<sup>2</sup> Act. Parl., x. 294.



cation in Edinburgh, and passed through the university with considerable credit. After leaving college, he seems to have immediately resorted to teaching, as a means of gaining a livelihood; his early career in this profession was for some time interrupted by an accident, which must have materially affected his future course of life. While standing near a party engaged in the game of golf, on Bruntfield Links, near Edinburgh, a ball struck him on the knee; the wound, which cannot have been very serious, festered from careless treatment, and he was compelled to submit to the amputation of his leg.<sup>1</sup> In 1734, he was employed by professor Watt, then in bad health, to teach for him the class of Humanity, or Latin; and on the death of that gentleman he naturally exerted himself to procure an appointment as successor; but though he had talents to teach, he had not sufficient influence to be appointed a professor. We are, however, informed that on this occasion the professors gratuitously honoured him with "a testimonial from the heads of the university, certifying that he was a fit person to teach Humanity in any school or college whatever."<sup>2</sup> After this disappointment, his ambition sunk to an application for the subordinate situation of keeper to the university library, but this also was denied him. He appears indeed to have been a person whose disposition and character produced a general dislike, which was only to a small extent balanced by his talent and high scholarship. "He was," says Chalmers, with characteristic magniloquence, "a person about five feet seven inches high, who had a sallow complexion, large rolling fiery eyes, a stentorian voice, and a sanguine temper;" and Ruddiman has left, in a pamphlet connected with the subject of our memoir, a manuscript note, observing, "I was so sensible of the weakness and folly of that man, that I slunned his company, as far as decently I could." Ruddiman's opinion, however, if early entertained, did not prevent him from forming an intimate literary connexion with its subject.

In 1738, Lauder printed a proposal to publish by subscription "A Collection of Sacred Poems," "with the assistance of professor Robert Stewart, professor John Ker, (professor of Greek in Aberdeen, and afterwards of Latin in Edinburgh), and Mr Thomas Ruddiman." The promised work was published by Ruddiman in 1739, and forms the two well known volumes called "*Poetarum Scotorum Musæ Sacræ*."<sup>3</sup> What assistance Stewart and Ker may have given to this work appears not to be known; Ruddiman provided several notes, and three poems. This work was creditable both to the scholar and typographer. It contains a beautiful edition of the translation of the Psalms and the Song of Solomon, by Arthur Johnston, and similar sacred poems of merit, by Ker, Adamson, and Hog: it contains likewise a reprint of Eglislan's somewhat ludicrous attempt to excel Buchanan's best translated Psalm, the 104th,<sup>4</sup> with the sarcastic "judicium" of Barclay on the respective merits of the competitors,<sup>5</sup> and several minor sacred poems by Scottish authors are dispersed through the collection. The classical merit of these elegant poems, has, we believe, never been disputed by those who showed the greatest indignation at the machinations of their editor; nor is their merit less, as furnishing us with much biographical and critical information on the Latin literature of Scotland, among which may be mentioned a well written life of Arthur Johnston, and the hyperbolic

<sup>1</sup> Chalmers's Ruddiman, 146.

<sup>2</sup> Nichols's Anecdotes, ii. 136.

<sup>3</sup> *Poetarum Scotorum Musæ Sacræ, sive quatuor sacri codicis scriptorum, Davidis et Solomonis, Jobi et Jeremiæ, Poetici libri, per totidem Scotos, Arch. Johnstonum, et J. Kerrum, P. Adamsonum, et G. Hogarum, Latino carmine redditi: quibus ob argumenti similitudinem, obnectantur alia Scotorum itidem opuscula sacra.* Edinb: Ruddim: 1739.

<sup>4</sup> *Certamen cum Georgio Buchanano pro dignitate Paraphraseos Psalmi civ.*

<sup>5</sup> *Barclai Judicium de certamine Eglislanii cum G. Buchanano, pro dignitate Paraphraseos Psalmi civ.*



praises, which proved so detrimental to the fame of that poet. To support the fame of the author he had delighted to honour, Lauder afterwards engaged in the literary controversy, about the comparative merits of Buchanan and Johnston, known by the name "*Bellum Grammaticale*."<sup>6</sup>

In 1740, the general assembly recommended the Psalms of Johnston, as an useful exercise in the lower classes of the grammar schools; but Lauder never realized from his publication the permanent annual income which he appears to have expected, "because," says Chalmers, "he had allowed expectation to outrun probability." In 1742, Lauder was recommended by Mr Patrick Cuning, professor of church history in the university of Edinburgh, and the celebrated Colin Maclaurin, as a person fitted to hold the rectorship of the grammar school of Dundee, which had been offered to his condjutor Ruddiman in 1710; he was again, however, doomed to suffer disappointment, and in bitterness of spirit, and despair of reaching in his native place the status to which his talents entitled him, he appears to have fled to London, where he adopted the course which finally led to the ruin of his literary reputation. His first attempts on the fame of Milton were contained in letters addressed to the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1747, which that publication, certainly without due caution regarding charges so suspicious, unreservedly admitted for publication. The literary world indeed received the attacks on the honesty of the great poet with singular complacency, and the periodicals contained praises of the acuteness and industry of Lauder, some of which he afterwards ostentatiously published. The first person who attempted a discovery of the true merit of the attack, was the Reverend Mr Richardson, author of *Zoilomastix*, who, on the 8th of January, 1749, wrote a letter to the editor of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, in which he maintained the falsity of Lauder's quotations from some books not very well known even to the learned world; particularly insisting that the passage "*non me judice*," which Lauder had "extracted" from Grotius, was not to be found in that author, and that passages said to be from Masenius and Staphorstius, belonged to a partial translation of Milton's *Paradise Lost* by Hog, who had written twenty years subsequently to the death of Milton.<sup>7</sup> Although the editor of the *Gentleman's Magazine* arrogated to himself the praise of candour for admitting the strictures of Lauder, yet this communication was not published until the forgeries had been detected in another quarter, on the ground of unwillingness to give currency to so grave and unexpected a charge, without full examination.

In 1750, Lauder having brought his design to maturity, published his "*Essay on Milton's use and imitation of the moderns, in his Paradise Lost*," to which he prefixed as a motto the very appropriate line from the author he traduced, "*Things unattempted yet in prose or rhyme*." The reader is aware, that this book consists of a tissue of passages from obscure authors, from which it is maintained that Milton surreptitiously filched the materials of *Paradise Lost*. In the list are two of the critic's own countrymen, Andrew Ramsay and Alexander Ross, both respectable Latin versifiers and good scholars, but neither likely to have been suspected of giving much aid to Milton; in the introduction of the former of these, the critic may have gratified a little family pride,—he was father-in-law to lord Fountainhall, and consequently a connexion or relation of the author. Had the author confined his book to the tracing of such passages

<sup>6</sup> For farther information on this matter, vide the Memoir of Arthur Johnston in this collection. The reader may remark that we have there praised the classical acquirements of auditor Benson if he was the author of the *Life of Johnston* prefixed to the edition of his Psalms. The circumstance that the life in the *Musee Sacree* is exactly the same, leads to the conclusion that it is by Lauder.

<sup>7</sup> *Gent. Mag.*, xx. 535.



of Milton, as accident has paralleled in far inferior poems, he might have produced a curious though not very edifying book: and, indeed, he has given us a sufficient number of such genuine passages, to make us wonder at his industry, and admire the ingenuity with which he has adapted them to the words of Milton; but when he produces masses of matter, the literal translations of which exactly coincide with the poem unequalled in the eyes of all mankind, we express that astonishment at the audacity of the author, which we would have felt regarding the conduct of Milton, had the attempt remained undetected. As he spreads a deeper train of forgery and fraud round the memory of his victim, the author's indignation and passion increase, and from the simple accusation of copying a few ideas and sentences from others, passion and prejudice rouse him to accuse Milton of the most black and despicable designs, in such terms as these: "I cannot omit observing here, that Milton's contrivance of teaching his daughters to read, but to read only, several learned languages, plainly points the same way, as Mr Phillips' secreting and suppressing the books to which his uncle was most obliged. Milton well knew the loquacious and incontinent spirit of the sex, and the danger, on that account, of entrusting them with so important a secret as his unbounded plagiarism: he, therefore, wisely confined them to the knowledge of the words and pronunciation only, but kept the sense and meaning to himself." It is generally believed that a character for probity is so dear to every man, that nothing but the temptation of gain, mingled generally with a prospect of concealment, will prompt a man to dishonesty. Here, however, was a man whose object could not be gain, courting that which depends more than any other acquisition upon probity of mind—real or assumed fame; and doing so by a bold act of dishonesty, which could not escape discovery, and which, in proportion as he had traduced others, would be revisited upon himself. "As I am sensible," he solemnly says at the conclusion, "this will be deemed most outrageous usage of the divine, the immortal Milton, the prince of English poets, and the incomparable author of *Paradise Lost*, I take this opportunity to declare, in the most solemn manner, that a strict regard to TRUTH alone, and to do justice to those authors whom Milton has so liberally gleaned, without making the least distant acknowledgment to whom he stood indebted: I declare, I say, that these motives, and these only, have induced me to make this attack upon the reputation and memory of a person, hitherto universally applauded and admired for his uncommon poetical genius: and not any difference of country, or of sentiments in political or religious matters, as some weak and ignorant minds may imagine, or some malicious persons may be disposed to suggest." The violence of party spirit to which Lauder here alludes, has been alleged as a partial excuse, or rather motive, for his audacious act: but it may be more charitably, if not more naturally presumed, that the accidental discovery of a few of the parallel passages we have alluded to above, had prompted him to form a theory of universal plagiarism on the part of Milton, which a more than ordinary perverseness in favour of the creation of his own mind prompted him rather to support by falsehood, than resign; while, as he afterwards partially admitted, spleen and disappointment may have sufficiently blackened his heart, to make him scruple at no means of gaining celebrity, and triumphing over the world that had oppressed him. Add to this the angry feelings which may have been roused, and the real injury done to his interest, by a ludicrous contrast of his favourite author Johnston, with Milton, in that passage of the *Dunciad* which is levelled at the literary predilections of Benson:

"On two unequal crutches propp'd he came;  
Milton's on this, on that one Johnston's name."



There is no crime so severely punished by the world as injustice, which is always repaid by a repetition of itself: hence the learned world which applauded the courage and ingenuity of Lauder, on the appearance of a full and explicit detection of his crimes, by his countryman Dr Douglas,<sup>8</sup> were seized with a confirmed hatred against the person who had duped them, and would not admit to his degraded name, the talents and information he undoubtedly possessed and displayed. Lauder subscribed a confession, addressed to Dr Douglas, explaining his whole conduct to have been caused by the neglect with which the world had looked on his previous labours. This confession is said to have been dictated by Dr Johnson, who was one of those on whom Lauder had imposed, or rather of those who chose to submit to be imposed on, which we may safely trace, in his case, to the grudge he never ceased to bear towards the republican poet. The connexion of Johnson with Lauder's work is, indeed, somewhat mysterious. In a manuscript note on the margin of archdeacon Blackburne's remarks on the life of Milton, Johnson has said, "In the business of Lauder I was deceived, partly by thinking the man too frantic to be fraudulent."<sup>9</sup> But others have alleged, that he did more than believe the statements of Lauder, and even gave assistance to the work. Dr Lort had a volume of tracts on the controversy, in which he wrote, "Dr Samuel Johnson has been heard to confess, that he encouraged Lauder to this attack upon Milton, and revised his pamphlet, to which he wrote a preface and postscript." On the same subject Dr Douglas remarks, "It is to be hoped, nay, it is expected, that the elegant and nervous writer, whose judicious sentiments, and inimitable style point out the author of Lauder's preface and postscript, will no longer allow one to plume himself with his feathers, who appeareth so little to deserve assistance: an assistance which, I am persuaded, would never have been communicated, had there been the least suspicion of those facts which I have been the instrument of conveying to the world in these sheets."<sup>10</sup> Boswell repels the insinuation that Johnson assisted in the preparation of the body of the work, assuring us that Douglas did not wish to create such a suspicion; while he acknowledges the preface and postscript to have been the work of his hands.<sup>11</sup> On a first perusal of the book, we were indeed struck with the sonorous eloquence and majesty of the commencement and termination, when compared to the bareness of the other portions of the work, and a slight hint is quite sufficient to convince us of the authorship. The postscript contains matter much at variance with the other contents of the book, and had it been the work of Lauder, it might have gone far to redeem, at least the soundness of his *heart*, from the opprobrium which has been heaped upon him. It called for the admirers of Milton's works, to join in a subscription to the grand-daughter of Milton, who then lived in an obscure corner of London, in age, indigence, and sickness.

Notwithstanding his penitence, a desire to traduce the fame of Milton seems to have haunted this unhappy man like an evil spirit. In 1754, he published "The grand Impostor detected, or Milton detected of Forgery against king Charles the First." An answer to this pamphlet appeared in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1754, supposed to be from the hand of Johnson. After this period, Lauder quitted England, and for some time taught a school in Barbadoes. "His behaviour there," says Nichols, "was mean and despicable; and

<sup>8</sup> Milton vindicated from the charge of plagiarism brought against him by Lauder; and Lauder himself convicted of several forgeries and gross impositions on the public, in a letter addressed to the right hon. the earl of Bath, 1751, (by Dr Douglas, afterwards bishop of Salisbury.)

<sup>9</sup> Nichol's Anecdotes, II. 551.

<sup>10</sup> Second edition, 78.

<sup>11</sup> Boswell's Johnson, (Croker's ed.) I. 191.



he passed the remainder of his life in universal contempt. He died some time about the year 1771, as my late friend Isaac Reed was informed by the gentleman who read the funeral service over him."¹ Chalmers mentions that there was published, in 1754, (probably just after his retreat from London,) a pamphlet entitled, "Furius: or a modest attempt towards a History of the Life and surprising exploits of the famous W. L., critic and *thief-catcher*," a somewhat inappropriate name for the traducer of Milton.

LAW, JOHN, of Lauriston, comptroller-general of the finances of France, under the regency of Orleans, was born at Edinburgh, in the month of April, 1671. His mother, Jean Campbell, was descended from one of the numerous branches of the ducal house of Argyle. His father, William Law, was great-grandson of James Law, archbishop of Glasgow, and second son of James Law of Brunton in Fife. William Law acquired a considerable fortune by his profession as a goldsmith in the Scottish metropolis, and purchased the two estates of Lauriston and Randleston, a property of about 180 acres, in the parish of Cramond, and county of Edinburgh. He died shortly after making this purchase, leaving an only son, the subject of the present memoir, then fourteen years of age.

John received his education at Edinburgh, and early evinced an uncommon aptitude for the more abstruse branches of study. He likewise became skilled in games of dexterity and hazard, and acquired an enviable reputation in the tennis-court, a place of amusement then much frequented by young men of fashion in Scotland. But the early death of his father had relieved him from many salutary restraints, and *Beau Law*—as he was commonly called by his companions—shortly after reaching majority, found his affairs in a state of embarrassment, from which they were only extricated by the kindness and excellent management of his mother, who having obtained a disposition of the fee of Lauriston from her son, paid his debts, relieved the estate of its incumbrances, and executed an entail of the property.

Law was now in London, where his personal accomplishments, fascinating manners, and devotion to gambling, procured him admittance into some of the first circles. An affair of gallantry, however, with another dissolute young man, led to a hostile meeting, in which Law killed his antagonist on the spot. After a trial before the king and queen's commissioners in the Old Bailey, which lasted three days, the jury found the survivor in this duel guilty of murder, and sentence of death was accordingly passed upon him, 20th April, 1694. On a representation of the case to the crown, Law obtained a pardon; but was detained in the King's Bench, in consequence of an appeal against this extension of royal clemency towards him having been lodged by a brother of the deceased. He found means, however, to make his escape, and got clear off to the continent.<sup>2</sup>

Law was at this critical period of his life in the 26th year of his age. His dissipation had not destroyed the tone of his mind, nor enfeebled those peculiar powers which had so early developed themselves in him. He visited France, then under the brilliant administration of Colbert, where his inquiries were particularly directed to the state of the public finances, and the mode of conduct-

<sup>1</sup> Anecdotes, II. 137.

<sup>2</sup> On this occasion the following advertisement was published in the *London Gazette* of Monday, 7th January, 1695: "Captain John Law, a Scotchman, lately a prisoner in the King's Bench for murder, aged 26, a very tall, black lean man, well-shaped, above six feet high, large pock-holes in his face, big high nosed, speaks broad and loud, made his escape from the said prison. Whoever secures him, so as he may be delivered at the said prison, shall have fifty pounds paid immediately by the Marshall of the King's Bench." We may here observe, that this description was upon the whole inaccurate, and leaves room to believe that it was designed rather with the view of facilitating than impeding his escape.



ing banking establishments. From France he proceeded to Holland, where the mercantile system of those wealthy republicans, who had succeeded the merchant princes of Venice in conducting the commerce of Europe, presented to his mind a vast and most interesting subject of investigation. Amsterdam was at this period the most important commercial city in Europe, and possessed a celebrated banking establishment, on the credit of which her citizens had been enabled to baffle the efforts of Louis XIV., to enslave the liberties of their country; a treasury, whose coffers seemed inexhaustible, and the whole system of which was an enigma to the political economists of other countries. Law, with the view of penetrating into the secret springs and mechanism of this wonderful establishment, took up his residence for some time at Amsterdam, where he ostensibly officiated as secretary to the British resident.

About the year 1700, he returned to Scotland. He was now nearly thirty years of age, and had acquired a more accurate acquaintance with the theory of commercial and national finances, as well as with their practical details, than perhaps any single individual in Europe possessed at this time. The contrast which Scotland presented to those commercial countries which he had visited during his exile now struck him forcibly, and he immediately conceived the design of creating that capital to the want of which he attributed the depressed state of Scottish agriculture, manufacture, and commerce. Law's views were not without foundation; but unfortunately, he stumbled at the outset, by mistaking the true nature of capital. The radical delusion under which he laboured from the outset to the close of his financial career, originated in the idea which had got possession of his mind, that by augmenting the circulating medium of a country we proportionally augment its capital and productive energies. Now, money is not always convertible into capital, that is, into something which may be employed towards further production; for the creation of exchangeable products must, in the nature of things, precede the creation of a general medium of commerce, and it is quite evident, that if we double the amount of the circulating medium without doubling the products of industry, we just depreciate the currency in the degree of the excess, and do not increase the resources or industry of a country in the least. But Law conceived that to her overflow of money alone Holland owed her national prosperity; and he calculated that the increase of the circulating medium in Scotland would be absorbed by the increase of industry, and have no other effect than to lower the rate of interest. This view he developed in a publication entitled "Proposals and Reasons for constituting a Council of Trade," dated at Edinburgh, 31st December, 1700, and published at Glasgow in the following year; and in a second and more important work, entitled "Money and Trade considered, with a Proposal for supplying the nation with Money," printed at Edinburgh in 1705.

In the latter work, Law developed his views of banking and the credit system. He proposed to supply Scotland with money by means of notes to be issued by certain commissioners appointed by parliament; which notes were to be given out to all who demanded them, upon the security of land. In answer to the supposition, that they might be depreciated by excess or quantity, he observed, that "the commissioners giving out what sums are demanded, and taking back what sums are offered to be returned, this paper-money will keep the value, and there will always be as much money as there is occasion or employment for, and no more." Here his project evidently confounds the quantity of good security in the country, and the quantity of money which people may wish to borrow at interest, with the quantity necessary for the circulation, so as to keep paper-money on a level with the precious metals, and the currency of surrounding countries,—a mistake which has prevailed to a very considerable ex-



tent in our own times. But notwithstanding of this capital error, Law has in the latter publication developed the principles and mechanism of banking in an astonishingly able and luminous manner for the period at which he wrote. The court party, and the *squadron*, headed by the duke of Argyle and the marquess of Tweeddale, entered warmly into Law's views; but parliament passed a resolution "that to establish any kind of paper-credit, so as to oblige it to pass, were an improper expedient for the nation."

Law now resolved to offer his system to some of those continental states whose finances had been exhausted by the wars of Louis XIV., and in which the principles of credit were imperfectly understood. With this view he went to Brussels, and from that city proceeded to Paris, where he won immense sums at play, and introduced himself into the good graces of the young duke of Orleans. The Succession war was at this moment occupying the attention of the French court; Chamillart, unable to extricate himself from the difficulties of his situation in any other manner, was about to resign his functions as minister of finance; the moment appeared favourable to our projector, and he made offer of his services to the French monarch. But the leading men of the day were totally unable to comprehend the plans of the new financier, and the name of Huguenot was no passport to the royal favour: so that the unexpected result of this negotiation was an order from the intendant of police to quit Paris in twenty-four hours as a state-enemy. Law found himself in a similar predicament at Genoa and Turin, but not before he had pursued his usual run of luck at the gaming-tables in these cities. After visiting several other continental cities, in all of which his fascinating manner procured him admission to the first circles, our adventurer found himself possessed of a tangible fortune of considerably more than £100,000,—the fruits of his skill and success at play. The death of Louis XIV.,—the succession of the duke of Orleans to the regency,—and the deplorable state of the French finances, prompted Law to present himself once more to the attention of the French ministry.

During the war of Succession—now brought to a close—Demarest, who had succeeded Chamillart as comptroller-general, had exhausted every possible means of raising money; he had issued promissory notes under every conceivable name and form,—*Promesses de la caisse des emprunts*, *Billets de Legendre*, *Billets de l'extraordinaire des guerres*, but all without success; the credit of the government was gone, and its *effets* of every description had sunk from seventy to eighty per cent in value. In this extremity, the expedient of a national bankruptcy was proposed to and rejected by the regent, who also refused to give a forced circulation to the royal billets, but appointed a commission to inquire into the claims of the state-creditors. The commission executed its duties with great ability; but after reducing the national debt to its lowest possible form, and providing for the payment of the interest amounting to 80,000,000 of livres, or about one half of the revenue, there hardly remained a sum sufficient to defray the ordinary expenses of the civil government, and that too, after having had recourse to a measure tantamount, in its effects at least, to a breach of faith, namely, a change in the nominal value of the currency. By the latter scheme, the government foolishly imagined that they would pocket 200,000,000 of livres, but the sum on which they had calculated, only went into the pockets of the Dutch and the clandestine money-dealers. At this critical juncture, Law stepped forward in the full confidence of being yet able to rescue the government from bankruptcy, by the establishment of a well-regulated paper-credit. His first proposal was to establish a national bank, into which was to be transferred all the metallic currency of the nation, which was to be replaced by bank-notes. Law regarded the whole nation as one grand



banking-company, and his reasoning was this:—If a bank may increase the issue of its notes beyond the amount of its funds in bullion, without risking its solvency, a nation may also do the same. But the private fortunes of the individuals of a nation, it is quite evident, can never be held as security for the notes which the sovereign authority may choose to issue; and unless such security is to be found in the resources of the government itself, it is equally clear that a paper-currency might sink in the course of a few months fifty or a hundred per cent below the value of the precious metals, and deprive individuals of half or the whole of their fortunes. Law seems to have regarded *credit* as every thing,—as intrinsic worth,—as specie itself. Still, notwithstanding this capital delusion, the memoirs which he addressed to the regent on the subject, contain many just observations on the peculiar facilities afforded to trade by the existence of a paper-currency: though they failed to remove the doubts of one sapient objector, who thought a paper-currency highly dangerous, on account of its liability to being cut or violently destroyed! The council of finance, however, rejected this scheme. The present conjuncture, they thought, was not favourable for the undertaking; and this reason, added to some particular clauses of the project, determined them to refuse it.

Law next proposed a private bank for the issue of notes, the funds of which should be furnished entirely from his own fortune, and that of others who might be willing to engage with him in the speculation. He represented the disastrous consequences which had resulted from a fluctuating currency, the enormous rate at which discounts were effected, the difficulties in the exchange between Paris and the provinces, and the general want of an increased currency; and succeeded in convincing the regent that these evils might be obviated by the adoption of his plans even in their limited modification. The bank was accordingly established by letters patent, bearing date the 2nd of May, 1716. Its capital was fixed at 1200 shares of 5000 livres each, or about £300,000 sterling. The notes were payable at sight in specie of the same weight and fineness as the money in circulation at the period of their issue; and hence they soon bore a premium above the metallic currency itself, which had been subjected to many violent alterations since 1689. The good faith which the bank observed in its proceedings,—the patronage which it received from the regent,—and the want of private credit, soon procured for it a vast run of business. Had Law confined his attention to this single establishment, he would justly have been considered as one of the greatest benefactors of the country, and the creator of a beautiful system of commercial finance; but the vastness of his own conceptions, his boundless ambition, and the unlimited confidence which the public now reposed in him, suggested more gigantic enterprizes, and led the way to that highly forced and unnatural system of things which eventually entailed ruin upon all connected with it.

Law had always entertained the idea of uniting the operations of banking with those of commerce. Every one knows that nothing can be more hazardous than such an attempt; for the credit of the banker cannot be made to rest upon the uncertain guarantee of commercial speculations. But the French had yet no accurate ideas on this subject. Law's confidence in the resources of his own financial genius was unbounded, and the world at this moment exhibited a theatre of tempting enterprise to a comprehensive mind. The Spaniards had established colonies around the gulf of Mexico,—the English were in possession of Carolina and Virginia,—and the French held the vast province of Canada. Although the coast lands of North America were already colonized, European enterprize had not yet penetrated into the interior of this fertile country; but the chevalier de Lasalle had descended the Mississippi, to the gulf



of Mexico, and, taking possession of the country through which he passed in the name of the French monarch, gave it the appellation of Louisiana. A celebrated merchant of the name of Crozat had obtained the privilege of trading with this newly discovered country, and had attempted, but without success, to establish a colony within it. Law's imagination, however, was fired at the boundless field of enterprise which he conceived was here presented; he talked of its beauty, of its fertility, of the abundance and rarity of its produce, of the richness of its mines outrivalling those of Mexico or Peru,—and in the month of August, 1717, within five months after his embarkation in the scheme of the bank, our projector had placed himself, under the auspices of the regent, at the head of the famous Mississippi scheme, or West Indian company. This company was invested with the full sovereignty of Louisiana, on condition of doing homage for the investiture to the king of France, and presenting a crown of gold, of thirty marcs, to each new monarch of the French empire on his accession to the throne. It was authorised to raise troops, to fit out ships of war, to construct forts, institute tribunals, explore mines, and exercise all other acts of sovereignty. The king made a present to the company of the vessels, forts, and settlements which had been constructed by Crozat, and gave it the monopoly of the beaver trade with Canada for twenty-five years. In December following, the capital of the West Indian company was fixed at 100,000,000 livres, divided into 200,000 shares; and the *billets d'etat*, were taken at their full value from those wishing to purchase shares. Government paper was at this moment vastly depreciated on account of the irregular payment of the interest; but although 500 livres nominal value in the public funds could not have been sold for more than 150 or 160 livres, the *billets d'etat*, by this contrivance, soon rose to par. It was evident that these fictitious funds could not form stock for commercial enterprise; nevertheless, the advance of the government debts to a rate so advantageous to the holders, increased the value of the government securities that remained in circulation, and the depreciated paper rose to full credit with the astonished public, who now began to place implicit confidence in Law's schemes. The council of finance, however, looked with mistrust on these proceedings; and its president, the duke de Noailles gave in his resignation, and was replaced by d'Argenson, a man far less skilled in matters of finance. The jealousy of the parliament, too, was excited by the increasing influence of the Scottish financier, who had been heard imprudently to boast that he would render the court independent of parliamentary supplies. By an *arêt* of the 18th of August, 1717, the parliament attempted to destroy the credit of the notes of the bank, by prohibiting the officers of the revenue from taking them in payment of the taxes; but the regent interposed, and Law was allowed to continue his operations. He, however, encountered another formidable rival in d'Argenson, who now proposed, with the assistance of the four brothers Paris, men of great wealth and influence in the commercial world, to form a company which, with a capital as large as that of the West Indian company, should advance large sums of money secured on the farms, posts, and other branches of the public revenue. This anti-system, as it was called, soon fell to pieces for want of the same energetic and fearless direction which characterized the schemes of its rival.

Law now prevailed on the regent to take the bank under royal guarantee, persuading him that it was quite possible to draw into it the whole circulating specie of the kingdom, and to replace it by the same amount of paper-money. The notes issued by the royal bank, however, did not promise, as those of Law's private establishment had done, to pay in specie of the same weight and fineness as the specie then in circulation, but merely to pay in silver coin. This opened



a door for all the fluctuations which might occur in the real value of the coin called a *livre*, affecting the value of the paper-money. Law was made director-general of the royal bank, which, in a few months, issued 1,000,000,000 of *livres* in new notes; "less," says the royal *arêt*, "not being sufficient for its various operations:" although this sum was more than all the banks of Europe could circulate, keeping good faith with their creditors. The director-general found it extremely difficult to support the credit of such an enormous issue, and for a while hesitated between the plan of insensibly transforming bank-notes into a real paper-money, by giving the latter a decided advantage over specie, which should be kept constantly fluctuating, and by receiving it in payment of the taxes; or of creating a new and apparently lucrative investment for this paper, so as to prevent its returning upon the bank to be exchanged for specie. The latter plan appeared at last the preferable one. A colossal establishment was projected with a capital equal in amount to the public debt. This capital was to be divided into shares, which the regent was to buy with the paper-money that he was to manufacture; he was then to borrow this paper anew to pay the creditors of the state; and then by selling the shares, to retire the paper-money, and thus transfer the creditors of the state to the company.

Accordingly, in May, 1719, the East India company, established by Richelieu, in 1664, the affairs of which were then at a very low ebb, was incorporated with that of the West Indies; and the conjoined companies received the name of the Company of the Indies, "with the four quarters of the world to trade in." "Moreover," says the edict issued on this occasion, "beside the 100,000,000 of public debts already subscribed into the Western Company's capital, there shall be a new subscription of 50,000 shares of 550 *livres* each, payable in specie." In a short time, the newly created company engaged, by extending its capital to 624,000 shares, to lend the king the immense sum of 1,600,000,000, at three per cent. interest, and declared itself in a condition to pay a dividend of 200 *livres* upon each share. The public faith being yet unshaken, the shares hereupon rose to 5000 *livres*; and when the king began to pay off the state-creditors with the loan now procured, many not knowing how to employ their capital, a new competition for shares in the great company arose, and shares actually rose in consequence to 10,000 *livres*. The slightest consideration might have served to convince any cool speculator, that the company had come under engagements which, in no circumstances, however prosperous, it could fulfil. How was it possible that the company could raise annually 124,800,000 *livres* for the dividend upon 624,000 shares? Or, supposing it able to make an annual dividend of 200 *livres* a share, still the rate of interest being at this time about four per cent., the shareholder who had bought in at 10,000, thus lost one-half of the revenue he might otherwise have drawn from the employment of his capital. The truth is, the whole scheme was designed for the sole purpose of relieving the state from its debts by the ruin of its creditors; but the immense fortunes which were realized by stock-jobbing at the very outset of the scheme, led on others to engage in the same speculation; splendid fortunes were realized in the course of a single day; men found themselves suddenly exalted as if by the wand of an enchanter, from the lowest station in life to the command of princely fortunes; twelve hundred new equipages appeared on the streets of Paris in the course of six weeks; half a million of people hastened from the country, and even from distant kingdoms to procure shares in the India company; and happy was he who held the greatest number of these bubbles. The negotiations for the sale and purchase of shares were at first carried on in the Rue Quincampoix, where fortunes were made by letting lodgings to the crowds who hastened thither for the purpose of speculating in the stocks. The murder



of a rich stock-jobber, committed here on the 22nd of March, 1720, by a young Flemish nobleman, occasioned the proscription of that street as a place of business, and the transference of the stock-jobbing to the Place Vendome, and finally to the hotel de Soissons, which Law is said to have purchased from the prince of Carignan for the enormous sum of 1,400,000 livres.

Innumerable anecdotes are on record of the extraordinary vicissitudes of fortune which took place during this season of marvellous excitement; footmen stepped from the back to the inside of carriages; cooks appeared at the public places with diamond necklaces; butlers started their berlins; and men educated in poverty and of the lowest rank suddenly exchanged the furniture and utensils of their apartments for the richest articles which the upholsterer and silversmith could furnish. Law himself, now arrived "*summa ad vestigia rerum*," shone super-eminent above all the other attractions of the day; princes, dukes, marshals, prelates, flocked to his levees, and counted themselves fortunate if they could obtain a smile from the great dispenser of fortune's favours; peeresses of France, in the excess of their adulations, lavished compliments upon the Scottish adventurer which set even decency at defiance; his daughter's hand was solicited by princes; and his lady bore herself with hauteur towards the duchesses of the kingdom. Land in the neighbourhood of Paris rose to eighty or a hundred year's purchase; the ell of cloth of fifteen livres sold for fifty; coffee rose from fifty sous to eighteen livres; stock-jobbers were known to treat their guests to green pease at a hundred pistoles the pint; every yard of rich cloth or velvet was bought up for the clothing of the new *élèves* of fortune; and the value of the silver plate manufactured in the course of three months for supplying the demands of the French capital amounted to £7,200,000! The regent, sharing in the general delusion, wished to place the wonderful foreigner at the head of the finances of the kingdom; but then, in addition to his being an alien, he was a protestant also; so l'Abbé de Tencin was charged with the important duty of his conversion, and this ecclesiastic succeeded so well in the task assigned to him, that on the 5th of January, 1720, all obstacles being removed, Law was elevated to the comptroller-generalship of the finances of France, and for some time after his elevation to the premiership, governed France with almost absolute power. Law's fame had now reached its acmé; his native city of Edinburgh hastened to transmit to her illustrious son the freedom of citizenship in a gold box of the value of £300; the earl of Hlay re-published some of his works with an adulatory preface; British noblemen disdained not to pay their court to so successful an adventurer; even the earl of Stair, then the British ambassador at Paris, trembled at the idea of Law's overweening influence in the affairs of France, and viewed his boastful speeches in so serious a light, as to deem them matter of grave communication and advice to his government,—a piece of good faith for which the meritorious and discerning minister met with small thanks.

The great drama, however, which Law was now enacting before the astonished eyes of all Europe, was soon to shift; the glittering bubble on which he had fixed the eyes and expectations of all France was rapidly attenuating to its explosion; the charm by which he had swayed the mind of the million lay not in the rod of the magician, but in the implicit faith which people reposed in the skill and the power of its master,—and, that faith once shaken, the game of delusion was over.

We have said that the shares of the India company had risen to 10,000 livres each in the month of November, 1719. So long as they kept at this elevation, the credit of the bank remained unshaken. Its notes were found so very convenient in conducting the rapid negotiations of the Rue Quincampoix, that they were sought after with avidity, and even bore a premium of ten per



cent. in exchange for specie ! Notwithstanding, however, of the boundless delusion under which men acted at this moment, it could not escape the eyes of the vigilant financier, that a constant and enormous drain of specie was going on, either in the way of exportation to foreign countries, or for the consumption of the jewellers and goldsmiths. To answer the large orders of the wealthy Mississippians, and to guard against a run upon the bank in these circumstances, the master-projector had again recourse to forced measures. Edicts were issued declaring the value of bank-notes to be five per cent. above that of specie, and forbidding the use of silver for the payment of any sum exceeding 100 livres, or of gold in payments exceeding 300 livres. Law thought by these expedients to confine the use of specie to small transactions alone, while those of any magnitude could still be conducted by the fictitious currency which he had called into existence. At the same time, to give a fresh impulse to the stock-jobbing transactions, which had experienced a perceptible decline, he presented himself personally in his ministerial robes, and surrounded by a number of the nobility in the Rue Quincampoix, where his presence instantly excited a lively sensation ; and the report being industriously propagated that new edicts were about to be issued, conferring additional privileges on the great company, the actions which had fallen to 12,000 livres, rose to 15,000. Still the public creditors hesitated to employ the notes now issuing in extinction of their debts in purchasing India stock ; and the enormous sum of 1,000,000,000, remained floating in the form of bank notes, for which no species of investment could be found.

A publication issued at this juncture by Law, under the title of *Lettre à un Créancier*, failed to satisfy their scruples, and actions again fell to 12,000 livres. Meanwhile, specie, in spite of successive depreciations effected upon it at the suggestion of the minister of finance, entirely disappeared ; still the government kept issuing notes to the immense amount of 1,925,000,000, between the 1st of January, and the 20th of May, 1720, and the price of every thing advanced in almost hourly progression. On the 11th of March, a second letter from the minister of finance appeared, in which he employed the most ingenious sophistry in defence of the exaggerated value at which the paper-currency was attempted to be maintained. The choice of a standard value, the great financier contended, was wholly a matter of opinion. To support the value of any article in the opinion of the community, it is only necessary to decline selling it under a certain price. Houses, lands, and other articles of property, have a certain value in the opinion of mankind, just because some people desire to purchase them, and others will not part with them ; but if all the proprietors of houses and land were willing to get rid of their property at one and the same time, what value would it have in the market ? It is easy to answer such palpable sophistry as this. Houses and lands are possessions fit for certain purposes which men require ; it is their fitness which constitutes their value ; but in the case of those shares whose value, Law contended, ought to be quite as real as that of any other article of property, it is most evident that they have no value, unless the profit to be derived from commerce in them be not proportioned to the price at which the stock was purchased ; from the moment, in fact, that they cease to become marketable they are stripped of their value. A system supported by such desperate reasoning as Law had here recourse to, must have appeared tottering to its fall in the eyes of every rational man ; the public credit of France was about to give way ; the Atlantean shoulders on which it had been hitherto supported, could no longer prop the mighty burden. Government at last perceived that too great an extension had been given to what Law called *credit*, and that to re-establish the value of paper, it would be necessary



to diminish its amount. On the 21st of May, the death-blow was given to the whole gigantic system of our Scottish projector, by an edict which announced that a progressive reduction of the India company's action, and of bank-notes, was to take place from that day till the 1st of December, when it was declared that the bank-notes should remain fixed at one half of their present value, and the actions at four-ninths. Law, whose influence with the government was now rapidly sinking, or rather was annihilated, felt himself too weak to resist this measure, and actually consented to announce it himself. The public eye was now opened in one instant to the delusion which had been practised upon it, and the next day every one was anxious to get rid of his paper-money at any sacrifice. The catastrophe, though inevitable in the nature of things, was hastened by the artifices of the cardinal Dubois, who used every means to injure Law in the opinion of the regent; and by the irritation of the finance-general, and the parliament of Paris, who regarded the foreign projector as their bitter enemy. The united efforts of such a powerful party appear to have made a deep impression on the mind of the regent, who, in a letter of lord Stair's, dated 12th March, 1720, is represented as abusing the comptroller cruelly to his face, and even threatening him with the Bastile. The same authority informs us that the minister himself was at this period reeling under the weight of that complicated and stupendous system of which he now found himself the prime support and mover. "Law's head is so heated," he writes, "that he does not sleep at nights, and has formal fits of frenzy. He gets out of bed almost every night, and runs stark-staring mad about the room making a terrible noise,—sometimes singing and dancing,—at other times swearing, staring, and stamping, quite out of himself. Some nights ago, his wife, who had come into the room upon the noise he made, was forced to ring the bell for people to come to her assistance. The officer of Law's guard was the first that came, and found Law in his shirt, who had set two chairs in the middle of the room, and was dancing round them quite out of his wits."

The consequences of this rash edict were frightful; the government was upbraided for having been the first to impeach that credit to which it had itself given original existence, and charged with the design to ruin the fortunes of the citizens; seditious and inflammatory libels were posted throughout the streets; the mob assailed the hotels of Law and other members of the cabinet; and even the life of the regent himself was threatened. In this emergency, the parliament assembled on the 27th of May, and terrified at the consequences of their own measures, were about to petition the regent to revoke the unfortunate edict; but while yet deliberating with this purpose, an officer announced to them that the paper had been restored to its former value, by a new proclamation. However, if the first step had been bad, the second was little less weak and unwary. To declare that the actions and billets had resumed their full value, was doing nothing of real consequence to allay the ferment of the public mind; for such a measure was founded on no principle which could operate in the slightest degree to restore to paper-money the confidence it had lost; it was doing nothing to recompense those who had already suffered injury, and it was effectually securing the ruin of all others on whom the valueless paper could now be fixed as a legal tender. And to add to all this confusion and distress, the repositories of the bank were sealed up the same day, under pretence of examining the books, but in reality to prevent the specie from being paid away in exchange for notes. At last, after the first moments of alarm and outrage were over, the regent ventured to resume those expressions of confidence towards Law which he had been compelled to withhold from him for a time; he received him in his own box at the opera, and gave him a guard to



protect his hotel from the insult of the exasperated populace. The infamous Dubois, who had enriched himself by his speculations during the height of the Mississippi madness, now united with Law to expel Argenson from the cabinet; and the regent, whose character though intrepid was not without its weak points, was persuaded at their instigation, to take the seals from his faithful minister, and bestow them upon Agnesseau, who tamely resumed the high office, from which he had been expelled by the very men to whose influence he now beheld himself indebted for his second elevation.

Nothing could now save the system of the great financier; his billets and actions were for ever stripped of their value in the eye of the public; and the most expedient measure that could now be adopted with regard to them, was to withdraw them as promptly as possible from circulation. To demolish in the most prudent manner the vast structure reared by his own labour was now the highest praise to which Law could aspire. By a series of arbitrary financial operations, which it would be tedious here to relate, the public creditors were reduced to the utmost distress, the national debt annihilated, and the whole affairs of the kingdom thrown into the utmost perplexity. "Thus ended," to use the words of Voltaire, "that astonishing game of chance played by an unknown foreigner against a whole nation." Its original success stimulated various individuals to attempt imitations of it,—among which the most famous was the South Sea bubble of England, which entailed disgrace and ruin on many thousands of families. It would be doing injustice to Law's character were we to view him as the sole author of these misfortunes: his views were liberal beyond the spirit of the times in which he lived; he had unquestionably the real commercial interests of his adopted foster-country at heart; he did not proceed on speculation alone; on the contrary, his principles were to a certain degree the very same as those the adoption of which has raised Britain to her present commercial greatness, and given an impulse to trade throughout the world, such as was never witnessed in the transactions of ancient nations. His error lay in over-estimating the strength and breadth of the foundation on which his gigantic superstructure rested. Unquestionably in his cooler moments he never contemplated carrying the principle of public credit to the enormous and fatal length to which he was afterwards driven by circumstances; it was the unbounded confidence of the public mind, prompted by the desire of gain and the miraculous effects of the system in its earliest development,—the enthusiasm of that mind, transported beyond all bounds of moderation and forbearance, by a first success eclipsing its most sanguine expectations, realizing to thousands of individuals the possession of wealth to an amount beyond all that they had ever conceived in imagination,—the contagious example of the first fortunate speculators intoxicated with success, and fired to the most extravagant and presumptuous anticipations, by which men can be lured into acts of blinded infatuation or thoughtless folly,—it was these circumstances we say, over which Law had necessarily little control, that converted his projects into the bane of those for whom they were at first calculated to serve as a wholesome antidote.

Law was in fact more intent on following out his idea than aggrandizing his fortunes. Riches, influence, honours, were showered upon him in the necessity of things; the man who had given birth to the wealth of a whole kingdom, whose schemes had for a while invested all who entered into them with imaginary treasures,—by whose single mind the workings of that complicated engine which had already produced such dazzling results as seemed to justify the most extravagant anticipations of the future, were comprehended and directed,—must have risen during the existence of that national delusion, to the highest pinnacle of personal wealth and influence, and might, though only endowed with



a mere title of the forecasting sagacity of Law, have provided for his retreat, and secured a sufficient competency at least beyond the possibility of loss or hazard, as thousands in fact did upon the strength of his measure. But Law, in deluding others, laboured under still stronger delusion himself; like the fabled Frankenstein, he had created a monster whose power he had not at first calculated, and the measure of which he now found he could not prescribe, and he awaited the result with mingled feelings of hope, fear, and distrust. It was the ignorant interference of others with his own mysterious processes, which finally determined the fatal direction of those energies which he had called into being, and which he might have been able, if not to restrain, at least to direct in another and less ruinous manner. We are far from professing ourselves the unqualified apologists of our enterprising countryman. It was criminal in him to make use of remedies of such a desperate kind as those to which he had recourse when his system began to stagger under its first revulsions; doubtless his temptations were strong, but, invested as he was with authority, it was in his power to have resisted them, and adopted a less empirical mode of treatment. In estimating his moral character, it does not appear to us, that his renouncing protestantism, under the circumstances in which he was placed, ought to weigh much against the uprightness of his intentions. Religion was with him a matter of inferior moment. In his previous life he had manifested no symptoms of piety; an utter stranger to the faith and power of the gospel, protestantism was superior to any other *ism* with him, just in as far as it favoured his worldly policy. He believed himself possessed of means to elevate a whole nation in the scale of wealth and power, with all their attendant benign influences, and to give an impulse by means of the fortunes of France to the destinies of the human species: and is it to be supposed, that this consideration, thrown into the balance, should not have caused that scale in which was placed a mere nominal profession of a religion—the truth of which he neither knew nor respected—to kick the beam?

Before resuming the thread of our biography, let us for a moment compare the financial catastrophe we have now been considering with that of the assignats of revolutionary France, and the celebrated crisis of the bank of England in 1797: we shall discover striking points of resemblance in the circumstances which led to these events, and draw from their comparison a few important truths. Credit is founded on the supposition of future value; it is this prospective value which is made to circulate as if it were existing value, in the form of a bank-note. Law founded his schemes upon the great basis of credit, which again he proposed to create by the profits arising from speculation in the shares of his India company. The financiers of revolutionary France wished to pay the national debt and the expenses of a universal war, with the national funds; but finding it impossible from the want of public confidence, or credit, to sell these funds, they anticipated their sale, and represented their supposed future value by paper-money called *assignats*. The bank of England, in return for its loans to the government, supposed the existence of two species of value, and accepted of these species in payment: the effects themselves, namely, of commerce, and the securities of the state; the former a certain value, and the latter necessarily fluctuating with the political aspect of the times. In these three cases, we perceive three species of doubtful value; Law's share represented a future, but speculative and very uncertain value; the assignats represented certain funds which might ere long pass from under the hands of their present administrators; and the notes of the bank of England represented a value depending upon engagements, regarding the ability of the state to fulfil which there existed no absolute certainty. Now the crisis produced by the fluctuation



of these three species of credit corresponded to the difference of circumstances in the three cases. The sudden displacement of an enormous sum raised the shares of the East India company to an enormous premium; but a rapidly established credit is exposed to an equally or still more precipitous decline; for that true credit which is founded on the solid basis of real success, must necessarily be as slow in its growth as the success itself. The assignats again could not experience such a sudden rise in value, for they represented a certain portion of land, a species of value least of all exposed in the nature of things to rapid fluctuation. In proportion, however, as the public confidence in the permanence of the administration declined, the assignats declined in value; and in proportion as they declined in value, the existing government was compelled to supply the loss of funds by increasing the issue, which again operated to depreciate its paper money. The notes of the bank of England, depending on mercantile credit or the real security of responsible funds, as well as on government security, were only slightly affected in credit by the political aspect of the times. In all the three cases, public credit was attempted to be supported by forcible measures, the injustice of which was just in proportion to the degree of suspicion which attached to that false system of credit which they were designed to support. Law fixed the value of shares in notes, and thus forced a circulation for the latter. The French revolutionary government punished the refusal of its assignats, at their nominal value, with death. In England the bank was relieved of the obligation to cash its notes at sight. Law again endeavours to drive specie altogether out of the market, and render paper the only legal tender; the revolutionists fix the maximum of all exchange; and the bank of England, whose security was less questionable, threw itself on the patriotism of the London merchants, who relieved it from its embarrassment by agreeing to accept of its notes in payment from their debtors. Thus we see, *1st*, that every system of public credit ought to represent a certain real value, and not to be founded on mere anticipation of a value yet to be created; *2ndly*, that it is impossible, by fixed measures, to sustain an arbitrary value; and, *3rdly*, that where forced values are resorted to, they are rejected by all who are at liberty to reject them, and are followed by the ruin of those who are not in a condition to refuse them.

Law, at his last interview with the duke of Orleans, is reported to have said: "My lord, I acknowledge that I have committed great faults; I did so because I am a man, and all men are liable to err; but I declare to your royal highness that none of them proceeded from knavery, and that nothing of that kind will be found in the whole course of my conduct;" a declaration which the regent and the duke of Bourbon bore frank testimony to, at the same time that they suggested the expediency of his leaving the kingdom, for which purpose they offered to supply him with money, his whole property having been confiscated; but Mr Law, though in possession of only 800 louis d'ors, the wreck of a fortune of 10,000,000 of livres, refused to receive any assistance from other funds than his own, and on the 22nd of December, 1720, arrived at Brussels, where he was received with the greatest respect by the governor and resident nobility. Early in January, 1721, he appeared at Venice, under the name of M. du Jardin, where he is said to have had a conference with the chevalier de St George, and the famous cardinal Alberoni, minister of Spain. From Venice he travelled through Germany to Copenhagen, where he had the honour of an audience with prince Frederick. During his residence at the Danish capital he received an invitation from the British ministry to return to his native country, with which he complied, and was presented on his arrival to George I. by Sir John Norris, the admiral of the Baltic squadron. On the 28th of November he



pleaded at the bar of the king's bench his majesty's pardon for the murder of Edward Wilson, and was attended on this occasion by the duke of Argyle, the earl of Ilay, and several other friends.

Mr Law's re-appearance in Britain excited some uneasy feelings on the part of various senators. The earl of Coningsby, in particular, moved the house of lords for an inquiry, whether Sir John Norris had orders to bring over a person of his dangerous character. The affair, however, was hushed, and it is thought that he at first received some kind of pension or allowance from the British government. Meanwhile, he maintained a constant correspondence with the regent of France, who caused his official salary of 20,000 livres per annum to be regularly remitted to him, and held several consultations with the council respecting the propriety of recalling him. The sudden death, however, of the regent, on the 2nd of December, 1723, was a fatal blow to the reviving hopes of the ci-devant minister of finance. His pension ceased to be remitted, his prospect of a reversion from the sale of his property in France was annihilated, his embarrassments at home increased, and demands were made upon him by the India company to the enormous amount of 20,236,375 livres. On the 25th of August, 1724, we find him addressing a letter to the duke of Bourbon, from London, in which he writes :

"Notwithstanding the confusion in which my affairs have become involved, one hour will suffice to put your highness in full acquaintance with them. The subjoined memoir explains by what means I purpose to fulfill my engagements and obtain a livelihood for myself. The means which I suggest are of the very simplest nature. It is likewise the interest of the state that my affairs should be wound up ; for although the number of those who desire my return is not great, their confidence in me is considerable, and must either destroy or retard the success of those measures which have been adopted by those persons to whom the king has been pleased to intrust the management of the finances. If my matters were arranged, madame Law, my daughter, my brother, and his family, would return to England, and I would fix myself here in such a manner as should convince the public that I entertained no intention of ever again setting foot in France.

"Those who have set themselves to oppose me, by retarding the decision in my case, have acted thus upon a mistaken principle altogether, and against their own view of things ; they accuse me of having done the thing which they would have done themselves if they had been in my place ; and in examining into my conduct they are unintentionally doing me a great honour. There are few, perhaps no instances, of a stranger having acquired the unlimited confidence of a prince, and realized a real fortune by means perfectly honourable, and who yet on leaving France reserved nothing for himself and his family, not even the fortune which he had brought into the country with him.

"Your highness knows that I never entertained the idea of making my escape from France. I had made no provision for this purpose when it was announced to me that the regent had ordered me to be provided with passports ; for I had indeed at one time thought of quitting the kingdom, when I requested his royal highness's permission to resign my office ; but after that I had deliberated upon the reasons which the prince then urged against my taking this step, I renounced the idea altogether, although fully aware of the personal danger to which I would expose myself, by remaining in France after having ceased to hold office in the administration.

"I have said that my enemies have advised no measures opposed even to their own principles ; for if what they allege had been true ; if I had carried a great sum of money with me out of the kingdom,—it would surely have been their



truest policy to have induced me to return with my son. If they had acted passionately in this matter, they would have afforded me every facility in arranging my affairs; and it is my belief that, had his highness the duke of Orleans lived, I would have been invited back to France. A short time before the prince's death, he was pleased to express his approbation of my conduct; to give me certain marks of his esteem; he was satisfied that my plans would have completely succeeded, if the juncture of extraordinary circumstances had not compelled others to interfere with them; he felt that he yet required my assistance; he asked my opinion regarding the present situation of the kingdom, and he was pleased to say that he yet counted on my aid in raising France to her proper elevation and weight in Europe. These are facts with which I am persuaded your highness was made acquainted by the prince himself."

The late M. Law de Lauriston transmitted to Mr Wood, the biographer of the Comptroller-General, a complete copy of the memorial which accompanied this letter, and of which only some detached fragments are published in the "*Œuvres de J. Law*," Paris, 1790. Mr Wood supplies us with the following passage from this document: "When I retired to Guermande," says the memorialist, "I had no hopes that the regent would have permitted me to leave the kingdom; I had given over all thoughts thereof when your highness sent to inform me of his intention to accord that permission; and the next day, immediately on receiving the passports, I set off. Consider, my lord, if being in the country, removed from any paper and books, it were in my power to put in order affairs that required not only leisure, but also my presence in Paris, to arrange properly; and if it is not a piece of great injustice for the India company to wish to take advantage of the condition to which I was reduced; and of the dishonest conduct of clerks, in requiring from me payment of sums I do not in fact owe, and which, even though I had been owing, were, as I have shown, expended for their service, and payable in actions or notes, of which effects belonging to me they at that time had, and still have, on their books, to the amount of double or treble the sum they demand. No, my lord, I cannot bring myself to accuse the company of so much as the intention to injure me. That company owes its birth to me. For them I have sacrificed every thing, even my property and my credit, being now bankrupt, not only in France, but also in all other countries. For them I have sacrificed the interests of my children, whom I tenderly love, and who are deserving of all my affections; these children, courted by the most considerable families in France, are now destitute of fortune and of establishments. I had it in my power to have settled my daughters in marriage in the first houses of Italy, Germany, and England; but I refused all offers of that nature, thinking it inconsistent with my duty to, and my affection for, the state in whose service I had the honour to be engaged. I do not assume to myself any merit from this conduct, and I never so much as spoke upon the subject to the regent. But I cannot help observing, that this mode of behaviour is diametrically opposite to the idea my enemies wish to impute to me; and surely all Europe ought to have a good opinion of my disinterestedness, and of the condition to which I am reduced, since I no longer receive any proposals of marriage for my children.

"My lord, I conducted myself with a still greater degree of delicacy: for I took care not to have my son or my daughter married even in France, although I had the most splendid and advantageous offers of that kind. I did not choose that any part of my protection should be owing to alliances; but that it should depend solely upon the intrinsic merits of my project."

These representations failed to produce the desired effect; the India company refused to allow him credit for the notes and actions in their hands belong-



ing to him, while they at the same time insisted on his making payment in specie of the sums owing to them; the government, with equal injustice, confiscated his whole property in France. In 1725, Mr Law bade a final adieu to Britain, and retired to Venice, where he died in a state little removed from indigence, on the 21st of March, 1729, in the 58th year of his age. He lies buried in one of the churches of the city, where a monument to his memory is still to be seen.

Such is a brief outline of the history of one of the most extraordinary projectors of modern times. That he deceived himself is, we think, quite evident from the whole tenor of his conduct; that he should have deceived others is not wonderful, if we consider the spirit and circumstances of the times in which he lived, the ignorance of the public mind respecting the great principles of credit and currency, and the personal advantages and experience which the master-projector possessed. He is said to have presented an uncommonly engaging external appearance. "*On peut,*" says the French historian of his system, "*sans flatterie, le mettre au rang des hommes les mieux faits.*" In Brunley's Catalogue of British Portraits, four engravings of Law are noticed, by Anglois, Hubert, Des Rochers, and Schmidt. The best portrait of him was a crayon portrait by Rosalba in the earl of Oxford's gallery. Of his moral character we have already spoken. Lockhart of Carnwath relates that, even before he left Scotland, he was "nicely expert in all manner of debaucheries."

Law never composed any treatise; his works are confined to memorials and justificatory statements, or explanations of his views and plans. Towards the end of the year 1790, the epoch of the creation of the assignats, there appeared at Paris an octavo volume, entitled "*Œuvres de J. Law, contrôleur-general des finances de France, sous le regent.*" This work was ably edited by M. Senour, and is in high estimation in France. The writings relating to Law's system are very numerous; Stewart, Ganihl, and Storch, have all commented with ability upon his measures; and Duclos and Marmontel have composed very interesting memoirs of the projector and his system. In general, however, all the French writers of the 18th century have commented with great severity upon Law and his proceedings. Fourbonais was the first to do justice to this great but unfortunate man. Dutot, in his "*Reflexions politiques sur le commerce et les finances,*" printed at the Hague in 1738, has discussed the state of affairs at the giving way of the system, and the effect of the famous edicts of the 5th March and 21st May, with great sagacity; Duverney's "*Histoire du Systeme des finances, sous la minorité de Louis XV., pendant les Années 1719 et 1720,*" is a most valuable collection of edicts and state papers relative to French finances, in two volumes. Mr John Philip Wood's "*Memoir of the Life of John Law of Lauriston*"<sup>2</sup> is the best account which has yet been given to the British public of this extraordinary man, and the rise and fall of his fortunes.

Law married lady Catharine Knollys, third daughter of Nicholas, third earl of Banbury, by whom he had one son, John Law of Lauriston, and one daughter, Mary Catharine, who married her first cousin, William viscount Wallingford, who was afterwards called to the house of peers by the title of baron Althorp. Lady Wallingford survived her husband more than half a century, and died in London on the 14th of October, 1790, leaving no issue. Her brother succeeded his father in 1729, and died a cornet of the regiment of Nassau Friesland, at Maestricht, in 1734. William Law, third son of Jean Campbell of Lauriston, succeeded to the entail on the extinction of the issue male of her eldest son. His eldest son John, rose to the rank of commandant-general and president of council of the French settlement in India, and died at Paris about 1796;

<sup>2</sup> Edinburgh, 1824, 12mo, pp. 234.



and on the 21st of May, 1808, Francis John William Law, a merchant in London, was served nearest and legitimate heir of entail and provision, of the reformed religion, of his father John Law, and entered into the possession of the estate of Lauriston, to the exclusion of his elder brothers, who are Roman catholics. The estate now belongs to ——— Allan, Esq. banker, Edinburgh, who has enlarged the ancient house in an appropriate style.

LEIGHTON, ROBERT, bishop of Dunkeld, and remembered as the most amiable of churchmen, was born in 1611, and descended from an ancient and respectable family, who were long in possession of the estate called Ulyshaven, in Forfarshire. Their names are mentioned in several parts of history, and even so far back as Dooms-day Book. In 1424, Dr Henry Leighton, bishop of Moray, and afterwards of Aberdeen, was deputed as one of the commissioners to negotiate for the release of James I., at that time a prisoner in England. The family estate of Ulyshaven was lost to the house of Leighton in the seventeenth century, as they had by that time decayed in wealth and interest.

Dr Alexander Leighton, father of the subject of this memoir, was educated at St Andrews, where he obtained the degree of doctor of divinity. He afterwards went to Leyden and applied himself to the study of physic, and so far succeeded as to graduate there. The Scottish church at Utrecht being in want of a minister, and he being, according to all accounts, a man of great piety and learning, the charge was offered to him, which he accepted, and he continued to officiate there for some time; but not approving of the holidays observed by the Dutch church, and having some difference on the subject, he finally resigned. He was there styled doctor of medicine and Scottish minister. We shall compress, in the shortest limits possible, the most prominent actions of this man's eventful life, as his name is conspicuous in history from the cruel persecution he was subject to.

On his arrival in London from Holland, he saw with grief and indignation that the presbyterian church, of which he was a stern defender, was likely to be subverted in Scotland, through the policy of Charles I. and his ministers—and being a man, according to Burnet, “of much untempered zeal,” and fond of polemics, he published several tracts against episcopacy, which gave great offence to the members of that religion. He, at this time, intended to commence the medical profession in London; but the College of Physicians interdicted him from practice within seven miles of the city, as a person they considered disgraceful to their profession; an allegation he disputed and disproved, by claiming a right, in virtue of his having graduated in the college of Leyden. They did not deny his being a clergyman; but at that time he had no living. He soon after this drew down upon himself the vengeance of that tyrannical and unconstitutional court, the star-chamber. The work for which he was prosecuted, according to Burnet, is entitled “Zion's Plea against Prelates;” the name of the author and printer were omitted, and instead of the date of publication, the following words were added—“Printed the year and moneth wherein Rochelle was lost,”—evidently intended as a stigma for that city being allowed to be taken by the French catholics from the protestants in 1628; an event which it was well known Charles might have prevented, if he had had the interests of protestantism really at heart. There was also prefixed to this work—which it appears was printed in Holland—a hieroglyphical vignette, seemingly designed to recommend the subversion of prelacy. This is described in the informations by Rushworth, “as a most seditious scandal upon the king, state, and kingdom, wickedly affirming that all that pass us spoil us, and we spoil all that rely upon us, and amongst the rest the black pining death of the famished Rochelles, to the number of 15,000 in four months; by which passages he did,



so much as in him lay, scandal his majesty's person, his religious wife, and just government, especially the reverend bishops." Soon after this offensive work was put into circulation, Dr Leighton was arrested by a warrant from the high commission court, and committed to Newgate, where he was confined for fifteen weeks in a loathsome cell full of vermin, without a bed to rest upon, and openly exposed to the inclemency of the weather: none of his family or friends were permitted to see him; and in the mean time his house was forcibly entered, and not only his books and papers, but every article of furniture carried away.

The cause was tried on the 4th of June, 1630. The defendant, in his answer, owned the writing of the book, but denied all intention of evil, his end being only to remonstrate against certain grievances in church and state, under which the people suffered, to the end that parliament might take them into consideration, and to give such redress as might be for the honour of the king, the quiet of the people, and the peace of the church. Nevertheless, the court adjudged unanimously, that for this offence the doctor should be committed to the prison of the Fleet for life, and pay a fine of ten thousand pounds; that the high commission should degrade him from his ministry, and that then he should be brought to the pillory at Westminster, while the court was sitting, and be whipped; after whipping, be set in the pillory a convenient time, and have one of his ears cut off, and one side of his nose slit, and be branded in the face with a double S. S., for *sower of sedition*; that then he should be carried back to prison, and after a few days, be pilloried a second time in Cheapside, and be there likewise whipped, and have the other side of his nose slit, and his other ear cut off, and then be shut up in close prison for the remainder of his life;" a sentence only to be compared with the worst acts of the infernal inquisition of Spain. Archbishop Laud, on hearing the unfortunate man condemned, pulled off his hat, and holding up his hands, gave thanks to God who had given him the victory over his enemies. This barbarous sentence being given towards the end of Trinity term, and the court not usually sitting after the term unless upon emergent occasions, and it requiring some time in the ecclesiastical court in order to the degradation of the defendant, it was Michaelmas following before any part of the sentence could be put in execution. On the 10th of November he was to have undergone the punishment awarded to him; however, the night before he contrived, with the assistance of one Livingston and Anderson, to effect his escape. A hue and cry was immediately issued by order of the privy council, ordering his apprehension, which described him as a man of low stature, fair complexion, high forehead, and yellowish beard, about forty or fifty years of age. He scarcely was at large one week when he was seized in Bedfordshire, and brought back to the Fleet. Rushworth, in his Historical Collections, says, "On Friday, the sixteenth of November, part of the sentence on Dr Leighton was executed upon him in this manner, in the new palace at Westminster. He was severely whipped before he was put in the pillory. Being set in the pillory, he had one of his ears cut off, one side of his nose slit, was branded on the cheek with a red-hot iron with the letters S. S., *sower of sedition*, and afterwards carried back again, prisoner to the Fleet, to be kept in close custody. And on that day seven night, his sores upon his back, ear, nose, and face, not being cured, he was whipped again at the pillory in Cheapside, and there had the remainder of his sentence executed upon him, by cutting off the other ear, slitting the other side of the nose, and branding the other cheek." His unfortunate companions, who aided him to escape, were also brought before the Star-Chamber, and out of respect to their "penitency" they were only fined five hundred pounds each, and committed to the Fleet during the king's pleasure.



In that vile prison, in a filthy, dark, and unwholesome dungeon, the unhappy Leighton was incarcerated for upwards of eleven years, without once being suffered to breathe in the open air; and when at length released from his miserable confinement, he could neither walk, see, nor hear. His release was only effected when the sitting of the Long Parliament had changed the state of things in England. "At the reading of his petition in the house of commons," says Brook, "giving an account of the dreadful barbarity with which he had been treated, the members were so deeply moved and affected, that they could not bear to hear it without several interruptions with floods of tears." A committee was appointed to investigate his case, and the result was, as might be expected, the exposure of one of the most unconstitutional and horrible pieces of barbarity that ever stained a nation's annals. The whole proceedings were declared illegal, and reversed, and "good satisfaction and reparation were ordered to be made to him for his great sufferings and damages." Six thousand pounds were voted on his account; but it is very uncertain in those distracted times if he ever received it.

In 1642, Lambeth house was converted into a prison, and he was made keeper of it, on account, it is said, of his knowledge of the medical profession. He did not survive this unworthy appointment long, and the wonder only is, how human nature could have borne up against such dreadful inflictions as he had endured.

ROBERT LEIGHTON, some time bishop of Dunblane, and afterwards archbishop of Glasgow, son to the preceding, and the proper subject of this memoir, was, according to Pearson, in a late edition of his works, born in Edinburgh, and received his education at that university, which he entered as a student in 1627. From his earliest years he was conspicuous for exemplary piety, and an humble disposition; with talents of the rarest description, and a happy facility of acquiring a knowledge of languages. He was, above all, fond of studying the Scriptures, and was profoundly skilled in every branch of theological learning. Two of the masters at that time in the university whose classes he attended, namely Robert Rankin, professor of philosophy, and James Fairley, professor of divinity, were strongly in favour of episcopacy; the latter having afterwards become bishop of Argyle. It is more than probable that their opinions, being early imbibed by Leighton, continued in after-life to exercise a considerable influence over him. This may in a great degree serve to explain why he seceded from the presbyterian church. He became master of arts in 1631, and having by that time completed his course of academical studies, he was sent abroad for further improvement, and took up his residence at Douay in France, where some of his relations lived. There he formed an intimacy with many of the best educated of the Roman catholic gentlemen who were attending the college, and being naturally fond of exploring every system of ecclesiastical polity, where he found men of worth adhering to forms of religion even at variance with his own, he loved them in Christian charity for the virtue they possessed, and thought less rigidly of their doctrine. While in France, he acquired a perfect knowledge of the language, which he spoke with all the fluency of the most polished native. It is impossible to ascertain how he passed the intermediate ten years from the time he went to Douay. All we can gather with certainty is, that in 1641, on his return from the continent, and immediately after the triumph of presbytery in Scotland, he was, at the age of thirty, and in the very year of his father's liberation from his cruel confinement, settled as presbyterian minister in the parish of Newbattle, in the county of Edinburgh. There he was most unremitting in the sacred duties of his office, preaching peace and goodwill amongst all men, carefully avoiding to mix or interfere with the distractions



of that stormy period, when the pulpit was made the vehicle of political disputes. It being the custom of the presbytery to inquire of the brethren twice a-year, whether they had preached to the *times* : " For God's sake," answered Leighton, " when all my brethren preach to the *times*, suffer one poor priest to preach about *eternity*." This moderation could not fail to give offence : the fact is, he seems to have regarded their sectarian disputes as trivial in comparison with the high and sacred duties he felt himself called upon to perform in his holy office. He seldom or never attended the meetings of the Presbytery, but chose rather to live in strict retirement, alive only to the care of his own parish, the perfect specimen of a faithful and zealous teacher. Of all the accounts of this eminent divine there is none so strictly correct as that left on record by his friend and illustrious contemporary, bishop Burnet, which we shall here quote in full, as we are persuaded that nothing could be given, either so entertaining or so full of information.

" Robert, eldest son of Dr Leighton, was bred in Scotland, and was accounted a saint from his youth up. He had great quickness of parts, a lively apprehension, with a charming vivacity of thought and expression. He had the greatest command of the purest Latin I ever knew in any man ; he was master of both Greek and Hebrew, and of the whole compass of theological learning, chiefly in the study of the Scriptures. But that which excelled all the rest was, he was possessed with the highest and boldest sense of divine things that I ever saw in any man ; he had no regard for his person, unless it was to mortify it, by a constant low diet, that was like a perpetual fast. He had both a contempt of wealth and reputation : he seemed to have the lowest thoughts of himself possible, and to desire that all other persons should think as meanly of him as he did himself. He bore all sorts of ill usage and reproach like a man that took pleasure in it. He had so subdued the natural heat of his temper, that in a great variety of accidents, and in the course of twenty years of intimate conversation with him, I never observed the least sign of passion but upon one single occasion. He brought himself into so composed a gravity that I never saw him laugh, and but seldom smile ; and he kept himself in such a constant recollection, that I do not remember that I ever heard him say one idle word. There was a visible tendency in all he said to raise his own mind, and those he conversed with to serious reflections. He seemed to be in a perpetual meditation ; and, though the whole course of his life was strict and ascetical, yet he had nothing of the sourness of temper that generally possesses men of that sort. He was the freest from superstition, of censuring others, or of imposing his own methods on them, possible ; so that he did not so much as recommend them to others. He said there was a diversity of tempers, and every man was to watch over his own, and to turn it in the best manner he could. His thoughts were lively, oft out of the way and surprising, yet just and genuine. And he had laid together, in his memory, the greatest treasure of the best and wisest of all the ancient sayings of the heathens as well as Christians, that I have ever known any man master of, and he used them in the adeptest manner possible. He had been bred up with the greatest aversion possible to the whole frame of the church of England. From Scotland his father sent him to travel. He spent some years in France, and spoke the language like one born there. He came afterwards and settled in Scotland, and had the presbyterian ordination ; but he quickly bore through the prejudices of his education. His preaching had a sublimity both of thought and expression in it. The grace and gravity of his pronunciation was such, that few heard him without a very sensible emotion ; I am sure I never did. His style was rather too fire ; but there was a majesty and beauty in it that left so deep an impression, that I cannot yet forget the



sermons I heard him preach thirty years ago; and yet with this he seemed to look on himself as so ordinary a preacher, that while he had the cure, he was ready to employ all others, and when he was a bishop he chose to preach to small auditories, and would never give notice before hand. He had indeed a very low voice, and so could not be heard by a great crowd. He soon came to see into the follies of the presbyterians, and to dislike their covenant, particularly their imposing it, and their fury against all who differed from them. He found they were not capable of large thoughts; theirs were narrow as their tempers were sour; so he grew weary of mixing with them. He scarce ever went to their meetings, and lived in great retirement, minding only the care of his own parish at Newbattle, near Edinburgh. Yet all the opposition that he made to them was, that he preached up a more exact rule of life than seemed to them consistent with human nature; but his own practice did outshine his doctrine.

“ In the year 1648, he declared himself for the engagement for the king. But the earl of Lothian, who lived in his parish, had so high an esteem for him, that he persuaded the violent men not to meddle with him, though he gave occasion to great exception; for when some of his parish who had been in the engagement were ordered to make public profession of their repentance for it, he told them, they had been in an expedition in which he believed they had neglected their duty to God, and had been guilty of injustice and violence, of drunkenness, and other immoralities, and he charged them to repent of these seriously, without meddling with the quarrel or the grounds of that war. He entered into a great correspondence with many of the episcopal party, and with my own father in particular, and did wholly separate himself from the presbyterians. At last he left them, and withdrew from his cure, for he could not do the things imposed on him any longer. And yet he hated all contention so much, that he chose rather to leave them in a silent manner, than to engage in any disputes with them. But he had generally the reputation of a saint, and of something above human nature in him; so the mastership of the Edinburgh college falling vacant some time after, and it being in the gift of the city, he prevailed on to accept it, because in it he was wholly separated from all church matters. He continued ten years in that post, and was a great blessing in it; for he talked so to all the youth of any capacity or distinction, that it had a great effect upon them. He preached often to them, and if crowds broke in, which they were apt to do, he would have gone on in his sermon in Latin, with a purity and life that charmed all who understood it. Thus he had lived above twenty years in Scotland, in the highest reputation that any man in my time ever had in the kingdom. He had a brother well known at court, Sir Elisha, who was very like him in face and in the vivacity of his parts; but the most unlike him in all other things that can be imagined. For though he loved to talk of great sublimities in religion, yet he was a very immoral man. He was a papist of a form of his own; but he had changed his religion to raise himself at court, for he was at that time secretary to the duke of York, and was very intimate with lord Aubigny, a brother of the duke of Richmond's, who had changed his religion, and was a priest, and had probably been a cardinal if he had lived longer. He maintained an outward decency, and had more learning and better notions than men of quality who enter into the church generally have. Yet he was a very vicious man: and that perhaps made him the more considered by the king [Charles II.], who loved and trusted him to a high degree. No man had more credit with the king; for he was in the secret as to his religion, and was more trusted with the whole designs that were then managed in order to establish it, than any man whatsoever. Sir Elisha brought his brother



and him acquainted; for Leighton loved to know men in all the varieties of religion. In the vacation time he made excursions, and came often to London, where he observed all the eminent men in Cromwell's court, and in the several parties then about the city of London; but he told me that they were men of unquiet and meddling tempers; and that their discourses were very dry and unsavoury, full of airy cant or of bombast swellings. Sometimes he went over to Flanders to see what he could find in the several orders of the church of Rome. There he found some of Jansenius's followers, who seemed to be men of extraordinary tempers, and studied to bring things, if possible, to the purity and simplicity of the primitive ages; on which all his thoughts were much set. He thought controversies had been too much insisted upon, and had been carried too far. His brother, who thought of nothing but the raising himself at court, fancied that his being made a bishop might render himself more considerable; so he possessed lord Aubigny with such an opinion of him, that he made the king apprehend that a man of his piety and his notions, (and his not being married was not forgot,) might contribute to carry on their designs. He fancied such a monastic man, who had a great stretch of thought and so many other eminent qualities, would be a mean at least to prepare the nation for popery, if he did not directly come over to them, for his brother did not stick to say, he was sure that lay at the root with him. So the king named him of his own proper motion, which gave all those who began to suspect the king himself great jealousies of him. Leighton was averse to this promotion as much as possible. His brother had great power over him, for he took care to hide his vices from him, and to make before him a show of piety. He seemed to be a papist rather in name and show than in reality, of which I will set down one instance that was then much talked of. Some of the church of England loved to magnify the sacrament in an extraordinary manner, affirming the real presence, only blaming the church of Rome for defining the manner of it, saying Christ was present in the most inconceivable manner. This was so much the mode that the king and all the court went into it; so the king, upon some railery about transubstantiation, asked Sir Elisha if he believed it. He answered he could not well tell, but he was sure the church of England believed it; and when the king seemed amazed at that, he replied, do you not believe that Christ is present in the most inconceivable manner, which the king granted. Then said he, that is just transubstantiation, the most inconceivable thing that was ever yet invented. When Leighton was prevailed upon to accept a bishopric, he chose Dunblane, a small diocese as well as a little revenue. But the deanery of the chapel royal was annexed to that see. So he was willing to engage in that, that he might set up the common prayer in the king's chapel, for the rebuilding of which orders were given. The English clergy were well pleased with him, finding him both more learned and more thoroughly versed in the other points of uniformity than the rest of the Scottish clergy, whom they could not much value; and though Sheldon did not much like his great strictness, in which he had no mind to imitate him, yet he thought such a man as he was might give credit to episcopacy, in its first introduction to a nation much prejudiced against it. Sharpe did not know what to make of all this. He neither liked his strictness of life nor his notions. He believed they would not take the same methods, and fancied he might be much obscured by him, for he saw he would be well supported. He saw the earl of Lauderdale began to magnify him, and so Sharpe did all he could to discourage him, but without any effect, for he had no regard to him. I bear still the greatest veneration for the memory of that man that I do for any person, and reckon my early knowledge of him, which happened the year after this, and my long and intimate conversation with him,



that continued to his death, for twenty-three years, among the greatest blessings of my life, and for which I know I must give an account to God in the great day, in a most particular manner; and yet, though I know this account of his promotion may seem a blemish upon him, I would not conceal it, being resolved to write of all persons and things with all possible candour. I had the relation of it from himself, and more particularly from his brother. But what hopes soever the papists had of him at this time, when he knew nothing of the design of bringing in popery, and had therefore talked of some points of popery with the freedom of an abstracted or speculative man; yet he expressed another sense of the matter, when he came to see it was really to be brought in amongst us. He then spoke of popery in the complex at much another rate; and he seemed to have more zeal against it than I thought was in his nature with relation to any points in controversy, for his abstraction made him seem cold in all these matters. But he gave all who conversed with him a very different view of popery, when he saw we were really in danger of coming under the power of a religion that had, as he used to say, much of the wisdom that was earthly, sensual, and devilish; but had nothing in it of the wisdom that is from above, and is pure and peaceable. He did indeed think the corruptions and cruelties of popery were such gross and odious things, that nothing could have maintained that church under those just and visible prejudices but the several orders among them, which had an appearance of mortification and contempt of the world, and with all the work that was among them, maintained a face of piety and devotion. He also thought the great and fatal error of the Reformation was, that more of those houses, and that course of life free from the entanglements of vows and other mixtures, was not preserved; so that the protestant churches had neither places of education, nor retreat for men of mortified tempers. I have dwelt long upon this man's character, but it was so singular that it seemed to deserve it; and I was so singularly blessed by knowing him as I did, that I am sure he deserved it of me, that I should give so full a view of him, which I hope may be of some use to the world."

Leighton remained ten years principal of the college of Edinburgh, where he conducted himself with a degree of diligence, wisdom, and prudence, that engaged universal respect and esteem, and proved of essential benefit to the students. The funds of that seminary were then very low, and Leighton did not scruple to go to London to appeal to the generosity of Cromwell in favour of his object. That extraordinary man ordered an annuity of two hundred pounds a year to be granted in 1658, a sum that at the time was of considerable use; but on the death of the Protector, which took place shortly after, it fell to the ground, as all his acts were rescinded at the Restoration. The state of the presbyterian church in Scotland when Charles the Second ascended the throne was extremely critical—betrayed by its own ministers, and secretly hated by the king, who had sworn to defend its rights. James Sharpe, who was commissioned to go to London to defend the rights of the Scottish church, was a man capable of any duplicity or baseness that would in the main advance his own interests, while his communications with his brethren at home were lying and deceitful. He had the effrontery to impress on the minds of the court that the people of Scotland were at heart unfriendly to presbytery, and secretly attached to episcopacy. However Charles may have doubted the truth of such an account, he was glad to avail himself of Sharpe's duplicity to give ascendancy to prelacy; and notwithstanding the memorials and remonstrances from the Scottish church, and the interference of men of rank and importance, he determined on the re-establishment of a hierarchy in Scotland.

Sharpe, as a reward for his perfidious apostasy, was to be elevated to the



primacy. He had the recommendation also of other persons to fill the different vacant sees ; but Leighton was the last man he would ever have thought of pointing out, as he shrunk from approaching a character so upright and virtuous, in every way superior to himself. But Sir Elisha Leighton, already referred to by Burnet, having an eye to his own interests, considered that by having a brother, over whom he had already gained some ascendancy, high in the church, much might be expected. As he affected to be strongly attached to popery to please the duke of York, whose secretary he was, he vainly thought, as his relative was on many occasions known to evince a great respect for some good men connected with the church of Rome, that in time he might be gained over to promote and adopt that faith. Blinded by selfish ambition, he was incapable of perceiving, like the illustrious Burnet, that of all men Leighton was the least likely to favour a religion which he characterized as "earthly, sensual, and devilish, with nothing in it of the wisdom that was from above, and was pure and peaceable." Indeed it was a matter of considerable difficulty, as it will appear, to prevail upon him to join the episcopalians. The king, though pleased at finding Sharpe and others subservient in all points to his wishes, still he knew their characters must stand degraded in the eyes of the people, as they were men neither of piety nor moderation, and that it would be, above all, necessary to strengthen their ranks by those who stood high and worthy in the eyes of the world ; for this reason he personally solicited Leighton to accept of a mitre.

The earl of Lauderdale, and his brother, and some of the most moderate and respectable of his countrymen, exerted themselves to gain the same result, but all seemed of no avail. Leighton still refused, as he evidently mistrusted the men to whom the government of the new church was to be intrusted, and he could not but see the methods they resorted to were violent and repugnant to the principles and desires of the people of Scotland. "It was at last mentioned to him, that the king had issued positive orders for him to yield, unless in fact he regarded the episcopal office as unwarrantable." To that extreme he would not go, as he all along was favourable to that order, if divested of its useless pomp.

He was at length persuaded that a regard to the interests of the church rendered it his duty to accept it ; but in order to demonstrate to the world that avarice was not his principle, he made choice of Dunblane, as of small extent and little revenue. He was consecrated with Sharpe and two other Scottish bishops at the Abbey church of Westminster, which occasion was celebrated with great feasting and pomp. Leighton could not help remarking, "that it had not such an appearance of seriousness or piety as became the new modelling of a church." It is with considerable hesitation we are obliged to remark, that in this instance the character of Leighton exhibits another melancholy proof of the want of stability and perfection in the nature of man. Admitting that his reason for joining the episcopal church, was with the virtuous intention of softening down the asperities of two rival systems, which had long struggled for ascendancy ; yet the time was unseasonable, when selfish and bad men were endeavouring, by all crooked means, to build their fortunes on the ruin of their country and their shameful apostasy. He was induced, too, to lend the weight of his virtuous name in countenancing the acts of a reckless and unprincipled tyrant, who was bent on the total subversion of those forms of religion connected with his earliest associations, and in whose defence his father had almost suffered martyrdom. That he was free from all interested motives every one must admit ; and in justice to the character of one so pious, we shall give the following extract of a letter written by him in reference to his appointment :—"There is in



this preferment something that would allow of reconciling the devout on different sides, and of enlarging those good souls you meet with from their little fetters, though possibly with little success. Yet the design is commendable,—pardonable at least. However, one comfort I have, that in what is pressed on me, there is the least of my own choice; yea, on the contrary, the strongest aversion that I ever had to any thing in all my life; the difficulty, in short, lies in a necessity of either owning a scruple, which I have not, or the rudest disobedience to the authority that may be. The truth is, I am yet importuning and struggling for a liberation, and look upward for it; but whatever be the issue, I look beyond it and this weary, weary, wretched world, through which the hand I have resigned to, I trust, will lead me into the path of his own choosing: and, so I may please him, I am satisfied. I hope if ever we meet, you shall find me in the love of solitude and a devout life.”<sup>1</sup>

He lost no time in endeavouring to persuade Sharpe to join with him in some moderate plan, founded on archbishop Usher’s scheme, for uniting the presbyterians and episcopalians, but to his astonishment he found him unwilling even to talk on the subject. He and the other newly made bishops seemed only anxious to get possession of their sees. This circumstance was discouraging to Leighton, who soon perceived that such men were not designed by providence to build up the church. Soon after their consecration, the Scottish bishops went down to Scotland in one coach; but when they came to Morpeth, finding that they intended to be received at Edinburgh with pomp and ostentation, Leighton parted company from them, and arrived at the capital some days before them. He would not even have the title of lord given to him by his friends, and was not easy when others used it in addressing him. Leighton soon perceived with deep regret, that the government was resolved to enforce conformity on the presbyterians by severe means. He laboured all in his power to show the impolicy of such proceedings, and in the session of parliament in April, 1662, when the ministers to whom the oath of allegiance and supremacy was tendered, consented to take it with an explanation, which they presented to the house, he pleaded strenuously that it might be accepted, and insisted that the conditions asked by the presbyterians were just, and should in reason be granted. Sharpe, with his usual vehemence answered, that it was below the dignity of government to make acts to satisfy the scruples of peevish men, and “that it ill became those who had imposed their covenant on all people, without any explication, and had forced all to take it, now to expect such extraordinary favours.”—“For that very reason,” replied Leighton, “it ought to be done, that all people may see the difference between the mild proceedings of the government and their rivals; and that it ill became the very same persons who had complained of that, now to practise it themselves, for thus, it may be said, the world goes mad at times.” But the voice of violence prevailed; the Scottish bishops were entitled to a seat in parliament on their consecration, and were one and all invited to avail themselves of the privilege. Leighton was the only one that declined the honour. He retired to his see, and resolved never to appear in parliament unless the interests of religion were called in question, or by his presence he might assist it. In his own diocese he set a bright example to his brethren, by practising the moderation which he recommended. He studied to make his clergymen a well-informed, serious, and useful body of men; and he even tolerated the preaching of non-conforming ministers in districts where the people were particularly attached to them. He continued a private and ascetic course of life, and gave all his income, except the little he expended on his own person, to the poor. By these means he became generally

<sup>1</sup> Pearson *ut supra*, p. 43.



beloved through his diocese, and even softened down the feelings of those who were most adverse to episcopacy.

In the year 1665, the proceedings in Scotland by the ecclesiastical high commission were so severe and illegal, that Leighton was prevailed on to go to court, and lay before the king a true account of them. On this occasion he assured his majesty that the measures which Sharpe and other members of the court pursued, were so violent, "that he could not concur in planting of the Christian religion itself in such a manner, much less a form of government. He therefore entreated leave to quit his bishopric, and to retire, for he thought he was in some sort accessory to the violence of others." The king seemed to be deeply affected with the complaints of the worthy prelate, and issued an order in council for discontinuing the ecclesiastical commission, and less rigorous measures were promised to be pursued with respect to Scotland; but the king would not hear of Leighton's resigning his see. Deceived by the specious conduct of Charles on this interview, and perhaps aware that if he retired he would lose all authority, or chance of standing between the people of Scotland and persecution, he returned to his see, and resumed the charge of his sacred functions. It is almost needless to add, that no reliance could be placed on the promise of protection from so deceitful a monarch. Matters in Scotland were driven to such dreadful extremities by the base and tyrannical authorities, that it was impossible to bear up much longer against them.

In 1667, Leighton was once more prevailed on to go to London, where he laid before the king the outrageous conduct of the former administrations of church affairs, and implored him to adopt more moderate councils; in particular, he proposed a comprehension of the presbyterian party, by altering the terms of the laws a little, and by such abatements as might preserve the whole for the future, by giving a little for the present. This audience had the good effect of inducing the king to write a letter to the privy council, ordering them to indulge such of the presbyterians as were moderate and loyal, so far as to suffer them to serve in vacant churches; though they did not submit to the ecclesiastical establishment. This small indulgence enraged the episcopal party in Scotland; they thought it illegal and fatal to the interests of the church, and directed an address to be drawn up expressive of their sentiments, though they did not venture to present it. A copy, however, was privately sent up to the court, and drew down the king's resentment on the head of the archbishop of Glasgow. When parliament assembled, an act was obtained, a clause of which declared the settling of all things relating to the external government of the church, to be the right of the crown. This clause, Leighton informed Burnet, was surreptitiously inserted after the draught and form of the act was agreed upon, and was generally thought to be the work of Lauderdale. Such a fearful stretch of the prerogative alarmed both episcopalians and presbyterians; the former said it assimilated the king to a pope; the latter, that it placed him in Christ's stead. The archbishop of Glasgow thought it prudent immediately to resign his see, as he dreaded the coming storm, and knew he had no other chance of escaping its vengeance. Lauderdale and lord Tweeddale fixed upon Leighton, and immediately offered to have him promoted to that high dignity; but, though eagerly solicited by these noble lords, he respectfully declined the appointment. The king at last sent for him, and promised that he should be backed by the assistance of the court, in his endeavours to accomplish his long-meditated and favourite scheme of a comprehension of the presbyterians. He was at length persuaded to comply, and in 1670, he, without removing from Dumblane, undertook the administration of the see of Glasgow; nor was he at all willing to be consecrated arch-



bishop until a year after. The plan of accommodation between the episcopalians and presbyterians, the particulars of which may be seen in Burnet's history, was, by the king's directions, limited to certain instructions, by which Lauderdale was empowered to embody the concessions that were to be offered into laws. Encouraged even by this support, Leighton had frequent conferences with some of the most eminent presbyterian ministers, but in vain; he found it impossible to gain them over even to the most moderate form of episcopacy. It is evident the presbyterians mistrusted the overture in question, and looked upon it as a snare to lull their vigilance; and they had already too many deceitful examples in a former reign to think that the friends of prelacy were now either more humane or honourable. The result of these negotiations grieved Leighton very much, while they delighted Sharpe and all of the same party, to whom every thing like liberality or concession in favour of peace and religion were alike unknown or despised. They even went so far as to hint, in very intelligible terms, that under the mask of moderation, he was secretly undermining their cause. Being thus unhappily situated, and despairing of being able to carry his great designs of healing the divisions and reforming the abuses in the church, he resolved to relinquish his see, and retire into seclusion. He said "that his work seemed to be at an end, and that he had no more to do, unless he had a mind to please himself with the lazy enjoying of a good revenue." His friend, Dr Burnet, endeavoured all in his power to make him give up this idea, but all to no purpose; the good man was resolute. He repaired to London, and after much difficulty obtained the king's reluctant consent to his resignation, on condition that he would remain in office for another year. The court thought it possible in the interval that he might be gained over to remain and assist a cause fast falling into hatred and contempt, by his pious and venerable name. He returned "much pleased with what he had obtained, and said to Dr Burnet upon it, that there was now but one uneasy stage between him and rest, and he would wrestle through it the best he could." He continued to perform his duties with the same zeal as before, and at the end of the year 1673, he hastened to London, and tendered his resignation, and was succeeded by the former possessor of the see, Dr Alexander Burnet.<sup>2</sup> After residing for some time in the college of Edinburgh, where he had long been principal, amongst a set of select friends,

<sup>2</sup> The following paper has been left by Leighton for the purpose of explaining his reasons for resigning the see of Glasgow. It has been preserved in the university of Edinburgh, over which he so long and ably presided.

"Whatsoever others may judge, they that know what past before my engaging in this charge, will not (I believe,) impute my retreat from it from levitie or unfixedness of mind, considering how often I declared before hand, both by word and write, the great suspicion I had that my continuance in it would be very short; neither is it from any sudden passion or sudden discontent that I have now resigned it; nor do I know any cause imaginable for any such thing, but the true reasons of my retiring are plainly and briefly these:

"1. The sense I have of the dreadful weight of whatsoever charge of souls, and all kinds of spiritual inspection over people; but much more over ministers; and withall of my own extreme unworthiness and unfitness for so high a station in the church; and there is an episcopal act that is above all the rest most formidable to me—the ordaining of ministers.

"2. The continuing and deeply increasing divisions and contentions, and many other disorders of the church, and the little or no appearance of their cure for our time, and the little hope, amidst those contentions and disorders, of doing any thing in this station to promote the great design of religion in the hearts and lives of men, which were the only worthy reasons of continuing in it, though it were with much pains and reluctance.

"3. The earnest desire I have long had of a retired and private life, which is now much increased by sickness and old age drawing on, and the sufficient experience I have of the folly and vanity of the world.

"To add any farther discourse, a large apologie in this matter were to no purpose; but instead of removing other mistakes and misconstructions, would be apt to expose me to one more, for it would look like too much valuing either of myself or of the world's opinion, both of which I think I have so much reason to despise."—*Bower's History of the University of Edinburgh*, vol. i. App. No. 6.



equally distinguished for their learning and piety, he removed to Broadhurst, an estate in Sussex belonging to his sister Mrs Lightwater, for whom he entertained the strongest affection. Here he lived ten years, occupied in study, meditation, and prayer, and doing all the good in his power. He distributed through the hands of other persons whatever he possessed beyond the means of subsistence,—so unostentatious was he in his charity. He was in every instance through life most generous in pecuniary matters. When principal of the college of Edinburgh he presented the city with £150, the income of which was destined for the support of a student in philosophy. The college of Glasgow is also indebted to him for two bursaries, or for a sum the interest of which is to be appropriated to support two students. On the hospital of St Nicholas, Glasgow, he bestowed £150, the proceeds of which were to be given to two poor men of good character. Three such persons are now enjoying the benefit of that sum, which yields £4, 10s. annually to each of them. This forms but a short specimen of the good works he performed during his long and valuable life.

Five years after he had retired from the business of active life, he was surprised and alarmed at receiving from his sovereign the following epistle :

*Windsor, July 16, 1679.*

MY LORD,—I am now resolved to try what clemency can prevail upon such in Scotland as will not conform to the government of the church there; for effecting of which design I desire you may go down to Scotland with your first conveniency, and take all possible pains for persuading all you can of both opinions to as much mutual correspondence and concord as may be; and send me from time to time, characters of both men and things. In order to this design I shall send you a precept for two hundred pounds sterling upon my exchequer, till you resolve how to serve me in a stated employment. Your loving friend,

CHARLES R.

*For the Bishop of Dumblane.*

Leighton was now in his sixty-eighth year; and however flattering such a notice might be to a mind of an inferior grade, to his, which was exclusively bent on preparing for a heavenly kingdom, it gave only pain and apprehension. What were the vain disputes of angry men to him? besides, he could have little or no hopes in succeeding in the mission. He was saved, however, the trouble of trying the experiment, as the duke of Monmouth, with whom the humane plan originated, fell into discredit, and the offer made to Leighton was never again renewed. This was the only serious interruption he met with in his retirement. Burnet saw him two years after, and says, “I was amazed to see him at above seventy look so fresh and well, that age seemed as it were to stand still with him. His hair was still black, and all his motions were lively; he had the same quickness of thought, and strength of memory; but above all, the same heat and life of devotion that I had ever seen him in.”—“When I took notice to him,” continues this celebrated writer, “upon my first seeing him, how well he looked, he told me he was very near his end for all that, and his work and journey were now almost done. This at the time made no great impression on me. He was next day taken with an oppression, and it seemed with cold and with stitches, which was indeed a pleurisy.” This disease he foretold was doomed to be his last; he grew so suddenly ill, that speech and sense almost immediately left him; and in twelve hours after the first attack, he breathed his last, without a struggle, in the arms of his long-revered and faithful friend Dr Burnet, on the 26th June, 1684, at the advanced age of seventy-four. The place in which his pure spirit departed from its earthly tenement was an inn in Warwick Lane, London; and it is somewhat singular that he often used to say, that if he had



the power to choose a place to breathe his last in, it would be an inn. "It looked," he said, "like a pilgrim's going home, to whom this world was all an inn, and who was weary of the noise and confusion of it." He thought, too, that the distress of friends and relations at the time of death were apt to withdraw the mind from serious thoughts; to keep it from being wholly directed to God. He bequeathed his books to the cathedral of Dumblane, and the residue of his limited fortune to his sister, Mrs Lightwater, and her son, to be distributed as they thought fit to charitable purposes. After the character already given of him by his friend Burnet, it would be superfluous to add any thing here.<sup>3</sup>

His body was interred in the burial ground of Horstead Heynes, in the parish which for ten years had been honoured by his residence. A simple inscription marks the spot where his remains are laid.<sup>4</sup> The family of his sister is now extinct, and the estate is in the hands of another. His brother Sir Elisha, it may be here stated, died a few months before him, and was interred in the same place.

LESLIE, ALEXANDER, the celebrated military leader of the covenanters, during the civil wars of Charles I., created lord Balgonie, and afterwards earl of Leven, was the son of captain George Leslie of Balgonie, by his wife Anne, a daughter of Stewart of Ballechin. Of the place of his birth, or the extent of his education, little can be said with certainty. Spalding says, he was born in Balveny, which Gordon of Straloch affirms was never possessed by the Leslies, and, of course, according to him, could not be the place of his birth. This, he supposes to have been Tullich, which lies over against Balveny, on the east side of the water of Fiddich; or, perhaps, Kininvie, which lies a mile to the north of Tullich, on the same water of Fiddich. Gordon adds, that he "was a natural son of Kininvie's, and that his mother, during her pregnancy, could eat nothing but wheat bread, and drink nothing but wine, which Kininvie allowed her to be provided with, although she was nothing but a common servant." There is, however, much reason to suppose that this account of his birth is only a cavalier fiction.

Educated for the military profession, Leslie very early in life obtained a captain's commission in the regiment of Horatio lord de Vere, then employed in Holland as auxiliaries to the Dutch in fighting for their liberties against the overwhelming power of Spain. In this service he acquitted himself with singular bravery, and obtained the reputation of a skilful officer. He afterwards, along with many thousands of his countrymen, passed into the service of Sweden, under Gustavus Adolphus, by whom, after many heroic achievements, he was promoted to the rank of field-marshal with the approbation of the whole army.

In the year 1628, he defended Stralsund, which was besieged by the whole force of the Imperialists, at that time masters of all Germany, that fortress excepted. Here he acquitted himself with the utmost bravery and skill. The plague had already broken out in the city, and the outworks were in a most deplorable condition; yet he compelled count Wallenstein, with a formidable army and flushed with victory, to raise the siege, after having sustained a severe loss. The citizens of Stralsund were so sensible of the services of the field-marshal, on

<sup>3</sup> The writings of archbishop Leighton are thus enumerated in Watt's *Bibliotheca Britannica*:—"Sermons, London, 1692, 4to. *Predicationes Theologicae*, 1693, 4to. A Practical Commentary on the two first chapters of the First Epistle of St Peter, York, 1693, 2 vols. 4to; also in 2 vols. 8vo,—an admirable Commentary which has been often reprinted. Three Posthumous Tracts; viz. *Rules for a Holy Life*; a Sermon; and a Catechism, London, 1708, 12mo." The best edition of Leighton's whole works is that by Jarment in 6 vols. 8vo, 1806.

<sup>4</sup> *Depositum Roberti Leightounii, Archiepiscopi Glasguensis, apud Scotus, qui obiit xxv. die Junii anno Dni, 1684, ætatis suæ 71.*



this occasion, that they made him a handsome present, and had medals struck to perpetuate their gratitude and the honour of their deliverer. In the year 1635, he had charters granted to him, his wife, and son, of the barony of Balgonie, and other lands in the counties of Fife, Berwick, and Roxburgh. He was at this time serving in Lower Saxony. In the year 1639, when the covenanters were preparing to resist their sovereign in the field, Leslie returned from Sweden, where he had continued after the death of Gustavus in the service of Christina. "This Leslie," says Spalding, "having conquest from nought wealth and honour, resolved to come home to his native country of Scotland and settle himself beside his chief, the earl of Rothes, as he did indeed, and bought fair lands in Fife; but the earl foreseeing the troubles, whereof himself was one of the principal beginners, took hold of this Leslie, who was both wise and stout, acquainted him with the plot, and had his advice for the furtherance thereof to his power."

It was a fortunate circumstance for the covenanters, that the oppressions to which they had been subjected, and the persecutions that were evidently preparing for them, were well known on the continent, where thousands of their fellow countrymen had been shedding their blood in the defence of the religion and liberties of their fellow protestants, and excited the deepest interest in their favour. Leslie had undoubtedly been invited home, and he brought a number of his countrymen along with him, who, having periled their lives for the same cause among foreigners, could not reasonably be considered as indifferent to its success among their own countrymen. Half a century had, for the first time since it was a nation, passed over Scotland without any thing like general warfare. The people had, in a great measure, become unaccustomed to its hardships and its dangers, and the chieftains, such as had been abroad excepted, were unacquainted with its practice, and ignorant of its details. This defect, by the return of so many who had been in the wars of Gustavus, was amply supplied. Leslie was, by the committee of estates, appointed to the chief command;—many of his fellow adventurers of less celebrity, yet well acquainted with military details and the equipment of an army, were dispersed throughout the country, where they were employed in training the militia, which in those days comprehended every man that was able to bear arms, from the age of sixteen to sixty. By these means, together with a manifesto by the Tables (committees of the four estates assembled at Edinburgh), entitled, "State of the Question, and Reasons for Defensive War," which was circulated so as to meet the eye or the ear of every individual in the nation,—the covenanters were in a state of preparation greatly superior to the king, though he had been meditating hostilities long before he declared them. Though now an old man, little in stature, and deformed in person, Leslie was possessed of ceaseless activity, as well as consummate skill; and in both he was powerfully seconded by the zeal of the people in general. Early apprized of the intentions of Charles, he so managed matters as to render them entirely nugatory. It was the intention of the latter, while he advanced with his main force upon his ancient kingdom by the eastern marches, to enter it previously, or at least simultaneously, on the western side, with a body of Highlanders and Irish, and by the Firth of Forth with a strong division of his English army, under his commissioner the duke of Hamilton. To meet this formidable array, every thing that lay within the compass of their limited means, was prepared by the covenanters. Military committees were appointed for every county, who were to see to the assembling and training of the militia generally, and to forward to the army such levies and such supplies, as might be from time to time demanded. Smiths were every where put in requisition for the fabrication of muskets, carbines, pole-axes,



Lochaber axes, and halberts; magazines to supply the troops were also provided; and to call them together when occasion should require, beacons were provided, and placed in every shire. Arms to the amount of thirty thousand stand were provided from Holland, in addition to those of home manufacture, and a foundry for cannon was established in the Potter Row, at that time one of the suburbs, now a street of Edinburgh. Leith, the port of the capital, was, however, still defenceless; but, aware that the duke of Hamilton proposed to land there with hostile intentions, it was immediately resolved to put the place in a posture of defence. The plan of a new fort, the old defences of the town being in ruins, was laid down by Sir Alexander Hamilton, who acted as engineer to Leslie; and several thousands came spontaneously forward to assist in its erection. Noblemen, gentlemen, and citizens; men, women, and children; even ladies of quality, claimed the privilege of assisting in forwarding the good work, and in less than a week it was finished, and the security of Edinburgh was considered complete. Along the coast of Fife, too, every town was surrounded with batteries mounted with cannon, carried on shore from the ships; and with the exception of Inchkeith and Inchcolm, which were somehow neglected, there was not a resting place in the Firth for an enemy, till he should win it at the point of the pike.

In the mean time, the duke of Hamilton lying in Yarmouth roads, was commanded to sail for the Forth, and by all or any means to "create an awful diversion." His first sail was no sooner discovered as a speck in the distant horizon, than the beacons were in a blaze from the one extremity of the country to the other, and ere he approached the shores of Leith they were lined by upwards of twenty thousand intrepid defenders, among whom was his own mother, mounted on horseback at the head of her vassals, with a pair of pistols in the holsters before her, with which she declared she would shoot her son with her own hand the moment he set a hostile foot on shore. Hamilton now found that he could do nothing. The troops on board his fleet did not exceed five thousand men, all raw young peasants, miserably sea-sick, and many of them labouring under the small pox. Instead of attempting hostile operations, he landed his men upon the islands of Inchkeith and Inchcolm, which served him for hospitals, and contented himself with sending into the town council some more of Charles's proclamations, which were promised to be laid before the States, who were expected to meet in a few days. This, as the measure of their obedience, Hamilton was for the time obliged to accept. Of this circumstance, with the strength which they mustered, he failed not to acquaint his master, advising him at the same time to negotiate.—We are not detailing the history of the war, but the part performed in it by an individual, or we should have stated that Argyle had been sent to the west, where he had seized upon the castle of Brodick in Arran, where the earl of Antrim was to have first headed his Irish bands, in consequence of which they were for a time unable to come forward. The castle of Dumbarton had also been seized by a master-stroke of policy, as that of Edinburgh now was by the same in war. In the afternoon of the twenty-third of March, Leslie himself, with a few companies which he had been, according to his usual custom, training in the outer court-yard of Holyrood house, some of which he secretly disposed in closes at the head of the Castle Hill, approached to the exterior gate of the castle, where he called a parley with the captain or governor, demanding to be admitted. This being refused, he seemed to retire from the gate, when a petard which he had hung against it, burst and laid it open. The inner gate was instantly assailed with axes, and scaling ladders were applied to the wall, by which the covenanters gained immediate admission; while the garrison, panic-struck with the sudden explosion and the vigour of the attack, sur-



rendered without offering any resistance. The castles of Dalkeith, Douglas, and Strathaven in Clydesdale, and, in short, all the castles of the kingdom, with the exception of that of Carlaverock, were seized in the same manner. Huntly, who was making dispositions in the north to side with Charles, had also in the interim been kidnapped by Montrose, so that he had actually not the shadow of a party in the whole kingdom. Towards the end of May, the king beginning to move from York, where he had fixed his head-quarters, towards the north, the army under Leslie was ordered southward to meet him. The final muster of the army, previous to the march, took place on the Links of Leith, on the 20th of May, 1639, when from twelve to sixteen thousand men made their appearance, well armed in the German fashion, and commanded by native officers whom they respected as their natural superiors, or by their own countrymen celebrated for their hardihood, and that experience in military affairs which they had acquired abroad. With the exception of one German trumpeter, there was not a foreigner among them: all were Scotsmen, brought immediately from the hearths and the altars which it was the object of the war to defend. The private men were, for the most part, ploughmen from the western counties; stout rustics whose bodies were rendered muscular by healthy exercise, and whose minds were exalted by the purest feelings of patriotism and religion. It was on this day that they were properly constituted an army, by having the articles of war read to them. These had been drawn out by Leslie with the advice of the Tables, after the model of those of Gustavus Adolphus, and a printed copy of them was delivered to every individual soldier. The general himself, at the same time, took an oath to the Estates, acknowledging himself in all things liable both to civil and ecclesiastical censure. Leslie had by this time acquired not only the respect and confidence, but the love of the whole community, by the judgment with which all his measures were taken, and the zeal he displayed in the cause; a zeal, the sincerity of which was sufficiently attested by the fame of his exploits in Germany, and by the scars which he bore on his person in consequence of these exploits. He was deformed, old, and mean in his appearance; but the consummate skill which he displayed, and the piety of his deportment, rendered him, according to Baillie, who was along with him, a more popular and respected general than Scotland had ever enjoyed in the most warlike and beloved of her kings. With the van of this army, which was but a small part of the military array of Scotland at this time, Leslie marched for the borders on the 21st of May, the main body following him in order. He was abundantly supplied on his march, and at every successive stage found that his numbers were increased, and his stock of provisions becoming more ample. The first night he reached Haddington, the second Dunbar, and the third Dunglass, a strong castle at the east end of Lammermoor, where he halted and threw up some intrenchments. Charles, in the mean time, advanced to the borders, indulging in the most perfect assurance of driving the Scottish insurgents before him. Learning from his spies, however, that they were within a day's march of him, and so well marshalled that the result of a contest would be at best doubtful, he ordered a trumpet to be sent with letters from himself to the Scottish army, conveying overtures of a friendly nature, but forbidding them to approach within ten miles of his camp, and on this demonstration of their temporal obedience, promising that all their just supplications should be granted. Finding them disposed to an amicable agreement, Charles advanced his camp to the Birks, on the banks of the Tweed, and directed the earl of Holland, his general of horse, to proceed with thirteen troops of cavalry, three thousand foot, and a number of field-pieces, to drive some regiments of the covenanters which had been stationed at Kelso and Jedburgh under colonel



Robert Munro, for the protection of the borders, from their station, as being within the limits stipulated with the noblemen who commanded the main body. Proceeding, in the execution of his order, to Dunse, the first town that lay in his way within the Scottish border, the earl of Holland found it totally deserted of its inhabitants, except a very few, who heard him read a proclamation, declaring the whole Scottish nation, especially all who were in arms and did not immediately lay them down, traitors. Proceeding westward to Kelso, and having reached a height overlooking the town, he found the Scottish troops in the act of being drawn out to receive him. Startled at their appearance, Holland sent forward a trumpeter, to command them to retire according to the promise of their leaders. His messenger was met by a stern demand whose trumpeter he was, and on answering that he was lord Holland's, was told that it would be well for him to be gone. Displeased with this reception of his missionary, his lordship ordered a retreat, and the Scottish soldiers were with difficulty restrained from pursuing them to their camp. What share Leslie had in the proposed submission to Charles is not known; but he no sooner heard of the above affair than he broke up his encampment at Dunglass, and set forward to Dunse, where he ordered Munro to join him. Finding here an excellent position commanding both roads to Edinburgh, he formed his camp on the Law behind the town, where he could see the royal camp at Birks, on the other side of the Tweed. This movement was made without the knowledge of the English, whose camp Leslie, had he been left to himself, would most probably have surprised and secured, with all that was in it. Charles himself, walking out after an alarm from the Scottish army, was the first to descry their encampment on Dunse Law, and he rightly estimated their number to be from sixteen to eighteen thousand men; they were soon, however, increased to twenty-four thousand by the reinforcements that hastened up to them on the report of the English incursions at Dunse and Kelso; and never was an army led to the field better appointed, or composed of better materials. "It would have done your heart good," said an eye-witness, "to have cast your eyes athwart our brave and rich hills as oft as I did, with great contentment and joy. Our hill was garnished on the top toward the south and east with our mounted cannon, well near to forty, great and small. Our regiment lay on the sides; the crowniers [superior officers of regiments] lay in canvass lodges, large and wide; their captains about them in lesser ones; the soldiers about all in huts of timber, covered with divot or straw. Over every captain's tent door waved the flag of his company, blue, with the arms of Scotland wrought in gold, with the inscription 'For Christ's Crown and Covenant.' Leslie himself lay in the castle of Dunse, at the bottom of the hill, whence he issued regularly every night, rode round the camp, and saw the watches regularly set." Throughout the whole army there was the most perfect harmony of opinion, both as to matters of civil and ecclesiastical polity; and there was a fervour in the cause they had undertaken, that burned with an equal flame in the bosom of the peasant and the peer. The latter took their full share in all the fatigues of the camp; slept like the common soldiers, in their boots and cloaks on the bare ground; and in their intercourse with their inferiors, used the language of affection and friendship, rather than that of command. Ministers of the gospel attended the camp in great numbers, carrying arms like the rest, and many of them attended by little parties of their friends and dependents. There were sermons morning and evening in various places of the camp, to which the soldiers were called by beat of drum; and while the day was devoted to the practice of military exercises, its rise and its fall were celebrated in every tent with the singing of psalms, reading the Scriptures, and prayer. The general tone of the army was ardent, full of devotion to God and



of the hope of success against the enemy. "They felt," says Baillie, "the favour of God shining upon them, and a sweet, meek, humble, yet strong and vehement feeling leading them along. For myself, I never found my mind in better temper than it was all that time since I came from home, for I was as a man who had taken my leave from the world, and was resolved to die in that service without return." While they were thus strengthened in spirit, the body was equally well attended to. The regular pay of the common men was sixpence a day; fourpence purchased a leg of lamb, and all of them were served with wheaten bread; a luxury which it is probable many of them never enjoyed either before or after. Leslie kept open table daily at Dunse castle for the nobility and for strangers, besides a side table for gentlemen waiters; and as there had been an extraordinary crop the preceding year, and the people were zealous to offer supplies, the camp abounded with all the necessities of life. An amicable arrangement, however, having been entered into between Charles and the covenanters, peace was proclaimed in both camps on the 18th of June, 1639.

In the month of April, 1640, it was found necessary by the covenanters to re-assemble their army, and Leslie was again appointed general; but from various causes it was the beginning of August before the general armament could be collected at Dunse, where, in the early part of that month it was reviewed by the general. It amounted to twenty-three thousand foot, three thousand horse, and a train of heavy artillery, besides some light cannon, formed of tin and leather corded round, capable of sustaining twelve discharges each. This was a species of artillery used by Gustavus Adolphus, and which the Scottish general had adopted in imitation of his master. This army was composed of the same men who had last year occupied Dunse Law. The horse were chiefly composed of respectable citizens and country gentlemen, lightly armed; some of them having lances, and generally mounted on the small, but active horses of the country. Their attire and accoutrements were the same as in the preceding year, including the broad Lowland blue bonnet. Their march over the border was, however, delayed for some weeks for the want of money and necessities. "It was found," says Mr John Livingston, who accompanied the army in the capacity of chaplain to the earl of Cassillis's regiment, "when the whole army was come up, that there was want of powder and of bread, the biscuit being spoiled, and of cloth to be huts to the soldiers. This produced some fear that the expedition might be delayed for that year. One day when the committee of estates and general officers, and some ministers, were met in the castle of Dunse, and were at prayer and consulting what to do, an officer of the guard comes and knocks rudely at the door of the room where we were, and told there was treachery discovered; for he, going to a big cellar in the bottom of the house, seeking for some other thing, had found a great many barrels of gun-powder, which he apprehended was intended to blow us all up. After search, it was found that the powder had been laid in there the year before, when the army had departed from Dunse Law, and had been forgotten. Therefore, having found powder, the earls of Rothes and Loudon, Mr Alexander Henderson, and Mr Archibald Johnston were sent to Edinburgh, and within a few days brought as much meal and cloth to the soldiers by the gift of well affected people there, as sufficed the whole army. With the same readiness these people had parted with their cloth and their meal, others parted with their plate, and to such an extent was this carried, that for many years afterwards, not even a silver spoon was to be met with in the best houses."—"It was very refreshful," adds Livingston, "to remark that after we came to a quarter at night, there was nothing to be heard almost through the whole army but singing of psalms, prayer, and reading of the Scriptures by the soldiers in their several tents; and I



was informed there was much more the year before, when the army lay at Dunse Law. And, indeed, in all our meetings and consultations, both within doors and in the fields, always the nearer the beginning there was so much the more dependence upon God, and more tenderness in worship and walking; but through process of time, we still declined more and more."

General Leslie crossed the Tweed on the 20th of August with his army, in three divisions; the College of Justice' troop of horse, consisting of one hundred and sixty gentlemen, under Sir Thomas Hope, riding on the right wing in order to break the stream for the foot; all of whom got safely through but one man, who was drowned. In their march, the officers of the Scottish army were greatly embarrassed by a fear of offending the English nation, with which they had no quarrel, and with which they knew well they were not able to contend. With all the difficulties imposed on him by his situation, however, Leslie continued his march till the 28th, when he completely defeated the king's troops, who had been sent to defend the fords at Newburn. This success put him in possession of Newcastle, Tynemouth, Shields, and Durham, together with several large magazines of provisions, and again reduced Charles to the last extremity; a crisis which ultimately produced the treaty of Rippon, afterwards transferred to London. The king had now, however, the parliament of England upon his hands, and was less occupied with Scottish affairs than formerly. Ten months elapsed before the English parliament saw fit to allow the treaty to be concluded, the Scottish army being all the time quartered in Newcastle, that they might be at hand to assist, in case of matters coming to extremities between the king and the lords of St Stephen's chapel. Embarrassed and controlled by his parliament, Charles now attempted to conciliate the Scots by conceding to them all their demands; hoping thereby to engage them to take part with him against the former. With this view he came himself to Scotland in the month of August, 1641, when, passing through the Scottish army at Newcastle, he was received with the utmost respect, and entertained by the general, who was created lord Balgonie, and on the 11th of October, 1641, earl of Leven by patent to him and his heirs whatsoever. In the following year the earl was sent over to Ireland, in command of the forces raised for suppressing the rebellion there. In the next year he was recalled to take the command of the forces sent into England to the assistance of the parliament, in pursuance of the Solemn League and Covenant. He commanded the left of the centre division of the parliamentary forces at the battle of Marston moor, and was driven out of the field, though the honour of his own name and that of his country was gallantly sustained by David Leslie, whose valour contributed in a great degree to the victory there obtained. He afterwards, assisted by the earl of Callander, took the town of Newcastle by storm; but treated both the town and the garrison with lenity. The king having made overtures to the Scottish generals, Leven sent a copy of them to the parliament, which in return awarded him a vote of thanks, accompanied by a present of a piece of plate. He now laid siege to Harford, but being left by David Leslie, who had marched with all the horse into Scotland to oppose Montrose, and the king approaching in great force, he raised the siege, and marched northward. He was appointed to command, at the siege of Newark, an army composed of both Scottish and English troops, where the king came to him privately on the 5th day of May, 1646. He was afterwards one of a hundred officers who, on their knees, besought his majesty to accept the propositions offered him by the parliament, and thus be merciful to himself and to the nation. When the engagement for the king's rescue was entered into, the earl of Leven resigned the command of the army in disgust, pleading the infirmities of old age. On the



failure of that project, he was again restored to the place he had so honourably filled; but before the battle of Dunbar he again resigned on account of his great age, but appeared in the field as a volunteer. The year following, at a meeting of some noblemen for concerting measures in behalf of Charles II. at Eliot in Angus, he was, along with the rest, surprised by a detachment from the garrison of Dundee, carried to London, and thrown into the Tower. At the request of Christina, queen of Sweden, he was liberated, had his sequestration taken off, and no fine imposed upon him. He returned to Scotland in the month of May, 1654, and shortly after went to Sweden, to thank Christina for the favour she had done him by interceding with Cromwell on his behalf. How long he remained in Sweden is not known; but he died at Balgony on the 4th of April, 1661, at a very advanced age. He was buried on the nineteenth of the same month in the church of Markinch. Few men have been more fortunate in life than Alexander Leslie, earl of Leven. He appears to have entered upon his duties without fortune and with a scanty education, and by the force of his talents, seconded by habits of religion and persevering industry, raised himself to the highest honours which society has to confer, both in his own and in foreign countries. His services were at the time of immense value to his country, and would have been much more so, had they not been shackled by the prejudices, the prepossessions, and the ignorance, of those whom the circumstances of birth placed over him as directors. His lordship acquired extensive landed property, particularly Inchmartin in the Carse of Gowrie, which he called Inchleslie. He was twice married; first to Agnes, daughter of Renton of Billy in Berwickshire, and by her had two sons, Gustavus and Alexander, the latter of whom succeeded him as earl of Leven; and five daughters. After the death of his first wife, which took place in 1651, he married Frances, daughter of Sir John Ferriers of Tamworth in Staffordshire, relict of Sir John Parkington, baronet of Westwood, in the county of Worcester, by whom he had no issue. His peerage finally became merged by a female with that of Melville, in conjunction with which it still exists.

LESLIE, DAVID, a celebrated military commander during the civil wars, and the first lord Newark, was the fifth son of Patrick Leslie of Pitcairly, commendator of Lindores, by his wife, lady Jean Stuart, second daughter of Robert, first earl of Orkney. Of his early life little more is known than that, like many others of his countrymen, he went into the service of Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, where he distinguished himself by his military talents, and attained to the rank of colonel of horse. Returning from the continent at, or shortly after, the commencement of the civil wars, he was appointed major-general to the army that was sent into England under the command of the earl of Leven, to the assistance of the parliament. This army, which marched for England in the month of January, 1644, after suffering greatly from the state of the roads and want of provisions, joined the parliamentary forces at Tadcaster, on the 20th of April, with whom they were united in the siege of York, which was raised on the night of Sunday, the 30th of June, by the advance of prince Rupert, with all the strength of the royal army. Determined to give him battle, the confederates took post on Marston moor, on the south side of the Ouse, about five miles distant from the scene of their former operations. Here they hoped to have interrupted the march of the prince towards the city, which he was desirous of gaining; but permitting their attention to be engrossed by a party of horse which he despatched for this purpose, to contest the passage of a river, he in the mean time succeeded in throwing the whole of his army into the town. His immediate object thus gained, he was advised by his colleague, the marquis of Newcastle, to rest satisfied till he should



receive reinforcements, or till the dissensions which now appeared among the confederates should arise to such a height as to destroy the unanimity of their proceedings. Rupert, however, was not of a disposition to wait for remote contingencies, when he conceived the chances to be already in his favour; he therefore hastened to Marston moor, the position the enemy themselves had chosen, and came upon their rear when they were already on their march for Tadcaster, Cawwood, and Selby, by occupying which, they intended to cut off his supplies, and to hem him in till the arrival of additional forces should render his capture easy, and his escape impossible. The Scottish troops in advance of the army were already within a mile of Tadcaster, when about nine o'clock of the morning of the 22nd of July, 1644, the alarm was given that prince Rupert's horse, to the number of five thousand, were pressing on the rear of the confederates, while the main body of his army occupied the moor which they had just left. The march was instantly countermanded, and preparations for an engagement made with the least possible delay. The prince, however, having full possession of the moor, they were compelled to draw up part of their troops in an adjoining field of rye, their right bearing upon the town of Marston, and their line extending about a mile and a half fronting the moor. By three o'clock in the afternoon, both armies, amounting to 25,000 men each, were formed in order of battle. The royal army was commanded on the right by prince Rupert in person; on the left by Sir Charles Lucas, assisted by colonel Harvey; while the centre was led by generals Goring, Porter, and Tilyard. The marquis of Newcastle was also in the action, but the place he occupied has not been ascertained. The parliamentary army was composed, on the right, of horse, partly Scottish, commanded by Sir Thomas Fairfax; on the left, likewise horse, by the earl of Manchester, and Cromwell his lieutenant-general, assisted by major-general David Leslie, and in the centre by lord Fairfax and the earl of Leven. The battle commenced with a discharge of great guns, which did little execution on either side. A ditch, separating the combatants, rendered the assault a matter of difficulty and peculiar danger, and both stood for some minutes in breathless expectation waiting the signal for attack. On that signal being made, Manchester's foot and the Scots of the main body in a running march cleared the ditch, and advanced boldly to the charge, accompanied by the horse, who also rushed forward to the attack. The fiery Rupert with his squadrons instantly advanced upon the no less fiery, but far more cautious Cromwell. The conflict was terrible; every individual being under the eye of his leader, exerted himself as if the fate of the day had been intrusted to his single arm. The troops of Cromwell, however, supported by David Leslie and the Scottish horse, charged through the very flower of the cavaliers, putting them completely to flight, while Manchester's foot, keeping pace with them, cut down and dispersed the infantry. The marquis of Newcastle's regiment alone disdained to fly, and their dead bodies, distinguished by their white uniforms, covered the ground they had occupied when alive. On the other extremity of the line Sir Thomas Fairfax and colonel Lambert, with a few troops of horse, charged through the royal army, and met their own victorious left wing. The remainder, however, were completely defeated, and even Fairfax's victorious brigade was thrown into confusion by some new raised regiments wheeling back upon it, and treading down in their flight the Scottish reserve under the earl of Leven, who, driven from the field, fled to Tadcaster, carrying with them the news of a total defeat. Cromwell, Leslie, and Manchester, perceiving the rout of their friends, returned to the field as the victors were about to seize upon the spoil. The fate of the day was now reversed. The royal troops, occupying the field of rye, and the parliamentary forces the moor. Each, however, determined, if possible, to preserve the



advantage they had gained, and both once more joined battle. The struggle now, however, though bloody, was short and decisive. The shattered remains of the royal army sought shelter in York; leaving all their baggage, artillery, military stores, and above a hundred stand of colours in the hands of the conquerors. Upwards of three thousand men were left dead on the field; and upwards of fifteen hundred prisoners—more than a hundred of whom were principal officers—fell into the hands of the conquerors. This victory was the death-blow to the affairs of the king, and greatly added to the reputation of Cromwell and Leslie, between whom the whole merit of the affair was divided; the independents claiming the largest share for Cromwell, and the presbyterians for Leslie. The combined army immediately laid siege to York, which surrendered by capitulation in a few days. The confederates, after the capture of York, separated; the Scottish troops marching northward to meet the earl of Calander, whom they joined before Newcastle in the month of August.

General Baillie, in the mean time, had been recalled from England to command the raw levies that were raised for the defence of the country; but he was accompanied in his progress by a committee of the estates, who controlled all his movements; and contrary to the opinion of the general himself, commanded him to leave a strong position and expose himself with an army of inexperienced soldiers to certain destruction on the fatal field of Kilsyth, August 15th, 1645. The issue of this battle left the kingdom entirely in the power of Montrose and his army. In this emergency, David Leslie, with the whole of the cavalry attached to the Scottish army, then lying before Hereford, was recalled. Arriving at Berwick, whither the Estates had fled from the plague, which was then raging in Edinburgh, Leslie took measures for cutting off the retreat of Montrose to the north, amongst whose mountains he had formerly found refuge. For this purpose he proceeded as far as Gladsmuir, about three miles to the west of Haddington, where he learned that Montrose was lying secure in Ettrick forest, near Selkirk. Leslie was no sooner apprized of this, than he wheeled to the left, and marched southward by the vale of Gala. The darkness of the night concealed his motions, and the first notice Montrose had of his approach was by his scouts informing him that Leslie was within half a mile of him. A sanguinary encounter soon followed; but Montrose's troops, though they fought with a desperation peculiar to their character, were completely broken and driven from the field, leaving one thousand dead bodies behind them. Their leader, however, had the good fortune to escape, as did also the marquis of Douglas, with the lords Crawford, Sir Robert Spotiswood, A. Leslie, William Rollock, Erskine, Fleming, and Napier. The lords Hartfield, Drummond, and Ogilvy, Philip Nisbet, William Murray, brother to lord Tullibardine, Ogilvy of Innerquharity, Nathaniel Gordon, Andrew Guthrie, son to the bishop of Moray, and two Irish colonels, O'Kean and Lauchlin, were made prisoners, and reserved for trial in the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling. Upwards of a hundred Irish soldiers taken, were, in conformity to a decree of the legislatures of both kingdoms, shot upon the field.

Leslie now proceeded with his victorious army to Lothian, and from thence, accompanied by the committee of Estates, to Glasgow, where, in conjunction with the committee of the church, they deliberated on the measures necessary for completing the reduction of Montrose, and securing the internal peace of the kingdom. Some of the prisoners taken at Philiphaugh were here tried and executed, and as a mark of gratitude, the committee, out of a fine they imposed on the marquis of Douglas, voted to Leslie fifty thousand merks, with a gold chain, and to Middleton, who was second in command, thirty thousand. Montrose, restless and intriguing, in the mean time wandered from place to place,



endeavouring to raise a new army. Leslie now returned to his station in the Scottish army, under the earl of Leven, whom he joined in the siege of Newark upon Trent. It was here that Charles, baffled in all his projects, came into the Scottish camp a flying fugitive, on the 5th day of May, 1646. He was received with great respect, the commander-in-chief, the earl of Leven, presenting him with his sword upon his knee. On the return of the Scottish army it was reduced to about six thousand men, of whom Leslie was declared lieutenant-general, with a pension of one thousand pounds a month over and above his pay as colonel of the Perthshire horse. With this force Leslie proceeded to the north, where the Gordons still kept up a party for the king. These men, who had been so formidable to Argyle, Hurry, and Baillie, with the parliamentary commissioners, scarcely made the shadow of resistance to Leslie. He seized upon all their principal strengths, and sent their leaders prisoners to Edinburgh. The lives of the inhabitants, according to his instructions, he uniformly spared; but upon the Irish auxiliaries he as uniformly did military execution. Having gone over the northern districts, and secured every castle belonging to the disaffected, he left Middleton to garrison the country, and with instructions to seize upon the person of Huntly, who had taken refuge among the hills. These arrangements made, he passed into the peninsula of Kintyre, to look after Montrose's colleague, Alaster McColl. This chieftain, after making some ineffectual resistance, took to his boats with his followers, and sought safety among the western isles, leaving his castle of Dunavertie to the care of a body of Irish and Highlanders, to the number of three hundred men. As this force, however, was wholly inadequate to the defence of the fort, it was taken, and the garrison put to the sword. Alaster himself was pursued by Leslie, with eighty soldiers, to his castle in Isla. He had, however, fled to Ireland, leaving two hundred men under the command of Colkittoch, his father, to defend his castle of Dunevev. This stronghold Leslie also reduced, the garrison having surrendered, on condition of having their lives spared, but to be sent to serve under Henry Sinclair, a lieutenant-colonel in the French service. Colkittoch being given to the Campbells, was hanged. Having gone over the other islands with the same success, Leslie returned to the low country in the month of September, where he was honoured with the approbation of his party for the fidelity, diligence, and success with which he had executed his commission. The king, in the mean time, had been delivered up to the English parliament, and passed through that series of adventures which ended in his taking refuge in the isle of Wight. When the duke of Hamilton in 1648, raised an army of moderate Scottish covenanters, to attempt the rescue of his royal master, Leslie was offered the command; but, the church being averse to the undertaking, he declined accepting it. After the duke had marched on his unfortunate expedition, the remaining strength of the country was modelled into a new army under the less moderate covenanters, and of this the earl of Leven was appointed commander, and David Leslie major-general, as formerly. Immediately after the death of Charles I., when the cavaliers rose in the north for his son, in what was called "Pluscardine's Raid," Leslie sent a party against them in the month of May, 1649, under the command of Charles Ker, Hacket, and Strahan, by whom they were totally dispersed. On the resignation of the earl of Leven, Leslie was appointed to the chief command of the army raised on behalf of Charles II., after he had accepted the covenant, and been admitted to the government. In this situation he showed himself an able general, repeatedly baffling by his skill the superior forces of Cromwell, whom he at last shut up at Dunbar; and but for the folly of the church and state committee, which had been the plague of the army during all the previous troubles, had undoubtedly cut



off his whole army. Yielding to the importunities of this committee, he rashly descended from his commanding position, and was signally defeated on the 3rd of September, 1650. Upwards of three thousand men were left dead on the field, ten thousand were taken prisoners, two hundred colours, fifteen thousand stand of arms, with all the baggage and artillery, fell into the hands of the English. Leslie, with the wreck of his army, retired upon Stirling, and again made such dispositions for defending that important line of defence as Cromwell found himself unable to force. Here he was joined by Charles, who himself assumed the command of the army, having the duke of Hamilton and Leslie for his lieutenants. In this capacity Leslie accompanied the king to Worcester, where, on the 3rd of September, 1651, Cromwell completely routed the royal army. Leslie was intercepted in his retreat through Yorkshire, and committed to the tower of London, where he remained till the Restoration in the year 1660. By Cromwell's act of grace he was fined in four thousand pounds in the year 1654. After the Restoration he was created, in consideration of his services and sufferings in the royal cause, lord Newark, by patent dated the 31st of August, 1661, to him and the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten, with a pension of five hundred pounds per annum. His lordship, however, does not seem to have been without enemies, as the following letter from the king, assuring him of his unabated confidence, sufficiently implies:—"Although we have on all occasions, both abroad and since our happy return, declared ourself fully satisfied with your conduct and loyalty in our service, and although in consideration of the same, we have given you the title and honour of a lord; yet, seeing we are told, that malice and slander do not give over to persecute you, we have thought fit to give you this further testimony, and to declare under our hand, that while you was the lieutenant-general of our army, you did, both in England and Scotland, behave yourself with as much conduct, resolution, and honesty as was possible or could be expected from a person in that trust: and as we told you, so we again repeat it, that if we had occasion to levy an army fit for ourself to command, we would not fail to give you an employment in it fit for your quality." His lordship died in the year 1682. He married Jean, daughter of Sir John York, by whom he had a son, David, who succeeded him as lord Newark, and three daughters; the eldest of whom, Elizabeth, was married to Archibald Kennedy of Cullean, and was mother to Susanna, the celebrated comtess of Eglintoun.

LESLEY, GEORGE, of MONYMUSK, a capuchin friar, of the earlier part of the seventeenth century. The introduction of this individual, as an illustrious Scotsman, and the manner in which we intend to treat the events of his life, require some explanation. John Benedict Rinuccini, archbishop of Fermo, published in Italian the life and marvelous adventures of his friend George Lesley, a Scotsman of rank, who had been miraculously converted to the Roman catholic faith.<sup>1</sup> A work on so pleasing a subject did not remain long in obscurity; it was translated into French, in which language it was published at Rouen in 1660, at Paris in 1682, and again at Rouen in 1700. In 1673 it was dramatized at Rome, and the decent inhabitants of Monymusk, a remote hamlet in Aberdeenshire, were clothed in names suited for an audience in the imperial city; such as Larcenio a Calvinist clergyman, the parish minister of Monymusk; Forcina, his servant; Theophilus, an old cottager; besides an angel, Pluto, and Beelzebub, in the form of Calvin.<sup>2</sup> The work, even in its primitive form, is a pure

<sup>1</sup> Not having been so fortunate as to meet with a copy of the Italian edition, we cannot give a copy of the title page, or even of the date.

<sup>2</sup> Il Cappuchino Scozzese, in Scena, con la seconda parte, e sua morte, non ancor mai più stampata. Data in luce dal Signor Francesco Rozzi d'Alatri. In Roma, per il mancini, 1673.



romance, manufactured for the laudable purpose of supporting the holy catholic church; while in the midst of the absurd topography, and still more absurd displays of character, it is evident from names and circumstances, that the whole is founded on fact, and that George Lesley must have been a man remarkable for enthusiasm, eccentricity, villany, or some other qualification on which it is difficult to determine. There have already been published two abridged translations of his life, one by lord Hailes in his *Sketches of Scottish Biography*, the other in the *Scots Magazine* for 1802. A search into such contemporary records as we thought might throw any light on the real adventures and merits of this wonderful man, has proved vain; and, unable to separate the truth from the falsehood, we are compelled to follow the steps of those who have already treated the subject, by giving an abridgment of the French translation, without omitting any of its marvels.

The author commences with an account of the city of Aberdeen, which, as we know it to be incorrect, and can 'separate the truth from the falsehood' in it, we omit. In its neighbourhood lived James, count Lesley, and Jean Wood his wife, the father and mother of George, who received from them all the treatment of a beloved son, with the exception, that along with his mother's milk he sucked in the dawning doctrines of Calvinism. Count Leslie died soon after the birth of his son, leaving him vast wealth, and the lady afterwards married the baron de Torry.<sup>3</sup> In his eighth year the young count was sent to pursue his studies in France, with a train and equipage suited to his rank, a heretic preceptor, and a fund of advice steadfastly to maintain the faith he had been taught. He applied diligently to his studies, and became acquainted with two noble Parisian brothers, whose society, contrary to the usual expectation of the world regarding such associates, confirmed him in his studious disposition, and like St Basil and St Gregory Nazianzen, he knew no other street in Paris save that which communicated with their house and the school. The Parisian youths compassionating the state of their companion's soul, proceeded to effect his conversion, in which they were assisted by their father, who, instead of the ordinary method of balancing the doctrines of the two religions with each other, appears to have merely contrasted Calvinism, the affliction of his relations, and eternal damnation, with the catholic faith, eternal felicity, and the loss of his near relations. The discussions were conducted at the old gentleman's country house, beneath the shadow of an oak, and as a recreation from the pastimes of hunting and fishing. The effect of the whole was irresistible; young Lesley submitted to become a member of the holy catholic church, and was immediately conducted to a confessional, after which his companions beheld in his face a glimpse of that glory which formerly appeared in the face of Moses. Meanwhile the heretic preceptor was naturally displeased with what he saw; he argued, and threatened, and represented the grief of the young count's mother, but in vain. He then sent an account of the matter to Monymusk, and the lady in great trepidation demanded the return of her son; but he, anxious for the safety of his new faith, declined, and the enraged parent disowned him. 'Alas!' groans the archbishop, 'to what an extent will bigotry drive us in matters of religion.' The young count, who had now reached the mature age of sixteen, put himself under the protection of his new friends, and accompanied them on a pilgrimage to Loretto. Here he picked an acquaintance with the capuchin fathers of St Francis, and particularly with Ange Joyeuse, a noble Frenchman, who had exchanged rank and wealth for the cord of St Francis. On the departure of his friends, he intimated his intention of remaining at Rome to prepare for the conversion of his miserable family: he expressed a desire to enter the fraternity of St Francis, but was horrified to

<sup>3</sup> Probably the laird of Torry, a village in the parish of Nigg, near Aberdeen.



discover that certain bulls prohibited the reception of newly converted heretics. The ingenuity of his friend, Ange, attempted to relieve him from this dilemma. It was represented that there was a rational distinction betwixt heretics in a catholic country, and the children of Huguenots, who had no means of knowing the true faith. The distinction, however, was not satisfactory to the general of the order, and Lesley formed the bold design of bursting into the papal presence, and enforcing his request. When the youth lifted up his adoring eyes, to look at the countenance of the vicerent of God, the whole chamber beamed with a dazzling light, more luminous than the sun, the brighter rays of light being there accumulated to form a tiara for the majesty of the sacred head. A phenomenon which we are confidentially assured by the biographer, always attends the pontifical presence, although it is not often visible to the naked eye. By the intervention of the pope, he was received into the order, and became a capuchin, and assuming the ecclesiastical name of Archangel, he preached with edification. Twenty years had elapsed since his departure from Scotland, when his mother, hearing that he had disgraced his family by joining a fraternity of beggars, at first (according to the charitable presumption of the archbishop), wished to assassinate him, but preferred the more humane alternative of sending her second son, the baron of Torry, to convert him. It would be tedious to tell how the brothers met, and how the reverse of what was expected took place, by the baron joining the true faith, and both forming a project for the conversion of their mother, and the other inhabitants of Scotland. The baron was the first to return to Scotland, and accident soon revealed the change in his faith; in the mean time Lesley was chosen capuchin preacher at the court of Mary of Medicis, queen regent of France, and on the institution of the college *de propaganda fide*, by Gregory XV., he was appointed papal emissary to Scotland, to procure the restoration of that lost land to the true faith, at the same time accepting the additional situation of interpreter to the Spanish ambassador in England. Lesley, or as his biographer at this period commonly terms him, Archangel, wrote a letter to his mother, which with much discretion he delivered himself. He was received with considerable cold politeness, and entertained in the castle; where, however, he could not eat his dinner in peace from being compelled to sit beside a heretic clergyman, who pocketed 300 crowns annually for teaching the doctrines of damnation, to whom, says his author, whenever he turned his eyes, he thought the banquet assumed the aspect of a funeral meal. Archangel kept his secret about six days, when a remark which he made connected with a change in the establishment, proved him not to be a stranger, and he was compelled to make himself known. The rejoicings at this event can scarcely be described in words. The old lady received *thousands* of visits of congratulation, the fame of the event reached even to Aberdeen (about twenty-five miles), fires of rejoicing were lighted up on the *castle* of Monymusk,<sup>4</sup> and the inhabitants of the *town*<sup>5</sup> discharged culverins and let off sky-rockets. He commenced a vigorous discharge of the duties of his mission; he led the people to an adjoining mountain, where he had not been preaching half a quarter of an hour, when the people shuddered, changed colour, and knelt at his feet,—he converted 4000 to the true faith in eight months. He now naturally turned his eyes towards the salvation of his mother, to which he was resolved to make his way through the heretical priest. The reverend gentleman at first declined any discussion, but he was at length compelled to come to issue. He was asked what was the denomination of his peculiar faith, and with much simplicity an-

<sup>4</sup> The castle of Monymusk is a neat old Flemish building, which would make a rather diminutive modern mansion.

<sup>5</sup> The hamlet of Monymusk contains about 50 inhabitants.



swered, it was the church of Geneva. Archangel then asked if the church of Geneva was ever mentioned in Scripture? this was a home thrust to the minister, who had seen no more in Scripture about the church of Geneva, than about the stipend of Monymusk. Like a prudent man, however, he promised to produce what was wanted if he could get time; but after repeated delays, having failed, Archangel triumphantly pointed to the epistle to the Romans as a proof of the existence of his church; the heretic was dismissed for incapability and error, and his mistress's faith ceded to the victor. The conversion of the mother was followed by that of the other members of the family, and the whole establishment of the castle. A splendid chapel was fitted up for the celebration of the rites of the Roman catholic church, and the object of the mission made rapid progress for two years, at the end of which period, one of king James's edicts against Roman catholics compelled Archangel to retire to England, and there prosecute his mission in secrecy, having been compelled to leave his books and papers as a prey to the enemy. His mother's goods were confiscated, and she was reduced to the utmost misery by protestant persecution. In these circumstances her son resolved to visit her, and dressing himself as an itinerant vender of herbs, passed through the *streets* of Monymusk, vociferating 'Buy my greens:' he obtained an interview with his mother, who was reduced to the necessity of being compelled to purchase some of his commodity, and a scene ensued, which our limits will not permit us to describe. Being interrupted in his visit by the protestant 'inquisitors,' he was compelled to return to England, whence he was summoned to Italy to attend the head of his order, on the ground of some alleged malversation, the cause of which is not very lucidly explained. The plague raged in Italy during his journey, and he for some time occupied himself in attending the sick at Cremona. He was then appointed guardian of the convent of Mount George in the diocese of Fermo. Here he became acquainted with the archbishop who has so lucidly written his memoirs, and through a mutual miracle a second mission to Britain was concocted between them. Archangel set out accompanied by another Scottish capuchin called Epiphane; their vessel was overtaken by a violent storm, and after a few amiable discussions about tossing overboard some useless hands, in order to lighten her, she was wrecked, the two capuchins being miraculously saved, along with some passengers, among whom were two English gentlemen whom Archangel converted by the following comfortable argument: '*We hold that you cannot be saved, you admit that we may; judge, then, which is the safest religion.*'<sup>6</sup> He after this met a young Scotsman, who gave him the pleasing intelligence, that, notwithstanding the persecutions suffered by the true faith in Scotland, one influential family in the neighbourhood of the *large* town of Monymusk had been spared, the influence of the king of France having procured the restoration of their estates, and permission to exercise their religion. This gentleman turned out to be his younger brother, Edward, from whom he learned also the sad intelligence, that their mother had fallen into a fever, and died, from the dread that her son had been drowned in his voyage. After this, many adventures happened to Archangel, among which, some too curious remarks made by him on the fortifications of Newport caused his apprehension as a spy. His zeal not decreasing, he wore out the patience of the monarch, and becoming again amenable to the laws against papists, was commanded to quit the kingdom. On his journey southward, he made many miraculous conversions, and particularly on the persons of noblemen in the neighbourhood of the city of Torfecan (Torphichen.) While near the borders of England, his exertions produced a fever, of which he died, and a

<sup>6</sup> A favourite argument with Roman catholics, to which Jeremy Taylor made a well known and unanswerable answer.



Jesuit in the neighbourhood performed over him the last offices of charity. So terminate the adventures of le Capuchin Escossois, of which we are sorry we are compelled to omit many choice portions.

LESLIE, JOHN, bishop of Clogher, was born at Balquhain, in the north of Scotland, after the middle of the sixteenth century. He was of an ancient and highly respectable family. The earlier part of his education he received at Aberdeen, the latter part at Oxford. He afterwards travelled into Spain, Italy, Germany, and France, and acquired such a proficiency in the languages of all these countries, excepting the last, that he spoke them with the fluency of a native. In the Latin language he particularly excelled, and was so familiar with it, that it was said of him in Spain, when he resided there, *Solus Leslieus Latine loquitur*. He remained on this occasion twenty-two years abroad, and, during that time was present at the siege of Rochelle. He also accompanied the duke of Buckingham on the expedition to the isle of Rhee.

Leslie stood high in favour with Charles I., and was by that monarch admitted a member of his privy council. In 1633 he was appointed to the bishopric of Raphoe, in Ireland, where he built a handsome palace. This building he afterwards held out against Cromwell, adopting the loyal alternative of enduring a siege rather than submit to the usurper.

On the death of his royal patron he went abroad, where he remained till after the restoration. He then returned to England, and in 1661 was translated to the see of Clogher. Here he remained till his death, which took place in 1671, when he was upwards of one hundred years of age. He was then the oldest bishop in the world, having filled that dignified station for fifty years.

LESLIE, CHARLES, a celebrated non-juring divine, was the second son of the bishop of Clogher. He was born in the year 1650. He commenced his education at Inniskillen, Ireland, and was admitted a fellow-commoner in Trinity college, Dublin, in 1664. Here he continued till he commenced master of arts, and during this period acted as tutor to Mr Michael Ward, afterwards bishop of Derry. After the death of his father, in 1671, he came over to England, and entered himself in the temple at London, and for some years studied the law. Finding this an uncongenial pursuit he relinquished it, and applied to divinity. In 1680 he was admitted into holy orders, and in 1687 became chancellor of the cathedral church of Connor, and also acted as a justice of the peace. Soon after his appointment he distinguished himself in a public religious controversy, with Patrick Tyrrel, a Roman catholic, who had been appointed to the see of Clogher. The disputation was numerously attended by persons of the persuasions of both the champions, and each assigned the victory to the defender of his own faith; but it is beyond doubt, that Leslie had greatly the advantage of his antagonist. He afterwards held another public disputation with two eminent popish divines in the church of Tynan, diocese of Armagh. The controversy was maintained in the presence of a large assembly, composed, as in the former case, of persons of both religions; and here again the talents of Leslie brought him off triumphantly. He was now become exceedingly popular in the country for his theological acquirements, and a circumstance soon afterwards occurred which procured him equal celebrity for his political knowledge, and for his intrepidity of character. A Roman catholic high sheriff having been appointed for the county of Monaghan, the gentlemen of the county, in great alarm at this indication of catholic ascendancy, hastened to wait upon him for his advice, as to how they should act with regard to the newly appointed officer, whose religion disqualified him, by law, for the situation. Mr Leslie told them, that it would be equally illegal in them to permit the sheriff to act, and in him to attempt it. That though appointed by the authority of the crown, he, being of



the Roman catholic persuasion, could not have taken the oaths necessary to qualify him for the office, and that therefore his nomination was illegal. This doctrine he afterwards held at the quarter sessions, where the case came to be decided, and so effectually did he urge his objections, and that in the presence of the sheriff himself, that the bench unanimously agreed to commit the pretended officer for his intrusion. Mr Leslie thus placed himself in conspicuous opposition to the dominant party, and openly declared that he no longer considered James as the defender of the faith.

Notwithstanding, however, of his hostility to the papists, he continued a staunch supporter of the exiled family at the revolution in 1688, and refused to take the oaths to king William and queen Mary. The consequence of this fidelity was the loss of all his preferments.

When Ireland became disturbed in 1689, Mr Leslie removed with his family to England, where he employed himself in writing political pamphlets to serve the cause which he had embraced; but, though opposed to the existing government he continued a zealous and active supporter of the church of England. About this time he entered into a controversy with the quakers, which is said to have arisen from the circumstance of his lodging with a family of that persuasion. This family he converted. The first of the several treatises which he wrote against the quakers is entitled, "The Snake in the Grass." It appeared in 1696, and soon ran into a second edition. It was answered by George Whithead in a pamphlet entitled, "An Antidote to the Snake in the Grass." In his second edition Mr Leslie noticed this answer; but he was again assailed in a production called, "Satan dissolved from his Disguises of Light," which also appeared in 1696. To this, and several other attacks, Mr Leslie replied at great length in "A Defence of a book entitled the Snake in the Grass." This again provoked a host of answers, amongst which was one by the quakers, entitled "A Switch for the Snake." To this Mr Leslie again replied in "A Second Defence, or the third and last part of the Snake in the Grass."

The most celebrated works of Mr Leslie, though these just enumerated discovered singular ability, were those which he wrote against the deists. The first of these was published, in 1697, in a letter to a friend, and was entitled "A Short and easy Method with the Deists." The friend alluded to in the title was a *lady*, though the work bears that it was a gentleman. Having been thrown accidentally into the company of infidels, she applied to Mr Leslie for "some short topic of reason, without running to authorities and the intricate mazes of learning." The treatise was effectual, and Mr Leslie, although it was not his original intention, was prevailed upon to publish it. This work he enlarged considerably in a second edition. No answer appeared to the Short and Easy Method till 1710, when it was replied to in a treatise entitled "A detection of the true meaning and wicked designs of a book entitled," &c. Mr Leslie replied to this attack in "The Truth of Christianity Demonstrated," to which was prefixed, "A Vindication of the Short Method with the Deists." These works against deism produced a powerful effect, and amongst others the conversion of a person of the name of Gildon, who had acquired considerable celebrity as a member of that persuasion. This man not only professed himself convinced of his errors, and publicly retracted them, but wrote a book against the opinions which he had formerly entertained, entitled "The Deist's Manual, or a rational Inquiry into the Christian Religion."

Encouraged by the success of his attack on deism, Mr Leslie, in 1699, produced his "Short Method with the Jews," a work which was first suggested by a similar circumstance with that which had given rise to his Short Method with the Deists. An eminent Jew had been converted by his reasoning, and had inti-



mated his intention of publicly owning his conviction. The convert, however, died during Mr Leslie's absence, without exhibiting the recantation which he had proposed.

The next controversy in which Mr Leslie was engaged, was with the Socinians. It began in 1694. In 1697 he published the first of the six dialogues, entitled "The Socinian Controversy Discussed." This was answered in a short tract, entitled "Remarks on Mr Charles Leslie's First Dialogue on the Socinian Controversy." Mr Leslie replied, and was again answered by his opponent in "A Vindication of the Remarks." Mr Leslie now published "A Reply to the Vindication," and with this ended the first part of the controversy.

His principal works against the papists were, "The True Nature of the Catholic Church, in answer to the Bishop of Meaux's letter to Mr Nelson," printed in 1703; "The Case Stated between the Church of Rome, and the Church of England, published in 1713; and "Of Private Judgment and Authority in Matters of Faith." These works are said to have made several converts from popery.

Although thus earnestly and laboriously employed in the cause of religion, Mr Leslie did not neglect the interests, so far as any efforts of his could serve them, of the exiled family. He wrote several political tracts during this period, and made several journeys to Bar le Duc to visit the Pretender, who was then residing there. These journeys, however, and his political treatises, especially one, entitled "The Good Old Cause," published in 1710, gave such offence to the ruling party, that it is said a warrant for his apprehension was actually issued against him. However this may be, he found it necessary to quit the kingdom in 1713, when he proceeded to Bar le Duc, and took up his residence by invitation with the Pretender, who procured a room to be fitted up for him in his own house. While here, Mr Leslie was permitted to officiate in a private chapel after the manner of the church of England, and it is even said, that the Pretender had promised to listen to his arguments concerning his religion, and that Mr Leslie had in vain endeavoured his conversion. This, however, is contradicted by lord Bolingbroke, who asserts, that he not only refused to listen to Mr Leslie, but forbade all discussion on religious matters. Notwithstanding of this, however, and of several other subjects of dissatisfaction with the chevalier, whose conduct towards him does not appear to have been altogether adjusted to his deserts, Mr Leslie continued to remain with him, and in 1716 accompanied him into Italy, after his unsuccessful attempt upon England. Here he remained till 1721, when he found his situation so exceedingly disagreeable, that he determined on returning to his native country. This he accomplished, but died in the following year, on the 13th April, in his own house, at Glaslough, in the county of Monaghan.

The list of Mr Leslie's works, political and theological, is exceedingly voluminous. The latter in seven volumes were lately (1832) printed at the Oxford university press.

LESLIE, JOHN, bishop of Ross, and distinguished for his indefatigable exertions in behalf of queen Mary, was born in 1526, being the son of Gavin Leslie, an eminent lawyer, descended from the barons of Balquhain, one of the most respectable branches of the ancient family of Leslie. He received his education at the university of Aberdeen, and in 1547 was made canon of the cathedral church of that diocese. He subsequently pursued his studies in the universities of Toulouse, Poitiers, and Paris, at which last place he took the degree of doctor of laws. In 1554 he was ordered home by the queen regent, and made official and vicar-general of the diocese of Aberdeen. In the turmoil of the Reformation, which soon after commenced, Leslie became a noted champion of the



ancient faith, and appeared on that side in the famous disputation at Edinburgh in 1560. When it was resolved to bring over the young queen from France to assume the government of her native country, Leslie was the chief deputy sent to her by the catholics to gain her exclusive favour for that party; but though he had the dexterity to arrive before the protestant deputation, he was not successful. Leslie, however, returned to Scotland in the queen's company, and was appointed by her a privy councillor and one of the senators of the college of justice. In 1564 the abbey of Lindores was conferred upon him, and he was soon after promoted to the bishopric of Ross; offices catholic in form, but which now referred to little more than certain temporalities to which they conferred a title. Leslie was one of the sixteen commissioners appointed in this reign to revise the Scottish laws, and it was chiefly owing to his care that the volume of the acts of parliament, usually called the Black Acts, from its being printed in the old English character, was given to the world in the year 1566.

The name of the bishop of Ross derives its chief lustre from the steadfastness and zeal with which he adhered to the fortunes of his royal mistress, after they had experienced the remarkable reverse which is well known to have befallen them. When Mary had become an almost hopeless captive in England, this amiable prelate, at the hazard of all his temporal enjoyments, continued to adhere to her, and to exert himself in her behalf, with a fidelity which would have adorned any cause. He was one of her commissioners at the conference of York in 1568; on which occasion he defended her with a strength of reasoning, which is allowed to have produced a great impression, though it did not decide the argument in her favour. He afterwards appeared as her ambassador at the court of Elizabeth, to complain of the injustice done to her; and if the English princess had not been a party interested in the detention of his mistress, his solicitations could have hardly failed of effect. When he found that entreaties and appeals to justice were of no avail, he contrived means for the escape of the queen, and planned the project for her marriage to the duke of Norfolk, which ended in the execution of that unfortunate nobleman. Leslie was examined in reference to this plot, and notwithstanding his privileges as an ambassador, which he vainly pleaded, was committed prisoner, first to the isle of Ely, and afterwards to the tower of London. It appears to have been during this confinement, that he wrote the historical work by which his name is now chiefly known. In 1573 he was liberated from prison, but only to be banished from England. He then employed himself for two years in soliciting the interference of the continental princes in behalf of his mistress, but without obtaining for her any active assistance. Even with the pope, whom he requested to use his influence with these princes, he met with no better success. While at Rome, he published his history in Latin, under the title of "*De Origine, Moribus, et Rebus Jæstis Scotorum.*" This appeared in 1578: next year, having removed to France, he was made suffragan and vicar-general of the archbishopric of Rouen, in Normandy, and while visiting the diocese, was apprehended and thrown into prison, and obliged to pay three thousand pistoles, to prevent his being given up to Elizabeth. During the remainder of the reign of Henry III., he lived unmolested; but on the accession of the protestant Henry IV., who was the strict ally of Elizabeth, he fell again into trouble. In the course of his visitation of the diocese in 1590, he was once more thrown into prison, and forced to purchase his freedom at the same expense as before. In 1593 he was made bishop of Constance, but being now apparently tired of life, which for many years had presented only disappointments and vexations, he soon after retired into a monastery at Gurtenburg, about two miles from Brussels, where he spent the remainder of his days in tranquillity. He died, May 31st, 1596, and lies buried



in the monastery, under a monument erected to his memory by his nephew and heir, John Leslie.

Bishop Leslie is generally allowed the praise of great learning and of high diplomatic abilities, though it is almost as generally regretted, that he did not turn them to a better use. His fidelity to a declining cause is also allowed, even by its enemies, to have been a sentiment as free from the dross of worldly or selfish views as the motives of a line of public conduct ever are. The isolation of a catholic church dignitary in society seems favourable to the development of such sentiments; and there are not many cases in which the principle is observed to have been more powerful than in the history of this Scottish prelate. His tongue, his pen, the travel of his body, his temporal fortune, were all devoted with the most generous unreserve to the cause which he thought that of justice and true religion; and what more can any man do, to show the superiority of his nature to the meaner passions?

The works of bishop Leslie are as follow: 1. Defence of the honour of Mary Queen of Scotland; with a declaration of her right, title, and interest to the crown of England; Liege, 1571, 8vo, which was immediately suppressed. 2. *Afflicti Animi Consolationes et Tranquilli Animi Conservatio*; Paris, 1574. 3. *De Origine, Moribus, et Rebus Gestis Scotorum*: Romæ, 1578, 4to. 4. A Treatise showing that the Regiment of Women is conformable to the law of God and Nature. 5. *De Titulo et Jure Mariæ Scotorum Reginæ, quo Angliæ Successionem Jure sibi vindicat*; Rheims, 1580, 4to. 6. *The History of Scotland*, from the death of James I. in 1436, to the year 1561; Edinburgh, 1830, 4to.

The volume last mentioned was printed from a manuscript in the possession of the earl of Leven and Melville. It is in the Scottish tongue, and forms the original of the three latter books of the Latin history, which differs from it in no respect except in being a little more ample. It appears to have been composed in the vernacular tongue, in order that it might be of use to his captive mistress, who, it is to be presumed, was not so good a Latinist as her cousin Elizabeth. The reason of his presenting her with only this detachment of the history of her country, was, that the preceding part was already to be had in Bellenden's version of Boece. That work stops at the death of James I., and it would naturally occur to bishop Leslie, that a continuation to his own time was a desideratum, both to the people and to her whom he maintained to be their sovereign. He finished his work in March, 1570, and presented the unfortunate queen with the manuscript in 1571; but it never saw the light till the date above mentioned, when one hundred copies were printed for the Bannatyne Club, with fifty additional for sale to the public. The style of the work, though it could not fail to sound rudely in the ears of a modern Englishman, is highly elegant and dignified, forming a wonderful improvement upon the rude simplicity of Bellenden. The worthy bishop informs us, that he stops at the beginning of queen Mary's reign, because the transactions subsequent to that period contain much that he does not think would reflect honour upon his country: there could be few whose words were more worth listening to, respecting that important and greatly controverted part of our history.

The volume alluded to contains a portrait of Leslie, representing him as a grave and venerable man, with an aquiline nose, a small beard, and a very lofty and capacious forehead. As a specimen of the Scottish which a learned prelate would then write, and a queen peruse, we may quote the bishop's character of James V.

"Their was gryt dule and meane maid for him throw all the partis of his realme, because he was a nobill prince, and travaillet mekill all his dayis for manitening of his subjectis in peace, justice, and quietnes. He was a man of



pearsonage and stature convenient, albeit nichtie and strong theirwith; of countenance amiable and lufely, specially in his communication; his eyes graye and sharp of sicht, that quhomsoever he did ones see and marke, he wald perfytly knawe in all tymes thairefter; of witt in all things quick and prompt, of a princely stomacke and heich courage in greit perillis, doubtfulle affairis and materis of weichtie importance; he had in a maner a divine foresicht, for in sic thingis as he went about to doo, he did them advisedlye, and with grit deliberacion, to the intent that amangis all men his witt and prudence might be noted and regardit, and alsfarre excell and pas all uthers in estait and dignitie. Besides this, he was sober, moderate, honest, effabill, curteous; and so farr abherit pride and arrogance, that he was ever sharpe and quick to thanie quhilk were spotted or nottit with that crime. He was alsua a good and suir justiciar, be the quhilke one thing he allurit to him the hartis of all the people, because they lived quietlie and in rest, out of all oppressioun and molestacioun of the nobilitie and riche persones; and to this severyte of his wes jointit and annexit a certane merciful pitye, quhilk he did oftymes shaw to sic as had offendit taking rather composicions of money nor menis lyvis. \* \* \* \* This gude and modest prince did not devoure and consume the riches of his countrey, for by his heich pollicye marvellouslie riched his realme and himselfe, both with gold and silver, all kinds of riche substance, quhairof he left greyt stoir and quantitie in all his palices at his departing. And so this king, living all his tyme in the favour of fortune, in heich honour, riches, and glorye, and for his nobill actis and prudent pollyces, worthie to be registrat in the buike of fame, gaif up and randerit his spreit into the hands of Allmichty God, quhair I doubt not bot he hes suir fruition of the joye that is preparit for these as sell sitt on the richt hand of our Salveour."

LESLIE, (SIR) JOHN, professor of natural philosophy in the university of Edinburgh, and distinguished by his valuable writings and discoveries, was born at the kirk-town of Largo, in Fife, on the 16th of April, 1766. His father, Robert Leslie, by profession a joiner and cabinet-maker, and originally from the neighbourhood of St Andrews, was a much respected and worthy man, and seems, in point of education and general attainments, to have been superior to the majority of persons in his station at that period. The mother of Sir John Leslie was Anne Carstairs, a native of Largo. When very young, he was sent to a woman's school in the village, but remained only a short time there. Afterwards he was placed under a Mr Thomson at Lundin Mill, with whom he learned to write; and lastly he went to Leven school, and began to learn Latin; but being a weakly boy, and unable to walk so far, he was obliged after about six weeks to give up attendance. As these were the only schools he attended before going to college, it is evident that his elementary acquirements must have been exceedingly imperfect. He received, however, while at home, some lessons in mathematics from his elder brother Alexander, and soon began to show a surprising aptitude for that branch of science. His manners at this period of life were remarkably reserved and shy. He seemed bent on devoting himself entirely to study, and read with peculiar avidity all the books that came within his reach, on mathematics and natural philosophy. To Latin he took a strong dislike, and could not be induced to resume the study of it till after his first year at college.

His extraordinary proficiency in geometrical exercises, joined to a consideration of the unfavourable circumstances under which he had acquired it, brought him at an early period under the notice of professors Robison and Stewart, of the university of Edinburgh, who were much impressed by the extraordinary powers which he displayed. It was at length resolved by his parents, that he should



he sent to the university of St Andrews, in order to fit himself for a learned profession, and he was accordingly entered there, as a student of mathematics, in 1779. At the first distribution of prizes, he attracted some attention by his proficiency, which was the means of introducing him to the patronage of the earl of Kinnoul, then chancellor of the university. Being now destined for the church, he went through the regular routine of instructions for that purpose. After attending for six sessions at St Andrews, he removed to Edinburgh, in company with another youth,—destined like himself to obtain a high niche in the temple of fame, and to be honoured, at the same moment with himself, more than forty years after, with a royal favour expressive of his equal merit,—James (now Sir James) Ivory. At St Andrews he had also formed an acquaintance with Dr William Thomson, the continuator of Watson's *Life of Philip II.*, and latterly a professed author of no small note in London. At the university of Edinburgh Mr Leslie studied three years, during which time he was introduced to Dr Adam Smith, and employed by that eminent man in assisting the studies of his nephew, afterwards lord Reston. He now gave up his intention of adopting the clerical profession, which he found to be in a great measure incompatible with the strong bent which his mind had taken towards physical studies.

In 1788, he went to Virginia, as tutor to two young college friends, Messrs Randolph; and after spending more than a year in America, returned to Edinburgh. In January 1790, he proceeded to London, carrying with him some recommendatory letters from Dr Smith; he has been heard to mention, that one of the most pressing injunctions with which he was honoured by that illustrious philosopher, was to be sure, if the person to whom he was to present himself was an author, to read his book before approaching him, so as to be able to speak of it, if there should be a fit opportunity. His first intention was to deliver lectures on natural philosophy; but being disappointed in his views, he found it expedient to commence writing for periodical works, as the readiest means of obtaining subsistence. For obtaining employment of this kind, he was mainly indebted to his friend Dr William Thomson, who engaged him upon the notes of a new edition of the Bible, which he was then publishing in numbers. About three months after his arrival in London, he made an agreement with Mr Murray, the bookseller, to translate Buffon's *Natural History of Birds*, which was published in 1793, in nine octavo volumes. The sum he received for it laid the foundation of that pecuniary independence which, unlike many other men of genius, his prudent habits fortunately enabled him early to attain. The preface to this work, which was published anonymously, is characterised by all the peculiarities of his later style; but it also bespeaks a mind of great native vigour and lofty conceptions, strongly touched with admiration for the sublime and the grand in nature and science. During the progress of the translation, he fulfilled an engagement with the Messrs Wedgewood of Etruria in Staffordshire, to superintend their studies; he left them in 1792. In 1794, Mr Leslie spent a short time in Holland; and, in 1796, he made the tour of Germany and Switzerland with Mr Thomas Wedgewood, whose early death he ever lamented as a loss to science and his country. About this period, he stood candidate for a chair at St Andrews, and subsequently, for that of natural philosophy at Glasgow, but without success. The fortunate candidate on the latter occasion was Dr James Brown of St Andrews, with whom Mr Leslie to the end of his life maintained a constant intimacy. In 1799, he travelled through Norway and Sweden, in company with Mr Robert Gordon, whose friendship he had acquired at St Andrews college.

At what period Mr Leslie first struck into that brilliant field of inquiry where he became so conspicuous for his masterly experiments and striking discoveries



regarding radiant heat, and the connexion between light and heat, we are unable to say. But his Differential Thermometer—one of the most beautiful and delicate instruments that inductive genius ever contrived as a help to experimental inquiry, and which rewarded its author by its happy ministry to the success of some of his finest experiments—must have been invented before the year 1800, as it was described in Nicholson's *Philosophical Journal* some time during that year. The results of those fine inquiries, in which he was so much aided by this exquisite instrument, were published to the world in 1804, in his celebrated "*Essay on the Nature and Propagation of Heat*."<sup>1</sup> The experimental devices and remarkable discoveries which distinguish this publication, far more than atone for its great defects of method, its very questionable theories, and its transgressions against that simplicity of style which its aspiring author rather spurned than was unable to exemplify; but which must be allowed to be a quality peculiarly indispensable to the communication of scientific knowledge. The work was honoured, in the following year, by the unanimous adjudication to its author, by the council of the Royal Society, of the Rumford Medals, appropriated to reward discoveries in that province, whose nature and limits he had so much illustrated and extended.

Mr Leslie thus distinguished himself by his acquirements, when, early in 1805, in consequence of the translation of professor Playfair from the chair of mathematics to that of natural philosophy in the university of Edinburgh, the former became vacant, and the subject of this memoir appeared as a candidate for the situation. It might have been expected that, where the qualifications of the individual were so decidedly above all rivalry, there could have been no hesitation in his native country to confer upon him the honour which he sought. Such there might not have been, if what is called the moderate party in the Scottish church, had not been inspired by a jealousy of his liberal principles in politics, accompanied by a desire of advancing one of their own number, to oppose his election. The person brought forward as the rival candidate was Dr Thomas Macknight, one of the ministers of the city, and son of the venerable commentator on the Epistles,—a gentleman highly qualified, no doubt, not only for this, but for almost any other chair in the university; but who, nevertheless, could not be matched against an individual so distinguished for the benefits he had conferred on science as Mr Leslie; and who was moreover liable to the disqualifying consideration that he was already engaged in an office which, to be well done, requires the whole man, while Mr Leslie stood in the light of a most useful member of society in a great measure unprovided for.

The electors in this case were the magistrates and town-council of Edinburgh, and to them Mr Leslie was recommended not only by fame, but by the warmest testimonials from Sir Joseph Banks, Mr Dempster of Dunnichen, Dr Hutton of Woolwich, Baron Masseres, and Dr Maskelyne. In the supposition that these men were disposed to discharge their trust with fidelity, they could have no hesitation in preferring Mr Leslie; and it is to be related to their credit, that they had no such hesitation. On learning the bent of their resolution, the ministers of Edinburgh held various private meetings, as if to indicate the more pointedly that they had a peculiar interest of their own in the matter; and it was resolved to oppose Mr Leslie's election on the grounds of what they deemed an infidel note in his essay on heat; employing for this purpose a clause in the fundamental charter of the college, directing the magistrates to take the advice of the Edinburgh clergy in the election of professors.

<sup>1</sup> Previous to this period, Mr Leslie, when not otherwise or elsewhere engaged, used to live with his brothers at Largo; and there were the experiments for his essay on heat carried on, and the book written.



The note alluded to was one in reference to the unphilosophical theories which once attempted to explain the phenomena of gravitation by means of invisible æthers. Mr Leslie, in treating this point, found it convenient to refer to Mr Hume's theory of cause and effect, in which, as is well known, he makes use of certain generally received doctrines to invalidate the argument for the existence of the Deity. In making the reference, it did not seem to Mr Leslie to be necessary that he should condemn the ultimate use made of these doctrines by Mr Hume, since he was only engaged in a physical examination. His note, therefore, stands as follows: "Mr Hume is the first, so far as I know, who has treated of causation in a truly philosophic manner. His *Essay on Necessary Connexion* seems a model of clear and accurate reasoning. But it was only wanted to dispel the cloud of mystery which had so long darkened that important subject. The unsophisticated sentiments of mankind are in perfect unison with the deductions of logic, and imply at bottom nothing more in the relation of cause and effect, than a constant invariable sequence." From these words, however, it was evident, in the opinion of his clerical opponents, "that Mr Leslie, having, with Mr Hume, denied all such necessary connexion between cause and effect, as implies an operating principle in the cause, has, of course, laid a foundation for rejecting all argument that is derived from the works of God, to prove either his being or attributes."

When Mr Leslie was informed of the grounds on which the Edinburgh ministers rested their opposition, he addressed a letter to the Rev. Dr Hunter, professor of divinity, and one of the few clergymen of the city who were not opposed to him, laying before him some explanations of the note, to which he begged him to call the attention of his brethren. These explanations were chiefly what are stated above, and are thus followed up: "I have the fullest conviction that my ideas on the question to which the note refers, would appear to coincide, in every essential respect, with those of the most enlightened adversaries of Mr Hume's philosophy. But, limited as I am to a few moments of time, I can only disavow (which I do with the greatest sincerity and solemnity,) every inference which the ingenuity of my opponents may be pleased to draw from the partial view I have taken of the general doctrine, to the prejudice of those evidences on which the truths of religion are founded. If I live to publish another edition of my work, I pledge myself to show in an additional paragraph, how grossly and injuriously I have been treated on this occasion. \* \* It is painful to be called on, after the habits of intimacy in which I have lived with the most exemplary characters in both parts of the island, to repel a direct charge of atheism; but whatever may be the effect of such calumnies on the minds of strangers, it affords me much consolation to think, that they will be heard with contempt and indignation by those who know the real state of my sentiments, and particularly by such as are acquainted with the strictness of those religious principles in which I had the happiness to be educated from my earliest years."

This letter was laid before the ministers at a meeting held by them on the 12th of March (1805); but being, to use their own phrase, by no means satisfied with it, they appointed a committee, consisting of Dr Grieve, Mr David Black, Mr David Dickson, and Dr Inglis, to proceed to the town-council and protest against the election of Mr Leslie. As the council was to be that day engaged in the election, the committee went accordingly to their chamber, and presented a protest which had been prepared, in which, besides stating the grand objection of the note and their inferences from it as to Mr Leslie's religious principles, they stated that, "in the event of his being elected, notwithstanding this representation, they reserved to themselves full power of questioning the validity of such election, and of employing whatever means may, to them, be found compe-



tent for preventing Mr Leslie's induction into the office of professor ; with full power, in the event of his induction, to prosecute for his ejection from said office in any competent court, civil or ecclesiastical." Immediately after this paper was given in and its bearers had left the hall, the council elected Mr Leslie.

At the meeting of the presbytery of Edinburgh on the 27th, the committee of the city clergy gave in a representation stating these transactions, along with a copy of their protest, and requested the reverend court to take such steps in the matter as they might judge proper. It was here determined by vote to carry the affair before the synod ; a step formally necessary for bringing it under the decision of the highest national church court, the general assembly.

At the meeting of this court, on the 22nd of May, the case of Mr Leslie came before it in the shape of a complaint by the Rev. Sir Henry Moncrieff and other members of the synod, against the reference of the case to the general assembly. It was thus apparent that the leaders of the more zealously pious party of the church had taken the part of Mr Leslie against their accustomed opponents. The interest which the public could not have failed to entertain respecting the question, even if confined to its native merits, was excited to an uncommon degree by this complication of the phenomenon. The case, nevertheless, furnished only an unusually striking example of what must always be the result of a party system in any deliberative body. It happened to be convenient for the " moderate " party on this particular occasion, to show an anxious desire for the purity of faith and doctrine ; and for this purpose they raked up a negative title in the Edinburgh clergy to be consulted in the exercise of the town-council patronage, which had not been acted upon for twenty-six years, during which time several of the very men now prosecuting had been elected to chairs in the university without regard to it. It was equally convenient for the high-flying party, though adverse to all their usual principles, to regard the suspected infidelity of Mr Leslie with a lenient and apologetic spirit, in order that they might be in their usual position regarding their opponents, and because they hoped to gain a triumph for themselves in the non-success of a prosecution, which they could easily see rested upon no valid grounds, and could hardly, in the face of public opinion, be carried to its utmost extent, even though a majority of servile votes could have been obtained for the purpose.

In the course of the long debate which followed the introduction of the case, some very strong testimonies were brought forward in favour of Mr Leslie's moral and religious character. A letter from the minister of Largo testified that, during the two past years, while Mr Leslie resided in the parish, he had paid a becoming respect to religion, and that, if great abilities highly improved, an unstained moral character, and a tender discharge of every filial duty, recommend to confidence and esteem, these belonged to him. Another letter, from the clergyman of the neighbouring parish, after remarking that insinuations of the kind disseminated respecting Mr Leslie, yielded but a contemptible support to any cause, stated the following particulars : " I have lived in habits of intimacy with Mr Leslie for some time past ; I have had an opportunity of knowing his religious and political sentiments ; I have been furnished, in short, with satisfactory evidence of his attachment to our ecclesiastical and civil establishment. His father officiated long as a worthy elder of our church : his son was once a student of divinity ; and though he has not prosecuted his theological studies, having been much engaged in other literary pursuits, I never heard that he had censured to respect the doctrines or discipline of the church of Scotland. On the contrary, the leading doctrines of Christianity he regards with reverence."

There was also read a letter from Mr Leslie to a friend, of date, February



22nd, 1805, in which he thus expressed himself: "It was my lot to receive a most virtuous and religious education, in the bosom of a family eminently distinguished by its exemplary lives; and the impressions of my early years, no distance of time, or change of circumstances can ever efface. If my mind is more enlarged by culture, I have likewise learned to see more deeply the importance of those truths which bind men together in society, and which, visiting their inmost recesses, appal the guilty and hold forth comfort to the wretched. I have ever been a sincere lover of peace, of decency, and good order. My time has been almost wholly spent in abstract researches, and the study of the sublime operations of nature. The questions, so much agitated of late, served with me only to amuse a few leisure moments; and even at that eventful period, when the minds of men, and particularly of young men, were so violently inflamed, I escaped in a great measure the contagion. I sighed, indeed, for the improvement of our species; but the slightest appearance of tumult, or popular violence, was most abhorrent to my temper. I never had the remotest connexion with any party or political association whatever. In the spirit of mildness, I endeavoured to think and act for myself. My sentiments of loyalty had been confirmed by what I had seen during a short stay in America, where I witnessed the disgusting and pernicious influence assumed by an ignorant, licentious, and dissolute rabble. \* \* It is our native island that presents the truly cheering picture of equal laws mildly administered, and holds up a body of religious institutions at once rational, decent, and impressive. I venerate the great principles of our Christian faith, and am solicitous to mark, by my external behaviour, that respect which I cherish. Raising my affections above this little spot of earth, *the restless scene of intrigue, and strife, and malice*, I look forward with joy and expectation to that better country beyond the grave."

Among the most powerful speakers on the side of Mr Leslie was Sir Henry Moncrieff, who observed that the question expressly and simply referred to a civil right of the Edinburgh ministers. This right, he showed, had never been before exercised in the election of a professor of mathematics, and in all probability would be confined by a court of law to the professorships existing at the institution of the university, of which that of mathematics was not one. The right, however, if right it was, had in reality been exercised: the clergy had gone to the council and given their advice, and, though it had not been followed, still it had been received. Sir Henry also commented in strong terms upon the fact, that the whole of this prosecution, threatening so much to Mr Leslie, had been conducted in such a way as to allow him no possibility of appearing in his own defence. "It is a circumstance," further continued this nervous orator, "which I cannot help mentioning, that the ministers of Edinburgh, in their zeal to find any sort of heresy in Mr Leslie's note, have unfortunately announced a doctrine in opposition to that which they would fix on him, which is capable of an interpretation more hostile to religion than any thing that they have imputed to his book. In asserting 'such a *necessary connexion* between cause and effect as implies an *operating principle* in the cause,' they express a doctrine of which I can scarcely mention the pernicious tendency. If the necessity is applied to the first cause, it is not far from blasphemy. If it is restricted (as I suppose it was meant to be) to the second cause, it is substantially the doctrine of materialism, and leads directly to atheism. [Here Mr Ritchie interrupted the speaker, to remind him that he had qualified the expression, and restricted his meaning to a *conditional* or *contingent* necessity.] True, sir, he did so. He did the very thing which he will not allow Mr Leslie to do. He gives an explanation for himself and his friends, when he perceives the consequences of the original expressions they had employed. He qualifies the necessity they



asserted, by the term 'conditional,' by which he means to restrict it, and he expects that we are to take his explanation without a murmur; although, when Mr Leslie would confine the assertion in his note to 'objects of physical examination,' he obstinately fixes him down to his original expressions, and rejects the limitation as utterly inadmissible. Unfortunately, sir, the doctrine of the ministers of Edinburgh, with regard to such a necessary connexion between cause and effect as implies an operating principle in the cause, stands in its original state in the protest which they gave to the town-council. It is recorded in the council books; and there it *must* remain in all future times, without any explanation whatever, be its tendency or its heresy ever so mischievous.

"The use," he continued with exquisite sarcasm, "which may be made of incautious expressions, may be as forcibly illustrated from the protest of the ministers of Edinburgh, as from the note of Mr Leslie. But there is this material distinction between the two cases: Mr Leslie, at least, understood the precise meaning of his assertions, as far as they related to the subject of which he was writing; but my reverend brethren enunciated their dogma in perfect innocence and simplicity, completely unconscious of its true import and tendency!"

Near midnight, on the second day of the debate, it was determined by 96 against 84 to dismiss this vexatious case without further notice. On the vote being announced, a shout of applause—an unwonted sound in the general assembly—burst from the crowd assembled in the galleries.

Mr Leslie entered without further opposition upon the duties of his chair, and upon a course of experimental discovery by which he was to confer lustre upon the university. Through the assistance of one of his ingenious contrivances—his hygrometer—he arrived in 1810 at the discovery of that singularly beautiful process of artificial congelation, which enabled him to convert water and mercury into ice. "We happened," says a brother professor, "to witness the consummation of the discovery—at least, of the performance of one of the first successful repetitions of the process by which it was effected; and we shall never forget the joy and elation which beamed on the face of the discoverer, as, with his characteristic good nature, he patiently explained the steps by which he had been led to it."

In 1809 Mr Leslie published his *Elements of Geometry*, which immediately became a class-book, and has since gone through four editions. He also published, in 1813, an "Account of Experiments and Instruments depending on the relation of Air to Heat and Moisture." In 1817 he produced his "*Philosophy of Arithmetic*, exhibiting a Progressive view of the Theory and Progress of Calculation," a small octavo; and, in 1821, his "*Geometrical Analysis, and Geometry of Curve Lines*, being volume second of a Course of Mathematics, and designed as an Introduction to the study of Natural Philosophy."<sup>2</sup> In 1822 he published "*Elements of Natural Philosophy*," for the use of his class—reprinted in 1829—and of which only one volume appeared. "*Rudiments of Geometry*," a small octavo, published, 1828, and designed for popular use, was his last separate work. Besides these separate works, he wrote many admirable articles in the *Edinburgh Review*, three profound treatises in *Nicholson's Philosophical Journal*, a few in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh*, and several very valuable articles on different branches of physics in the *Supple-*

<sup>2</sup> The *Elements of Geometry* included Trigonometry and Geometrical Analysis in one volume, for the three first editions; and the curve lines of the second order was a small separate work. In the fourth edition of the *Geometry*, 1820, one volume included *Geometry and Trigonometry*, and the second, published some time after, consisted of *Geometrical Analysis*, including the curves of the second order, formerly published with the addition of the higher curves.



ment to the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. In 1819, on the death of professor Playfair, whose promotion had formerly made room for him in the chair of mathematics, he was elevated to the professorship of natural philosophy, by which his powers were of course brought into a far wider field of display and of usefulness, than they had been for the preceding fourteen years. Among the preliminary treatises of the seventh edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, which began to be published in 1830, he wrote a "Discourse on the History of Mathematical and Physical Science, during the eighteenth century," which may be described as one of the most agreeable and masterly of all his compositions.

The income enjoyed by Mr Leslie was for many years so much above his necessities, that he was able, by careful management, to realise a fortune not far short of ten thousand pounds. Part of this he expended, in his latter years, upon the purchase and decoration of a mansion called Coates near his native village, where he spent all the intervals allowed by his college duties. Early in the year 1832, at the recommendation of the lord chancellor (Brougham), he was invested with a knighthood of the Guelphic order, at the same time that Messrs Herschel, C. Bell, Ivory, Brewster, South, and Harris Nicolas, received a similar honour. Sir John Leslie was not destined long to enjoy the well-merited honour. In the end of October, while superintending some of the improvements about his much-loved place, he incautiously exposed himself to wet, the consequence of which was a severe cold. Among the various foibles which protruded themselves through the better powers and habitudes of his mind, was a contempt for medicine, and an unwillingness to think that he could be seriously ill. He accordingly neglected his ailment, and was speedily seized with erysipelas in one of his legs; a disorder at that time raging in Scotland with all the symptoms and effects of a malignant epidemic. On Wednesday, October 31st, he again exposed himself in his grounds, and from that day, the malady advanced very rapidly. On the evening of Saturday, November 3d, he breathed his last.

The scientific and personal character of Sir John Leslie has been sketched with so bold and free a pencil by Mr Macvey Napier, his brother in both academic and literary labours, that we make no apology for presenting it to the reader, in lieu of any thing of our own:

"It would be impossible, we think, for any intelligent and well-constituted mind, to review the labours of this distinguished man, without a strong feeling of admiration for his inventive genius and vigorous powers, and of respect for that extensive knowledge which his active curiosity, his various reading, and his happy memory had enabled him to attain. Some few of his contemporaries in the same walks of science, may have excelled him in profundity of understanding, in philosophical caution, and in logical accuracy; but we doubt if any surpassed him, whilst he must be allowed to have surpassed many, in that creative faculty—one of the highest and rarest of nature's gifts—which leads, and is necessary to discovery, though not all-sufficient of itself for the formation of safe conclusions; or in that subtilty and reach of discernment which seizes the finest and least obvious relations among the objects of science—which elicits the hidden secrets of nature, and ministers to new combinations of her powers. There were some flaws, it must be allowed, in the mind of this memorable person. He strangely undervalued some branches of philosophical inquiry of high importance in the circle of human knowledge. His credulity in matters of ordinary life was, to say the least of it, as conspicuous as his tendency to scepticism in science. It has been profoundly remarked by Mr Dugald Stewart, that 'though the mathematician may be prevented, in his own pursuits, from going far astray, by the absurdities to which his errors lead him, he is seldom apt to



be revolted by absurd conclusions in other matters. 'Thus, even in physics,' he adds, 'mathematicians have been led to acquiesce in conclusions which appear ludicrous to men of different habits.' Something of the same kind was observable in the mind of this distinguished mathematician, for such also he was. He was apt, too, to run into some startling hypothesis, from an unwarrantable application of mathematical principles to subjects altogether foreign to them; as when he finds an analogy between circulating decimals, and the lengthened cycles of the seasons. In all his writings, with the exception, perhaps, of his last considerable performance, the discourse prefixed to the seventh edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, even in the sober field of pure mathematics, there is a constant straining after 'thoughts that breathe and words that burn,' and a love of abstract, and figurative, and novel modes of expression, which has exposed them to just criticism, by impartial judges, and to some puny fault-finding, by others, more willing to carp at defects than to point out the merits which redeem them. But when even severe criticism has said its worst, it must be allowed, that genius has struck its captivating impress, deep and wide over all his works. His more airy speculations may be thrown aside or condemned; but his exquisite instruments, and his original and beautiful experimental combinations, will ever attest the fruitfulness of his mind, and continue to act as helps to farther discovery. We have already alluded to the extent and excursiveness of his reading. It is rare, indeed, to find a man of so much invention, and who himself valued the inventive above all the other powers, possessing so vast a store of learned and curious information. His reading extended to every nook and corner, however obscure, that books have touched upon. He was a lover, too, and that in no ordinary degree, of what is commonly called anecdote. Though he did not shine in mixed society, and was latterly unfitted by a considerable degree of deafness for enjoying it, his conversation, when seated with one or two, was highly entertaining. It had no wit, little repartee, and no fine turns of any kind, but it had a strongly-original and racy cast, and was replete with striking remarks and curious information.

"He had faults, no doubt, as all 'of woman born' have: he had prejudices, of which it would have been better to be rid; he was not over charitable in his views of human virtue; and he was not quite so ready, on all occasions, to do that justice to kindred merit as was to be expected in so ardent a worshipper of genius. But his faults were far more than compensated by his many good qualities—by his constant equanimity, his cheerfulness, his simplicity of character, almost infantine, his straightforwardness, his perfect freedom from affectation, and, above all, his unconquerable good nature.<sup>3</sup> He was, indeed, one of the most placable of human beings; and if, as has been thought, he generally had a steady eye, in his worldly course, to his own interest, it cannot be denied that he was, notwithstanding, a warm and good friend, and a relation on whose affectionate assistance a firm reliance could ever be placed.

"There is one other matter which, in justice to the illustrious dead, we cannot pass over in silence; we mean the permanent service rendered to the class of Natural Philosophy by the late Sir John Leslie in the collection of by far the

<sup>3</sup> The person of Sir John Leslie was, in later life, far from gainly. He was short and corpulent, with a florid face, and somewhat unsightly projection of the front teeth, and tottered considerably in walking. He was, moreover, very slovenly in his mode of dressing,—a peculiarity the more curious, as it was accompanied by no inconsiderable share of *self-respect*, and an anxiety to be thought young and engaging. The mixture of great intellectual powers with the humbler weaknesses of human nature, can seldom have been more strikingly exemplified than in his case; though it is evident that, as his weaknesses were very much those to which unmarried men in advanced life are supposed to be most peculiarly liable, they might have probably been obviated in a great measure, if he had happened to spend his life in the more fortunate condition of matrimony.



finest and most complete set of apparatus in the kingdom. Augustus boasted that he found Rome built of brick, and left it a city of palaces and temples constructed of marble. Without any exaggeration, something analogous may be predicated of Sir John Leslie in regard to the apparatus of this class. He found it a collection of antiquated and obsolete rubbish; he left it the most complete and perfect of its kind in this kingdom; and if it had pleased God to spare him a few years longer, it would, beyond all doubt, have been rendered the first in Europe or the world. The renovation which he effected was, indeed, most radically complete. The whole of the old trash was thrown aside, and its place supplied by new instruments, constructed on the most improved principles by the most celebrated artists, both in this country and on the continent; while its absolute amount was increased tenfold, and adapted, in the happiest manner, to the present advanced state of science. His perseverance and enthusiasm in this respect were indeed boundless; and as his predecessors were not experimentalists, in the same sense in which he was, and had made little or no effort to accommodate the apparatus to the progress of science, or even to repair the wear and tear of time, he had the whole to create, in the same way as if the class had only been founded when he was first promoted to the chair. By his own continued and admirably-directed efforts, aided by the liberality of the patrons, who generously made him several grants in furtherance of the object which he had so much at heart; and also by very considerable pecuniary sacrifices upon his own part, for which he has never as yet got the credit that is so justly due to him; he at length succeeded in furnishing the apparatus-room in the manner in which it may now be seen by any one who chooses to visit it, and thus conferred upon the university a benefit for which it ought to be for ever grateful to his memory. This may sound strange in the ears of those who have been accustomed to hear it said, as it has often been, most falsely, that Sir John Leslie was a bad experimenter. The truth is, that of all his great and varied gifts, none was more remarkable than the delicacy and success with which he performed the most difficult experiments, excepting perhaps his intuitive sagacity in instantly detecting the cause of an accidental failure; and it is a known fact, that, after he had discovered and communicated to the world his celebrated process of artificial congelation, particularly as applied to the freezing of mercury, some of the first men of science in London failed of performing it, till the discoverer himself, happening to be on the spot personally, showed them wherein consisted the fault of their manipulation, and at once performed the experiment which had previously baffled all their efforts. It is equally well known to those who were acquainted with him, that the most elegant in form as well as the most delicate in operation of the beautiful instruments invented by himself, were constructed by his own hand, and that this, to him most agreeable employment, constituted the recreation of his leisure hours. The apparatus-room, indeed, contains many specimens of his workmanship in this line, and they are of such a description as would not do any discredit to the most practised and skilful artist. To his immediate successor his acquisitions and his labours will, therefore, be of incalculable importance; but the merit which really belongs to him can only be duly estimated by those who know what he found, when he became professor of natural philosophy, and can compare it with the treasures which he has left behind him.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Some further particulars respecting his various talents and acquirements may be gathered from the following notice, which appeared in the *Edinburgh Courant*, and seems to be the production of one qualified in more ways than one to speak upon the subject:—"Sir John Leslie has been for many years known in this country, and over all Europe, as one of the most eminent characters of the age. As a mathematician and philosopher; as a profound and accomplished scholar; as a proficient in general literature, and in history and many other



LEYDEN, JOHN, a man of singularly varied genius and accomplishment, was born on the 8th of September, 1775, at Denholm, a village on the banks of the Teviot, in the parish of Cavers and county of Roxburgh. His parents were John Leyden and Isabella Scott, who had three sons and two daughters younger than himself. His ancestors in both lines had been farmers on the estate of Cavers for several generations; but his father, though skillful in rural affairs, declined to engage on his own account in the same occupation, thinking even the fortunate pursuit of gain a poor compensation for the anxiety that attends it. About a year after the birth of their first child, he removed to Henlawshiel on the farm of Nether Tofts, which was then occupied by Andrew Blythe, his wife's uncle, whom he first served as shepherd, and subsequently as overseer, his master having had the misfortune to lose his sight. The cottage in which the family resided was of an humble construction; its internal accommodations were equally simple; but it was situated at the foot of the majestic hill of Ruberslaw, and there, among the "dun heathy slopes and valleys green," did Leyden imbibe that enthusiasm and manliness of character which afterwards displayed

branches of knowledge, he had few rivals. But it was for mathematical science and its kindred studies, that he discovered, at a very early period, a decided predilection; and it is in the successful illustration of scientific truth and of all the complicated phenomena of physics, that his great reputation has been acquired. In these pursuits he was eminently qualified to excel by the great original powers of his mind, which were further stimulated by an ardent enthusiasm, and an early desire of distinction among the illustrious names of his day. Along with a profound knowledge of his subject, he possessed great inventive powers, which not only enabled him to sound the depths of science, but to expound its important problems with a simplicity and elegance rarely equalled. In making his way through the intricacies of physical research, his severe judgment guided him in the right path; and hence his demonstrations always afford a striking and beautiful display of pure reason, without any tendency to that spirit of metaphysical subtlety which occasionally perplexes the speculations of Laplace, Legendre, with others of the continental philosophers; and it is worthy of remark that, along with the penetrating force of his judgment, he carried into those studies that taste and fancy—that predilection for the beautiful, which may be recognised in all his speculations, whether in literature or in science. His taste in geometry was founded on the purest models of Grecian philosophy; he delighted to expound to his pupils the simplicity and elegance of the demonstrations by the great masters of antiquity; he commended them to their imitation, and expatiated on the subject in a manner well fitted to inspire a kindred enthusiasm; so that we might have fancied that he was dilating, not on the merits of a mathematical problem, but on some of those beautiful forms and classic models of ancient art which have been the wonder of all succeeding times. Nor was this admiration of ancient geometry a mere pedantic or barren speculation. The great philosopher of whom we are speaking carried his principles into practice, and applied the abstract properties of figures with the happiest success to experimental philosophy; many branches of which he greatly extended by his discoveries; and in all of them he developed the most original views, which may yet be traced to important results. The range of his studies was amazingly extensive; and he had accumulated vast stores of knowledge, especially on scientific subjects. He was deeply versed in the history of science, which he had traced from its earliest dawnings in the times of Greece and Rome, through all the subsequent vicissitudes which it experienced during the dark ages of barbarism, till it was revived by the Arabians in the east, and was afterwards improved and perfected by the more brilliant discoveries of modern times. We speak literally when we say, that we doubt if there is a single publication relating to this subject, either in the ancient or the modern languages, which he had not diligently perused; and his knowledge, minute and accurate on every point, and, once acquired, never forgotten, overflowed in his conversation and in his writings. The date of any great discovery was familiar to him; he could give anecdotes or biographical sketches of all the great promoters of science in every age; and the prodigality of his information was not more surprising than the ease with which he preserved its disposition and arrangement, under certain great leading principles, which were the land-marks of his mind, by which the store of facts which he had been treasuring up for years was reduced into order, and each distributed into its proper place in the great system of which it formed a part. For the truth of this remark we may refer to the 'History of the Barometer,' in the Edinburgh Review, and to his papers on Meteorology, and other subjects in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, to his continuation of Playfair's *Introductory Discourses* prefixed to that work, as well as to many of his other productions, which display the great extent of his researches. On other subjects, also, not connected with his peculiar studies, his information was minute and extensive. He was deeply read in Scottish history and antiquities; and on all modern questions of politics or political economy, he had his own original ideas, which he was always ready to express and expound in a fair and temperate strain.



themselves so strongly in his domestic affections, in his love of country, and in his unwearied pursuit of knowledge.

With the inmates of his father's house dwelt intelligence, cheerful content, and piety; and, in this scene of the domestic virtues, Leyden was taught to read by his grandmother, under whom he soon acquired a familiar acquaintance with the events recorded in the sacred volume, the historical passages in the Old Testament having first attracted his attention. There is no circumstance from which we should so readily entertain good hopes of the future conduct of a boy, as that of his having been imbued with his earliest letters by so venerable an instructress; for it argues not only an attentive care to make him spell and pronounce words correctly, but an anxious discharge of the parental duties on the part of the family from whom he is sprung, which cannot fail to produce the best effects on the heart of the young pupil—an effect how different from that which other fathers are doomed to witness, who, as soon as their children's age admits of their removal, despatch them to distant schools to be brought up as well as taught by strangers, and think they have done all that can reasonably be expected from them when they disburse the sums necessary for the maintenance of their offspring! It was considered the highest praise of a Roman matron of rank that “she staid at home and span,” *domum mansit, lanam fecit*; but by far more honourable is the epitaph which might with truth be engraved on the tombstones of many Scottish women of the humblest rank—“she taught her grandchildren to read.” The moral worth which such a system of affectionate training keeps alive in the land cannot be too highly estimated; and, as if to prove its advantage, such men as Leyden now and then emerge from useful obscurity, and make the beauty of their home-bred virtues conspicuous to all the world.

Leyden's taste for reading, once kindled, spread like the *moorburn* on his native heaths, first over the books in his father's possession, and then to the shelves of the neighbours. Some popular works on Scottish history supplied the inspiring recital of the deeds of Wallace and Bruce, which, beyond their immediate benefit, have continued as examples through succeeding ages to cherish sentiments of independence in every generous bosom. Among the other productions with which he was greatly delighted, have been enumerated the poems of Sir David Lindsay, *Paradise Lost*, Chapman's translation of Homer, and the *Arabian Nights Entertainments*. An odd volume of the last-named work he obtained, when he was about eleven years old, by a resolute perseverance of solicitation quite commensurate with the ardour of his subsequent literary career. He had received from a companion some account of its contents, and been told that the treasure belonged to a blacksmith's apprentice who resided at some miles' distance from his father's house. The very next morning, Leyden waded through the snow in the hope of being allowed to peruse a part of the volume in the owner's presence—for he had no title to expect a loan of it in any other way; and that he might have leisure to do so, he set out betimes. On reaching the smithy, learning that the lad had gone from home to do some work, he proceeded to the place, and, having preferred his request, met with a refusal. But he was not to be so dismissed, and continuing beside the lad the whole day, he either succeeded in gaining his good graces, or prevailed by the mere force of pertinacity, so that he got the book as a present, and returned home by sunset, “exhausted by hunger and fatigue,” says Sir Walter Scott, “but in triumphant possession of a treasure for which he would have subjected himself to yet greater privations.”

At nine years of age Leyden had been sent to the parish school of Kirktown, where, to writing and arithmetic, he added a little knowledge of Latin gram-



mar. He continued here three years, with the interval of two very long vacations, in consequence of the death of one teacher and the removal of another. At these times he assumed the plaid, and looked after his father's flock when his assistance was needed. His parents now clearly perceived that the bent of their son's mind was for learning, and he was accordingly placed under the charge of Mr Duncan, a Cameronian minister at Denholm, who instructed a few pupils,—he could not usually draw together more than five or six,—in Greek and Latin. "Of the eagerness of his desire for knowledge," says the Rev. James Morton, "it may not be improper to relate an anecdote which took place at this time: Denholm being about three miles from his home, which was rather too long a walk, his father was going to buy him an ass to convey him to and from school. Leyden, however, was unwilling, from the common prejudice against this animal, to encounter the ridicule of his schoolfellows by appearing so ignobly mounted, and would at first have declined the offered accommodation. But no sooner was he informed that the owner of the ass happened to have in his possession a large book in *some* learned language, which he offered to give into the bargain, than his reluctance entirely vanished, and he never rested until he had obtained this literary treasure, which was found to be the *Calepini Dictionarium Octolingue*."

After he had enjoyed the advantage of Mr Duncan's instructions for two years, it was judged that he was qualified for college; and in November, 1790, his father accompanied him half-way to Edinburgh, with a horse which they rode alternately; he performed the rest of the journey on foot. His views being directed to the church, he began the usual course of study by attending the Greek and Latin classes; in the preparations for which he was assiduous, allotting a stated portion of time daily to the tasks of each professor, and employing the remaining hours in desultory reading, from which, having the command of the college library, he was not deterred, like some young men, by any difficulty of determining which books it would be most proper and advantageous for him to read first. His public appearances threatened at the outset to draw down upon him some degree of ridicule; but professor Dalzell used to describe with some humour, the astonishment and amusement excited in his class when John Leyden first stood up to recite his Greek exercise. The rustic yet undaunted manner, the humble dress, the high harsh tone of his voice, joined to the broad provincial accent of Teviotdale, discomposed on this first occasion the gravity of the professor, and totally routed that of the students. But it was soon perceived that these uncouth attributes were joined to qualities which commanded respect and admiration. The rapid progress of the young rustic attracted the approbation and countenance of the professor, who was ever prompt to distinguish and encourage merit; and to those among the students who did not admit literary proficiency as a shelter for the ridicule due since the days of Juvenal to the scholar's worn coat and unfashionable demeanour, Leyden was in no respect averse from showing strong reasons adapted to their comprehension, and affecting their personal safety, for keeping their mirth within decent bounds.<sup>1</sup>

The Greek language was long his favourite study, and, considering his opportunities, he became much more intimately acquainted with its best authors than is usual in Scotland, even among those who make some pretensions to literature. The Latin he understood thoroughly; and it is perhaps the best proof

<sup>1</sup> The ensuing part of the present article is borrowed with very slight alterations from a memoir of Dr Leyden, in the Edinburgh Annual Register for 1811—evidently, from its "careless inimitable graces," the composition of Sir Walter Scott.



of his classical attainments, that at a later period, to use his own expression, "he passed muster pretty well when introduced to Dr Parr."

Leyden was now at the fountain-head of knowledge, and availed himself of former privations by quaffing it in large draughts. He not only attended all the lectures usually connected with the study of theology, but several others, particularly some of the medical classes,—a circumstance which afterwards proved important to his outset in life, although at the time it could only be ascribed to his restless and impatient pursuit after science of every description. Admission to these lectures was easy from the liberality of the professors, who throw their classes gratuitously open to young men educated for the church, a privilege of which Leyden availed himself to the utmost extent. There were indeed few branches of study in which he did not make some progress. Besides the learned languages, he acquired French, Spanish, Italian, and German, was familiar with the ancient Icelandic, and studied Hebrew, Arabic, and Persian.

But though he soon became particularly distinguished by his talents as a linguist, few departments of science altogether escaped his notice. He investigated moral philosophy with the ardour common to all youths of talent who studied ethics under the auspices of professor Dugald Stewart, with whose personal notice he was honoured. He became a respectable mathematician, and was at least superficially acquainted with natural philosophy, natural history, chemistry, botany, and mineralogy. These various sciences he acquired in different degrees, and at different times, during his residence at college. They were the fruit of no very regular plan of study: whatever subject interested his mind at the time attracted his principal attention till time and industry had overcome the difficulties which it presented, and was then exchanged for another pursuit. It seemed frequently to be Leyden's object to learn just so much of a particular science as should enable him to resume it at any future period; and to those who objected to the miscellaneous, or occasionally the superficial nature of his studies, he used to answer with his favourite interjection, "Dash it, man, never mind: if you have the scaffolding ready, you can run up the masonry when you please." But this mode of study, however successful with John Leyden, cannot be safely recommended to a student of less retentive memory and robust application. With him, however, at least while he remained in Britain, it seemed a matter of little consequence for what length of time he resigned any particular branch of study; for when either some motive or mere caprice induced him to resume it, he could with little difficulty re-unite all the broken associations, and begin where he left off months or years before, without having lost an inch of ground during the interval.

The vacations which our student spent at home were employed in arranging, methodizing, and enlarging the information which he had acquired during his winter's attendance at college. His father's cottage affording him little opportunity for quiet and seclusion, he was obliged to look out for accommodations abroad, and some of his places of retreat were sufficiently extraordinary. In a wild recess, in the dean or glen which gives name to the village of Denholm, he contrived a sort of furnace for the purpose of such chemical experiments as it was adequate to performing. But his chief place of retirement was the small parish church, a gloomy and ancient building, generally believed in the neighbourhood to be haunted. To this chosen place of study, usually locked during week-days, Leyden made entrance by means of a window, read there for many hours in the day, and deposited his books and specimens in a retired pew. It was a well chosen spot of seclusion, for the kirk, (excepting during divine service) is rather a place of terror to the Scottish rustic, and that of Cavers was rendered more so by many a tale of ghosts and witchcraft,



of which it was the supposed scene ; and to which Leyden, partly to indulge his humour, and partly to secure his retirement, contrived to make some modern additions. The nature of his abstruse studies, some specimens of natural history, as toads and adders, left exposed in their spirit vials, and one or two practical jests played off upon the more curious of the peasantry, rendered his gloomy haunt not only venerated by the wise, but feared by the simple, of the parish, who began to account this abstracted student, like the gifted person described by Wordsworth, as possessing

———Waking empire wide as dreams,  
An ample sovereignty of eye and ear ;  
Rich are his walks with supernatural cheer ;  
The region of his inner spirit teems  
With vital sounds, and monitory gleams  
Of high astonishment and pleasing fear.

This was a distinction which, as we have already hinted, he was indeed not unwilling to affect, and to which, so far as the visions existing in the high fancy of the poet can supply those ascribed to the actual ghost-seer, he had indeed no slight pretensions.

Books as well as retirement were necessary to the progress of Leyden's studies, and not always attainable. But his research collected from every quarter such as were accessible by loan, and he subjected himself to the utmost privations to purchase those that were not otherwise to be procured. The reputation also of his prosperous career of learning obtained him occasional access to the library of Mr Douglas of Cavers ; an excellent old collection, in which he met, for the first time, many of those works of the middle ages which he studied with so much research and success. A Froissart in particular, translated by lord Berners, captivated his attention with all those tales "to savage virtue dear," which coincided with his taste for chivalry, and with the models on which it had been formed ; and tales of the Black Prince, of the valiant Chandos, and of Geoffrey Tete-Noir, now rivalled the legends of Johnnie Armstrong, Walter the Devil, and the Black Douglas.

In the country, Leyden's society was naturally considerably restricted, but while at college it began to extend itself among such of his fellow students as were distinguished for proficiency in learning. Among these we may number the celebrated author of the Pleasures of Hope ; the Rev. Alexander Murray united with Leyden in the kindred pursuit of oriental learning, and whose lamp, like that of his friend, was extinguished at the moment when it was placed in the most conspicuous elevation ; William Erskine, author of a poetical epistle from St Kilda, with whom Leyden renewed his friendship in India ; the ingenious Dr Thomas Brown, distinguished for his early proficiency in the science of moral philosophy, of which he was afterwards professor in the Edinburgh college ; the Rev. Robert Lundie, minister of Kelso, and several other young men of talent, who at that time pursued their studies in the university of Edinburgh.

In the year 1796, the recommendation of professor Dalzell procured Leyden the situation of private tutor to the sons of Mr Campbell of Fairfield, a situation which he retained for two or three years. During the winter of 1798, he attended the two young gentlemen to their studies at the college of St Andrews. Here he had the advantage of the acquaintance of professor Hunter, an admirable classical scholar, and to whose kind instructions he professed much obligation. The secluded situation also of St Andrews, the monastic life of the students, the fragments of antiquity with which that once metropolitan town is surrounded, and



the libraries of its colleges, gave him additional opportunity and impulse to pursue his favourite plans of study.

About the time he resided at St Andrews, the renown of Mungo Park, and Leyden's enthusiastic attachment to all researches connected with oriental learning, turned his thoughts towards the history of Africa, in which he found much to enchant an imagination which loved to dwell upon the grand, the marvellous, the romantic, and even the horrible, and which was rather fired than appalled by the picture of personal danger and severe privation. Africa indeed had peculiar charms for Leyden. He delighted to read of hosts, whose arrows intercepted the sunbeams; of kings and soldiers, who judged of the numberless number of their soldiers by marching them over the trunk of a cedar, and only deemed their strength sufficient to take the field when such myriads had passed as to reduce the solid timber to impalpable dust: the royal halls also of Dahomey, built of skulls and cross-bones, and moistened with the daily blood of new victims of tyranny, all, in short, that presented strange, wild, and romantic views of human nature, and which furnished new and unheard-of facts in the history of man, had great fascination for his ardent imagination. And about this time he used to come into company, quite full of these extraordinary stories, garnished faithfully with the unpronounceable names of the despots and tribes of Africa, which any one at a distance would have taken for the exorcism of a conjurer. The fruit of his researches he gave to the public in a small volume, entitled, "An Historical and Philosophical Sketch of the Discoveries and Settlements of the Europeans in Northern and Western Africa at the close of the 18th century," crown 8vo, 1799. It is written on the plan of Raynal's celebrated work, and, as it contains a clear and lively abridgment of the information afforded by travellers whose works are of rare occurrence, it was favourably received by the public.

On Leyden's return to Edinburgh from St Andrews, he resided with his pupils in the family of Mr Campbell, where he was treated with that respect and kindness which every careful father will pay to him whose lessons he expects his children to receive with attention and advantage. His hours, excepting those of tuition, were at his own uncontrolled disposal, and such of his friends as chose to visit him at Mr Campbell's, were sure of a hospitable reception. This class began now to extend itself among persons of an older standing than his contemporaries, and embraced several who had been placed by fortune, or had risen by exertions, to that fixed station in society, to which his college intimates were as yet only looking forwards. His acquaintance with Mr Richard Heber was the chief means of connecting him with several families of the former description, and it originated in the following circumstances.

John Leyden's feelings were naturally poetical, and he was early led to express them in the language of poetry. Before he visited St Andrews, and while residing there, he had composed both fragments and complete pieces of poetry in almost every style and stanza which our language affords, from an unfinished tragedy on the fate of the Darien settlement, to songs, ballads, and comic tales. Many of these essays afterwards found their way to the press through the medium of the Edinburgh Magazine, at that time under the management or the patronage of Dr Robert Anderson, editor of the British poets, with whom Leyden was on terms of intimacy. In this periodical miscellany appeared from time to time poetical translations from the Greek Anthology, from the Norse, from the Hebrew, from the Arabic, from the Syriac, from the Persian, and so forth, with many original pieces, indicating more genius than taste, and an extent of learning of most unusual dimensions. These were subscribed J. L. About this time also Mr Archibald Constable was opening business chiefly as a



retailer of curious and ancient books, a department in which he possessed extensive knowledge; Mr Richard Heber, the extent of whose invaluable library is generally known, was, in the winter of 1799-1800, residing in Edinburgh, and a frequenter of course of Mr Constable's shop. In these researches he formed an acquaintance with Leyden, who examined as an amateur the shelves which Mr Heber ransacked as a purchaser, and the latter discovered with pleasure the unknown author of the poems which have been already alluded to. The acquaintance soon ripened into friendship, and was cemented by mutual advantage. Mr Heber had found an associate as ardent as himself in the pursuit of classical knowledge, and who would willingly sit up night after night to collate editions, and to note various readings; and Leyden, besides the advantage and instruction which he derived from Mr Heber's society, enjoyed that of being introduced, by his powerful recommendation, to the literary gentlemen of Edinburgh, with whom he lived in intimacy. Among these may be reckoned the late lord Woodhouselee, Mr Henry Mackenzie, the distinguished author of the *Man of Feeling*, and the Reverend Mr Sidney Smith, then residing in Edinburgh, from all of whom Leyden received flattering attention, and many important testimonies of the interest which they took in his success. By the same introduction he became intimate in the family of Mr Walter Scott, where a congenial taste for ballad, romance, and border antiquities, as well as a sincere admiration of Leyden's high talents, extensive knowledge, and excellent heart, secured him a welcome reception. And by degrees his society extended itself still more widely, and comprehended almost every one who was distinguished for taste or talents in Edinburgh.

The manners of Leyden, when he first entered into company, were very peculiar; nor indeed were they at any time much modified during his continuing in Europe; and here, perhaps, as properly as elsewhere, we may endeavour to give some idea of his personal appearance and habits in society. In his complexion the clear red upon the cheek indicated a hectic propensity, but with his brown hair, lively dark eyes, and well-proportioned features, gave an acute and interesting turn of expression to his whole countenance. He was of middle stature, of a frame rather thin than strong, but muscular and active, and well fitted for all those athletic exertions in which he delighted to be accounted a master. For he was no less anxious to be esteemed a man eminent for learning and literary talent, than to be held a fearless player at single-stick, a formidable boxer, and a distinguished adept at leaping, running, walking, climbing, and all exercises which depend on animal spirits and muscular exertion. Feats of this nature he used to detail with such liveliness as sometimes led his audience to charge him with exaggeration; but, unlike the athletic in *Æsop's* apologue, he was always ready to attempt the repetition of his great leap at Rhodes, were it at the peril of breaking his neck on the spot. And certainly in many cases his spirit and energy carried him through enterprises which his friends considered as most rashly undertaken. An instance occurred on board of ship in India, where two gentlemen, by way of *quizzing* Leyden's pretensions to agility, offered him a bet of twenty gold mohrs that he could not go aloft. Our bard instantly betook himself to the shrouds, and, at all the risk incident to a landsman who first attempts such an ascent, successfully scaled the main-top. There it was intended to subject him to an unusual practical sea joke, by *seizing him up*, i. e. tying him, till he should redeem himself by paying a fine. But the spirit of Leyden dictated desperate resistance, and, finding he was likely to be overpowered, he flung himself from the top, and, seizing a rope, precipitated himself on deck by letting it slide rapidly through his grasp. In this operation he lost the skin of both hands, but of course won his wager. But when he ob-



served his friends look grave at the expensive turn which their jest had taken, he tore and flung into the sea the order for the money which they had given him, and contented himself with the triumph which his spirit and agility had gained. And this little anecdote may illustrate his character in more respects than one.

In society, John Leyden's first appearance had something that revolted the fastidious and alarmed the delicate. He was a bold and uncompromising disputant, and neither subdued his tone, nor mollified the form of his argument, out of deference to the rank, age, or even sex of those with whom he was maintaining it. His voice, which was naturally loud and harsh, was on such occasions exaggerated into what he himself used to call his *saw-tones*, which were not very pleasant to the ear of strangers. His manner was animated, his movements abrupt, and the gestures with which he enforced his arguments rather forcible than elegant; so that, altogether, his first appearance was somewhat appalling to persons of low animal spirits, or shy and reserved habits, as well as to all who expected much reverence in society on account of the adventitious circumstances of rank or station. Besides, his spirits were generally at top-flood, and entirely occupied with what had last arrested his attention, and thus his own feats, or his own studies, were his topic more frequently than is consistent with the order of good society, in which every person has a right to expect his share of conversation. He was indeed too much bent on attaining personal distinction in society to choose nicely the mode of acquiring it. For example, in the course of a large evening party, crowded with fashionable people, to many of whom Leyden was an absolute stranger, silence being imposed for the purpose of a song, one of his friends with great astonishment, and some horror, heard Leyden, who could not sing a note, scream forth a verse or two of some border ditty, with all the dissonance of an Indian war-whoop. In their way home, he ventured to remonstrate with his friend on this extraordinary exhibition, to which his defence was, "Dash it, man, they would have thought I was *afraid* to sing before them." In short, his egotism, his bold assumption in society, his affectation of neglecting many of its forms as trifles beneath his notice—circumstances which often excited against his first appearance an undue and disproportionate prejudice—were entirely founded upon the resolution to support his independence in society, and to assert that character formed between the lettered scholar, and the wild rude borderer, the counter part as it were of Anacharsis, the philosophic Scythian, which, from his infancy, he was ambitious of maintaining. His humble origin was with him rather a subject of honest pride than of false shame, and he was internally not unwilling that his deportment should to a certain degree partake of the simplicity of the ranks from which he had raised himself by his talents, to bear a share in the first society.

Having thus marked strongly the defects of his manner, and the prejudice which they sometimes excited, we crave credit from the public, while we record the real virtues and merits by which they were atoned a thousand fold. Leyden's apparent harshness of address covered a fund of real affection to his friends, and kindness to all with whom he mingled, unwearied in their service, and watchful to oblige them. To gratify the slightest wish of a friend, he would engage at once in the most toilsome and difficult researches, and when perhaps that friend had forgotten that he even intimated such a wish, Leyden came to pour down before him the fullest information on the subject which had excited his attention. And his temper was in reality, and notwithstanding an affectation of roughness, as gentle as it was generous. No one felt more deeply for the distress of those he loved. No one exhibited more disinterested pleasure in their success. In dispute, he never lost temper, and if he despised the outworks of



ceremony, he never trespassed upon the essentials of good breeding, and was himself the first to feel hurt and distressed if he conceived that he had, by any rash or hasty expression, injured the feelings of the most inconsiderable member of the company. In all the rough play of his argument too, he was strictly good-humoured, and was the first to laugh if, as must happen occasionally to those who talk much, and upon every subject, some disputant of less extensive but more accurate information, contrived to arrest him in his very pitch of pride, by a home fact or incontrovertible argument. And, when his high and independent spirit, his firm and steady principles of religion and virtue, his constant good humour, the extent and variety of his erudition, and the liveliness of his conversation, were considered, they must have been fastidious indeed who were not reconciled to the foibles or peculiarities of his tone and manner.

Many of those whose genius has raised them to distinction, have fallen into the fatal error of regarding their wit and talents as an excuse for the unlimited indulgence of their passions, and their biographers have too frequently to record the acts of extravagance, and habits of immorality, which disgraced and shortened their lives. From such crimes and follies John Leyden stood free and stainless. He was deeply impressed with the truths of Christianity, of which he was at all times a ready and ardent asserter, and his faith was attested by the purity of morals which is its best earthly evidence. To the pleasures of the table he was totally indifferent, never exceeded the bounds of temperance in wine, though frequently in society where there was temptation to do so, and seemed hardly to enjoy any refreshment excepting tea, of which he sometimes drank very large quantities.<sup>3</sup> When he was travelling or studying, his temperance became severe abstinence, and he often passed an entire day without any other food than a morsel of bread. To sleep he was equally indifferent, and when, during the latter part of his residence in Edinburgh, he frequently spent the day in company, he used, upon retiring home, to pursue his studies till a late hour in the morning, and satisfy himself with a very brief portion of repose. It was the opinion of his friends, that his strict temperance alone could have enabled him to follow so hard a course of reading as he enjoined himself. His pecuniary resources were necessarily much limited; but he knew that independence, and the title of maintaining a free and uncontrolled demeanour in society can only be attained by avoiding pecuniary embarrassments, and he managed his funds with such severe economy, that he seemed always at ease upon his very narrow income. We have only another trait to add to his character as a member of society. With all his bluntness and peculiarity, and under disadvantages of birth and fortune, Leyden's reception among females of rank and elegance was favourable in a distinguished degree. Whether it is that the tact of the fair sex is finer than ours, or that they more readily pardon peculiarity in favour of originality, or that an uncommon address and manner is in itself a recommendation to their favour, or that they are not so readily offended as the male sex by a display of superior learning; in short, whatever were the cause, it is certain that Leyden was a favourite among those whose favour all are ambitious to attain. Among the ladies of distinction who honoured him with their regard, it is sufficient to notice the late duchess of Gordon and lady Charlotte Campbell (now Bury), who were then leaders of the fashionable society of Edinburgh. It is time to return to trace the brief events of his life.

In 1800, Leyden was ordained a preacher of the gospel, and entered upon the functions then conferred upon him, by preaching in several of the churches

<sup>3</sup> A lady whose house he frequented, mentioned to a friend of the editor that she had filled him out eighteen cups in one evening.



in Edinburgh and the neighbourhood. His style of pulpit oratory was marked with the same merits and faults which distinguish his poetry. His style was more striking than eloquent, and his voice and gesture more violent than elegant; but his discourses were marked with strong traits of original genius, and although he pleaded an internal feeling of disappointment at being unequal to attain his own ideas of excellence as a preacher, it was impossible to listen to him without being convinced of his uncommon extent of learning, knowledge of ethics, and sincere zeal for the interest of religion.

The autumn of the same year was employed in a tour to the Highlands and Hebrides, in which Leyden accompanied two young foreigners who had studied at Edinburgh the preceding winter. In this tour he visited all the remarkable places of that interesting part of his native country, and, diverging from the common and more commodious route, visited what are called the *rough bounds* of the Highlands, and investigated the decaying traditions of Celtic manners and story which are yet preserved in the wild districts of Moidart and Knoidart. The journal which he made on this occasion was a curious monument of his zeal and industry in these researches, and contained much valuable information on the subject of Highland manners and tradition, which is now probably lost to the public. It is remarkable, that after long and painful research in quest of original passages of the poems of Ossian, he adopted an opinion more favourable to their authenticity than has lately prevailed in the literary world. But the confessed infidelity of Macpherson must always excite the strongest suspicion on this subject. Leyden composed, with his usual facility, several detached poems upon Highland traditions, all of which have probably perished, excepting a ballad, founded upon the romantic legend respecting MacPhail of Colonsay and the Mermaid of Correvrecken, inscribed to lady Charlotte Campbell, and published in the third volume of the *Border Minstrelsy*, which appeared at the distance of about a twelvemonth after the first two volumes. The opening of this ballad exhibits a power of harmonious numbers which has seldom been excelled in English poetry. Nor were these legendary effusions the only fruit of his journey; for, in his passage through Aberdeen, Leyden so far gained the friendship of the venerable professor Beattie, that he obtained his permission to make a transcript from the only existing copy of the interesting poem entitled *Albania*. This work, which is a panegyric on Scotland in nervous blank verse, written by an anonymous author in the beginning of the eighteenth century, Leyden afterwards republished along with Wilson's "*Clyde*," under the title of "*Scottish Descriptive Poems*," 12mo, 1802.

In 1801, when Mr Lewis published his *Tales of Wonder*, Leyden was a contributor to that collection, and furnished the ballad called the *Elf-king*; and in the following year, he employed himself earnestly in the congenial task of procuring materials for the *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, the first publication of Walter Scott. In this labour, he was equally interested by friendship for the editor, and by his own patriotic zeal for the honour of the Scottish borders, and both may be judged of from the following circumstance. An interesting fragment had been obtained of an ancient historical ballad, but the remainder, to the great disturbance of the editor and his coadjutor, was not to be recovered. Two days afterwards, while Mr Scott was sitting with some company after dinner, a sound was heard at a distance like that of the whistling of a tempest through the torn rigging of the vessel which scuds before it. The sounds increased as they approached more near, and Leyden (to the great astonishment of such of the guests as did not know him,) burst into the room, chanting the desiderated ballad with the most enthusiastic gesture, and all the energy of the saw-tones of his voice already commemorated. It turned out, that



he had walked between forty and fifty miles and back again, for the sole purpose of visiting an old person who possessed this precious remnant of antiquity. His antiquarian researches and poetic talents were also liberally exerted for the support of this undertaking. To the former, the reader owes in a great measure the Dissertation on Fairy Superstition, which, although arranged and digested by Mr Scott, abounds with instances of such curious reading as Leyden alone had read, and was originally compiled by him; and to the latter the spirited ballads entitled *Lord Soulis* and the *Cout of Keeldar*.

Leyden's next publication was "*The Complaynt of Scotland*, a new edition of an ancient and singularly rare tract bearing that title, written by an uncertain author, about the year 1548." This curious work was published by Mr Constable in the year 1801. As the tract was itself of a diffuse and comprehensive nature, touching upon many unconnected topics, both of public policy and private life, as well as treating of the learning, the poetry, the music, and the arts of that early period, it gave Leyden an opportunity of pouring forth such a profusion of antiquarian knowledge in the preliminary dissertation, notes, and glossary, as one would have thought could hardly have been accumulated during so short a life, dedicated too to so many and varied studies. The intimate acquaintance which he has displayed with Scottish antiquities of every kind, from manuscript histories and rare chronicles, down to the tradition of the peasant, and the rhymes even of the nursery, evince an extent of research, power of arrangement, and facility of recollection, which has never been equalled in this department.

Meanwhile other pursuits were not abandoned in the study of Scottish antiquities. The *Edinburgh Magazine* was united in 1802 with the old *Scots Magazine*, and was now put under the management of Leyden by Mr Constable the publisher. To this publication, during the period of his management, which was about five or six months, he contributed several occasional pieces of prose and poetry, in all of which he was successful, excepting in those where humour was required, which, notwithstanding his unvaried hilarity of temper, Leyden did not possess. He was also, during this year, engaged with his "*Scenes of Infancy*," a poem which was afterwards published on the eve of his leaving Britain; and in which he has interwoven his own early feelings and recollections with the description and traditional history of his native vale of Teviot.

The friends of Leyden began now to be anxious for his present settlement in life. He had been for two years in orders, and there was every reason to hope that he might soon obtain a church, through the numerous friends and powerful interest which he now possessed. More than one nobleman of high rank expressed a wish to serve him, should any church in their gift become vacant; and, from the recommendation of other friends to those possessed of political interest, he was almost assured of being provided for, by a crown presentation, on some early opportunity. But his eager desire of travelling, and of extending the bounds of literary and geographical knowledge, had become, as he expressed himself to an intimate friend, "his thought by day and his dream by night, and the discoveries of Mungo Park haunted his very slumbers." When the risk was objected to him, he used to answer in a phrase of Ossian, "*Dark Cuchullin will be renowned or dead*;" and it became hopeless to think that this eager and aspiring spirit could be confined within the narrow sphere, and limited to the humble, though useful duties of a country clergyman. It was therefore now the wish of his friends to turn this irresistible thirst for discovery, into some channel which might at once gratify the predominant desire of his heart, and be attended with some prospect of securing his fortune. It was full time to take such steps; for in 1802 Leyden had actually commenced overtures to the African Society, for undertaking a jour-



ney of discovery through the interior of that continent—an enterprise which sad examples have shown to be little better than an act of absolute suicide. To divert his mind from this desperate project, a representation was made to the Right Hon. William Dundas, who had then a seat at the Board of Control, stating the talents and disposition of Leyden, and it was suggested that such a person might be usefully employed in investigating the language and learning of the Indian tribes. Mr Dundas entered with the most liberal alacrity into these views; but it happened, unfortunately as it might seem, that the sole appointment then at his disposal was that of surgeon's assistant, which could only be held by a person who had taken a surgical degree, and could sustain an examination before the medical board at the India house. It was upon this occasion that Leyden showed, in their utmost extent, his wonderful powers of application and comprehension. He at once intimated his readiness to accept the appointment under the conditions annexed to it, and availing himself of the superficial information he had formerly acquired by a casual attendance upon one or two of the medical classes, he gave his whole mind to the study of medicine and surgery, with the purpose of qualifying himself for his degree in the short space of five or six months. The labour which he underwent on this occasion was incredible; but with the powerful assistance of a gentleman of the highest eminence in his profession, (Mr John Bell of Edinburgh,) he succeeded in acquiring such a knowledge of this complicated and most difficult art, as enabled him to obtain his diploma as surgeon with credit, even in the city of Edinburgh, so long famed for its medical school, and for the wholesome rigour adopted in the distribution of degrees. Leyden was, however, incautious in boasting of his success after so short a course of study, and found himself obliged, in consequence of his imprudence, to relinquish his intention of taking out the degree of M. D. at Edinburgh, and to have recourse to another Scottish university for that step in his profession. Meanwhile the sudden exchange of his profession gave great amusement to some of his friends, especially when a lady having fainted in a crowded assembly, Dr Leyden advanced to her assistance, and went through the usual routine of treatment with all the gravity which beseeemed his new faculty. In truth, the immediate object of his studies was always, in season and out of season, predominant in Leyden's mind, and just about this time he went to the evening party of a lady of the highest rank with the remnants of a human hand in his pocket, which he had been dissecting in the morning, and on some question being stirred about the muscular action, he was with difficulty withheld from producing this grisly evidence in support of the argument which he maintained. The character of Leyden cannot be understood without mentioning those circumstances that are allied to oddity; but it is not so easy to body forth those qualities of energy, application, and intelligence, by which he dignified his extravagancies, and vindicated his assumption of merit, far less to paint his manly, generous, and friendly disposition.

In December 1802, Leyden was summoned to join the Christmas fleet of Indiamen, in consequence of his appointment as assistant-surgeon on the Madras establishment. It was sufficiently understood that his medical character was only assumed to bring him within the compass of Mr Dundas's patronage, and that his talents should be employed in India with reference to his literary researches. He was, however, *pro forma*, nominated to the Madras hospital. While awaiting this call, he bent his whole energies to the study of the oriental languages, and amused his hours of leisure by adding to the Scenes of Infancy, many of those passages addressed to his friends, and bearing particular reference to his own situation on the eve of departure from Scotland, which, flowing warm from the heart, constitute the principal charm of that impressive poem. Mr



James Ballantyne, an early and intimate friend of Leyden, had just then established in Edinburgh his press, which has since been so distinguished. To the critical skill of a valued and learned friend, and to the friendly as well as professional care of Ballantyne, Leyden committed this last memorial of his love to his native land. The last sheets reached him before he left Britain, no more to return.

About the middle of December, John Leyden left Edinburgh, but not exactly at the time he had proposed. He had taken a solemn farewell of his friends, and gone to Roxburghshire to bid adieu to his parents, whom he regarded with the most tender filial affection, and from thence he intended to have taken his departure for London without returning to Edinburgh. Some accident changed his purpose, and his unexpected arrival in Edinburgh was picturesque and somewhat startling. A party of his friends had met in the evening to talk over his merits, and to drink, in Scottish phrase, his *Bonallie*. While about the witching hour they were crowning a solemn bumper to his health, a figure burst into the room, muffled in a seaman's cloak and travelling cap, covered with snow, and distinguishable only by the sharpness and ardour of the tone with which he exclaimed, "Dash it, boys, here I am again!" The start with which this unexpected apparition was received, was subject of great mirth at the time, and the circumstance was subsequently recalled by most of the party with that mixture of pleasure and melancholy which attaches to the particulars of a last meeting with a beloved and valuable friend.

In London, the kindness of Mr Heber, his own reputation, and the recommendation of his Edinburgh friends, procured Leyden much kindness and attention among persons of rank and literary distinction. His chief protector and friend, however, was Mr George Ellis, the well-known editor of the *Specimens of Ancient English Poetry*. To this gentleman he owed an obligation of the highest possible value, in a permission to change, on account of illness, from one vessel to another, the former being afterwards cast away in going down the river, when many of the passengers were drowned.

After this providential exchange of destination, the delay of the vessel to which he was transferred, permitted his residence in London until the beginning of April, 1803, an interval which he spent in availing himself of the opportunities which he now enjoyed, of mixing in the most distinguished society in the metropolis, where the novelty and good humour of his character made ample amends for the native bluntness of his manners. In the beginning of April, he sailed from Portsmouth, in the *Hugh Inglis*, where he had the advantage of being on board the same vessel with Mr Robert Smith, the brother of his steady friend, the Rev. Mr Sidney Smith. And thus set forth on his voyage perhaps the first British traveller that ever sought India, moved neither by the love of wealth nor of power, and who, despising alike the luxuries commanded by the one, and the pomp attached to the other, was guided solely by the wish of extending our knowledge of oriental literature, and distinguishing himself as its most successful cultivator. This pursuit he urged through health and through sickness, unshaken by all the difficulties arising from imperfect communication with the natives, from their prejudices and those of their European masters, and from frequent change of residence; unmoved either by the charms of pleasure, of wealth, or of that seducing indolence to which many men of literature have yielded after overcoming all other impediments. To this pursuit he finally fell a sacrifice, as devoted a martyr in the cause of science, as ever died in that of religion. We are unable to trace his Indian researches and travels with accuracy similar to that with which we have followed those which preceded



his departure from Europe, but we are enabled to state the following outlines of his fortune in the East.

After a mutiny in the vessel, which was subdued by the exertions of the officers and passengers, and in which Leyden distinguished himself by his coolness and intrepidity, the *Hugh Inglis* arrived at Madras, and he was transferred to the duties of his new profession. His nomination as surgeon to the commissioners appointed to survey the ceded districts, seemed to promise ample opportunities for the cultivation of oriental learning. But his health gave way under the fatigues of the climate; and he has pathetically recorded, in his "Address to an Indian Gold Coin," the inroads which were made on his spirits and constitution. He was obliged to leave the presidency of Madras, suffering an accumulation of diseases, and reached with difficulty Prince of Wales Island. During the passage the vessel was chased by a French privateer, which was the occasion of Leyden's composing, in his best style of border enthusiasm, an "Ode to a Malay kris," or dagger, the only weapon which his reduced strength now admitted of his wielding. The following letter to Mr Ballantyne, dated from Prince of Wales Island, 24th October, 1805, gives a lively and interesting account of his occupations during the first two years of his residence in India.

*"Puloo Penang, October 24th, 1805.*

"My dear Ballantyne,—Finding an extra Indiaman, the *Revenge*, which has put into this harbour in distress, bound to Europe, I take another opportunity of attempting to revive, or rather commence, an intercourse with my European friends, for since my arrival in India I have never received a single scrap from one of them,—*Prohi Deum!* Mr Constable excepted; and my friend Erskine writes me from Bombay, that none of you have received the least intelligence of my motions since I left Europe. This is to me utterly astonishing and incomprehensible, considering the multitude of letters and parcels that I have despatched from Mysore, especially during my confinement for the liver disease at Seringapatam, where I had for some months the honour of inhabiting the palace of Tippoo's prime minister. I descended into Malabar in the beginning of May, in order to proceed to Bombay, and perhaps eventually up the Persian gulf as far as Bassorah, in order to try the effect of a sea voyage. I was, however, too late, and the rains had set in, and the last vessels sailed two or three days before my arrival. As I am always a very lucky fellow, as well as an unlucky one, which all the world knows, it so fell out that the only vessel which sailed after my arrival was wrecked, while some secret presentiment, or rather "sweet little cherub, that sits up aloft," prevented my embarking on board of her. I journeyed leisurely down to Calicut from Cananore, intending to pay my respects to the Cutwall, and the Admiral, so famous in the *Lusiad* of Camoens; but only think of my disappointment when I found that the times are altered, and the tables turned with respect to both these sublime characters. The Cutwall is only a species of boroughbailiff, while the Admiral, God help him, is only the chief of the fishermen. From Calicut I proceeded to Paulgaut-cherry, which signifies, in the Tamal language, "the town of the forest of palms," which is exactly the meaning of *Tadmor*, the name of a city founded by Solomon, not for the queen of Sheba, but, as it happened, for the equally famous queen Zenobia. Thus having demonstrated that Solomon understood the Tamal language, we may proceed to construct a syllogism in the following manner: "Solomon understood the Tamal language, and he was wise,—I understand the Tamal language, therefore I am as wise as Solomon!" I fear you logical lads of Europe will be very little disposed to admit the legitimacy of the conclusion; but, however the matter may stand in Europe, I can assure you it's



no bad reasoning for India. At Paulgaut-cherry I had a most terrible attack of the liver, and should very probably have passed away, or, as the Indians say, changed my climate—an elegant periphrasis for dying, however—had I not obstinately resolved on living to have the pleasure of being *revenged* on all of you for your obstinate silence and ‘perseverance therein to the end.’ Hearing about the middle of August, that a Bombay cruiser had touched at Aleppo, between Quilod and Cochin, I made a desperate push through the jungles of the Cochin Rajah’s country, in order to reach her, and arrived about three hours after she had set sail. Any body else would have died of chagrin, if they had not hanged themselves outright. I did neither one nor the other, but ‘tuned my pipes and played a spring to John o’ Badenyon;’ after which I set myself coolly down and translated the famous Jewish tablets of brass, preserved in the synagogue of Cochin ever since the days of Methusalem. Probably you may think this no more difficult a task than decyphering the brazen tablet on any door of Princes or Queen street. But here I beg your pardon; for, so far from any body, Jew, Pagan, or Christian, having ever been able to do this before, I assure you the most learned men of the world have never been able to decide in what language or in what alphabet they were written. As the character has for a long time been supposed to be antediluvian, it has for a long time been as much despaired of as the Egyptian hieroglyphics. So much was the diwan or grand vizier, if you like it, of Travancore astonished at the circumstance, that he gave me to understand that I had only to *pass through the Sacred Cow* in order to merit adoption into the holy order of bramins. I was forced, however, to decline the honour of the sacred cow, for unluckily Phalaris’ bull and Moses’ calf presented themselves to my imagination, and it occurred to me that perhaps the Ram-rajah’s cow might be a beast of the breed. Being on the eve of a new attack of the liver, I was forced to leave Travancore with great precipitation, in the first vessel that presented itself, a Mapilla brig, bound to Puloo Penang, the newly erected presidency on the Straits of Malacca, where I have just arrived, after a perverse pestilent voyage, in which I have been terribly ill of revulsions of bile and liver, without any of the conveniences which are almost necessary to an European in these parts, and particularly to an invalid. We have had a very rough passage, the cabin very often all afloat, while I have been several times completely drenched. In addition to this we have been pursued by a Frenchman, and kept in a constant state of alarm and agitation; and now, to mend the matter, I am writing you at a kind of naval tavern, while all around me is ringing with the vociferation of tarpaulins, the hoarse bawling of sea oaths, and the rattling of the dice-box. However, I flatter myself I have received considerable benefit from the voyage, tedious and disgusting and vexations as it has been. \* \* \*

“You know when I left Scotland, I had determined at all events to become a furious orientalist, “*nemini secundus*,” but I was not aware of the difficulty. I found the expense of native teachers would prove almost insurmountable to a mere assistant surgeon, whose pay is seldom equal to his absolutely necessary expenses; and, besides, that it was necessary to form a library of MSS. at a most terrible expense, in every language to which I should apply, if I intended to proceed beyond a mere smattering. After much consideration, I determined on this plan at all events, and was fortunate enough in a few months to secure an appointment, which furnished me with the means of doing so, though the tasks and exertions it imposed on me were a good deal more arduous than the common duties of a surgeon even in a Mahratta campaign, I was appointed medical assistant to the Mysore survey, and at the same time directed to carry on inquiries concerning the natural history of the country, and the manners



and languages, &c., of the natives of Mysore. This, you would imagine, was the very situation I wished for, and so it would, had I previously had time to acquire the country languages. But I had them now to acquire after severe marches and counter-marches in the heat of the sun, night-marches and day-marches, and amid the disgusting details of a field hospital, the duties of which were considerably arduous. However, I wrought incessantly and steadily, and without being discouraged by any kind of difficulty, till my health absolutely gave way, and when I could keep the field no longer, I wrought on my couch, as I generally do still, though I am much better than I have been. As I had the assistance of no intelligent Europeans, I was obliged long to grope my way; but I have now acquired a pretty correct idea of India in all its departments, which increases in geometrical progression as I advance in the languages. The languages that have attracted my attention since my arrival have been Arabic, Persic, Hindostanee, Mahratta, Tamal, Telinga, Canara, Sanscrit, Malayalam, Malay, and Armenian. You will be ready to ask where I picked up these hard names, but I assure you it is infinitely more difficult to pick up the languages themselves; several of which include dialects as different from each other as French or Italian from Spanish or Portuguese; and in all these, I flatter myself, I have made considerable progress. What would you say, were I to add the Maldivian and Mapella languages to these? Besides, I have decyphered the inscriptions of Maivalipoorani, which were written in an ancient Canara character that had hitherto defied all attempts at understanding it, and also several *Lada Lippi* inscriptions, which is an ancient Tamal dialect and character, in addition to the Jewish tablets of Cochin, which were in the ancient Malayalam, generally termed Malabar. I enter into these details merely to show you that I have not been idle, and that my time has neither been dissipated, nor devoid of plan, though that plan is not sufficiently unfolded. To what I have told you of, you are to add constant and necessary exposure to the sun, damps and dews from the jungles, and putrid exhalations of marshes, before I had been properly accustomed to the climate, constant rambling in the haunts of tigers, leopards, bears, and serpents of 30 or 40 feet long, that make nothing of swallowing a buffalo, by way of demonstrating their appetite, in a morning, together with smaller and more dangerous snakes, whose haunts are dangerous, and bite deadly; and you have a faint idea of a situation, in which, with health, I lived as happy as the day was long. It was occasionally diversified with rapid jaunts of a hundred miles or so, as fast as horses or bearers could carry me, by night or day, swimming through rivers, afloat in an old brass kettle, at midnight! O! I could tell you adventures to outrival the witch of Endor, or any witch that ever swam in egg-shell or sieve; but you would undoubtedly imagine I wanted to impose on you were I to relate what I have seen and passed through. No! I certainly shall never repent of having come to India. It has awakened energies in me that I scarcely imagined I possessed, though I could gnaw my living nails with pure vexation to think how much I have been thwarted by indisposition. If, however, I get over it, I shall think the better of my constitution as long as I live. It is not every constitution that can resist the combined attack of liver, spleen, bloody flux, and jungle fever, which is very much akin to the plague of Egypt, and yellow fever of America. It is true I have been five times given up by the most skilful physicians in these parts; but in spite of that, I am firmly convinced that "my doom is not to die this day." You are to commend me kindly to your good motherly mother, and tell her I wish I saw her oftener, and then to your brother Alexander, and request him sometimes, on a Saturday night, precisely at eight o'clock, for my sake, to play "Gingling Johnny" on his flageolet. If I had you both in my tent, you should



drink yourself drunk with wine of Shiraz, which is our eastern Falernian, in honour of Hafiz, our Persian Anacreon. As for me, I often drink your health in *water*, (ohon a reel!) having long abandoned both wine and animal food, not from choice, but dire necessity.—Adieu, dear Baliantryne, and believe me, in the Malay isle, to be ever yours sincerely,

JOHN LEYDEN."

Leyden soon became reconciled to Puloo Penang (or Prince of Wales Island), where he found many valuable friends and enjoyed the regard of the late Philip Dundas, Esq., then governor of the island. He resided in that island for some time, and visited Achi, with some other places on the coasts of Sumatra, and the Malayan peninsula. Here he amassed the curious information concerning the language, literature, and descent of the Indi-Chinese tribes, which afterwards enabled him to lay before the Asiatic Society at Calcutta a most valuable dissertation on so obscure a subject. Yet that his heart was sad, and his spirits depressed, is evident from the following lines, written for new-year's day, 1806, and which appeared in the Government Gazette of Prince of Wales Island.

Malaya's woods and mountains ring  
With voices strange and sad to hear,  
And dark unbodied spirits sing  
The dirge of the departed year.

Lo! now, methinks, in tones sublime,  
As viewless o'er our heads they bend,  
They whisper, "Thus we steal your time,  
Weak mortals, till your days shall end."

Then wake the dance, and wake the song,  
Resound the festive mirth and glee;  
Alas! the days have pass'd along,  
The days we never more shall see.

But let me brush the nightly dews,  
Beside the shell-depainted shore,  
And mid the sea-weed sit to muse  
On days that shall return no more.

Olivia, ah! forgive the bard,  
If sprightly strains alone are dear;  
His notes are sad, for he has heard  
The footsteps of the parting year.

'Mid friends of youth beloved in vain,  
Oft have I hailed the jocund day;  
If pleasure brought a thought of pain,  
I charmed it with a passing lay.

Friends of my youth for ever dear,  
Where are you from this bosom fled?  
A lonely man I linger here,  
Like one that has been long time dead.

Foredoomed to seek an early tomb,  
For whom the pallid grave-flowers blow,  
I hasten on my destined doom,  
And sternly mock at joy or woe!

In 1806, he took leave of Penang, regretted by many friends, whom his eccentricities amused, his talents enlightened, and his virtues conciliated. His



reception at Calcutta, and the effect which he produced upon society there, are so admirably illustrated by his ingenious and well-known countryman, Sir John Malcolm, that it would be impossible to present a more living picture of his manners and mind, and the reader will pardon some repetition for the sake of observing how the same individual was regarded in two distant hemispheres.

“ TO THE EDITOR OF THE BOMBAY COURIER.<sup>1</sup>

“ It is not easy to convey an idea of the method which Dr Leyden used in his studies, or to describe the unconquerable ardour with which these were pursued.—During his early residence in India, I had a particular opportunity of observing both. When he read a lesson in Persian, a person near him, whom he had taught, wrote down each word on a long slip of paper, which was afterwards divided into as many pieces as there were words, and pasted in alphabetical order, under different heads of verbs, nouns, &c., into a blank book that formed a vocabulary of each day's lesson. All this he had in a few hours instructed a very ignorant native to do; and this man he used, in his broad accent, to call ‘one of his mechanical aids.’ He was so ill at Mysore, soon after his arrival from England, that Mr Anderson, the surgeon who attended him, despaired of his life; but though all his friends endeavoured at this period to prevail upon him to relax in his application to study, it was in vain. He used, when unable to sit upright, to prop himself up with pillows, and continue his translations. One day that I was sitting by his bedside, the surgeon came in.—‘I am glad you are here,’ said Mr Anderson, addressing himself to me, ‘you will be able to persuade Leyden to attend to my advice. I have told him before, and now I repeat, that he will die if he does not leave off his studies and remain quiet.’ ‘Very well, doctor,’ exclaimed Leyden, ‘you have done your duty, but you must now hear me: *I cannot be idle*, and whether I die or live, the wheel must go round till the last;’ and he actually continued, under the depression of a fever and a liver complaint, to study more than ten hours each day.

“ The temper of Dr Leyden was mild and generous, and he could bear with perfect good humour, raillery on his foibles. When he arrived at Calcutta in 1805, I was most solicitous regarding his reception in the society of the Indian capital. ‘I entreat you, my dear friend,’ I said to him the day he landed, ‘to be careful of the impression you make on your entering this community; for God's sake learn a little English, and be silent upon literary subjects, except among literary men.’ ‘Learn English!’ he exclaimed, ‘no, never; it was trying to learn that language that spoilt my Scotch; and as to being silent, I will promise to hold my tongue, if you will make fools hold theirs.’

“ His memory was most tenacious, and he sometimes loaded it with lumber. When he was at Mysore, an argument occurred upon a point of English history; it was agreed to refer it to Leyden, and to the astonishment of all parties, he repeated verbatim the whole of an act of parliament in the reign of James relative to Ireland, which decided the point in dispute.—On being asked how he came to charge his memory with such extraordinary matter, he said that several years before, when he was writing on the changes that had taken place in the English language, this act was one of the documents to which he had referred as a specimen of the style of that age, and that he had retained every word in his memory.

“ His love of the place of his nativity was a passion in which he had always a pride, and which in India he cherished with the fondest enthusiasm. I once

<sup>1</sup> We omit the earlier portion of this letter referring to the general character and manners of Leyden.



went to see him when he was very ill, and had been confined to his bed for many days; there were several gentlemen in the room; he inquired if I had any news; I told him I had a letter from Eskdale; and what are they about in the borders? he asked. A curious circumstance, I replied, is stated in my letter; and I read him a passage which described the conduct of our volunteers on a fire being kindled by mistake at one of the beacons. This letter mentioned that the moment the blaze, which was the signal of invasion, was seen, the mountaineers hastened to their rendezvous, and those of Liddesdale swam the Liddle river to reach it.—They were assembled (though several of their houses were at a distance of six and seven miles,) in two hours, and at break of day the party marched into the town of Hawick (at a distance of twenty miles from the place of assembly,) to the border tune of ‘*Wha daur meddle wi’ me?*’ Leyden’s countenance became animated as I proceeded with this detail, and at its close he sprung from his sick-bed, and, with much strange melody, and still stranger gesticulations, sung aloud, ‘*Wha daur meddle wi’ me? wha daur meddle wi’ me?*’—Several of those who witnessed this scene looked at him as one that was raving in the delirium of a fever.

“These anecdotes will display more fully than any description I can give, the lesser shades of the character of this extraordinary man. An external manner, certainly not agreeable, and a disposition to egotism, were his only defects. How trivial do these appear, at a moment when we are lamenting the loss of such a rare combination of virtues, learning, and genius, as were concentrated in the late Dr Leyden!

JOHN MALCOLM.”

We have little to add to General Malcolm’s luminous and characteristic sketch. The efficient and active patronage of Lord Minto, himself a man of letters, a poet, and a native of Teviotdale, was of the most essential importance to Leyden, and no less honourable to the governor-general. Leyden’s first appointment as a professor in the Bengal college might appear the sort of promotion best suited to his studies, but was soon exchanged for that of a judge of the twenty-four Purgunnahs of Calcutta. In this capacity he had a charge of police which “jumped with his humour well;” for the task of pursuing and dispersing the bands of robbers who infest Bengal had something of active and military duty. He also exercised a judicial capacity among the natives, to the discharge of which he was admirably fitted, by his knowledge of their language, manners, and customs. To this office a very considerable yearly income was annexed. This was neither expended in superfluities, nor even in those ordinary expenses which the fashion of the East has pronounced indispensable; for Dr Leyden kept no establishment, gave no entertainments, and was, with the receipt of this revenue, the very same simple, frugal, and temperate student, which he had been at Edinburgh. But, exclusive of a portion remitted home for the most honourable and pious purpose, his income was devoted to the pursuit which engaged his whole soul; to the increase, namely, of his acquaintance with eastern literature in all its branches. The expense of native teachers, of every country and dialect, and that of procuring from every quarter oriental manuscripts, engrossed his whole emoluments, as the task of studying under the tuition of the interpreters, and decyphering the contents of the volumes, occupied every moment of his spare time. “I may die in the attempt,” he writes to a friend, “but if I die without surpassing Sir William Jones a hundred fold in oriental learning, let never a tear for me profane the eye of a borderer.” The term was soon approaching when these regrets were to be bitterly called forth, both from his Scottish friends, and from all who viewed with interest the career of his ardent and enthusiastic genius, which, despising every selfish consideration, was only



eager to secure the fruits of knowledge, and held for sufficient reward the fame of having gathered them.

Dr Leyden accompanied the governor-general upon the expedition to Java, [August 1811] for the purpose of investigating the manners, language, and literature of the tribes which inhabit that island, and partly also because it was thought his extensive knowledge of the eastern dialects and customs might be useful in settling the government of the country, or in communicating with the independent princes in the neighbourhood of the Dutch settlements. His spirit of romantic adventure led him literally to rush upon death; for, with another volunteer who attended the expedition, he threw himself into the surf, in order to be the first Briton of the expedition who should set foot upon Java. When the success of the well-concerted movements of the invaders had given them possession of the town of Batavia, Leyden displayed the same ill-omened precipitation in his haste to examine a library in which many Indian manuscripts of value were said to be deposited. A library, in a Dutch settlement, was not, as might have been expected, in the best order, the apartment had not been regularly ventilated, and, either from this circumstance, or already affected by the fatal sickness peculiar to Batavia, Leyden, when he left the place, had a fit of shivering, and declared the atmosphere was enough to give any mortal a fever. The presage was too just; he took his bed, and died in three days [August 28], on the eve of the battle which gave Java to the British empire.

Thus died John Leyden, in the moment, perhaps, most calculated to gratify the feelings which were dear to his heart; upon the very day of military glory, and when every avenue of new and interesting discovery was opened to his penetrating research. In the emphatic words of Scripture, "the bowl was broken at the fountain." His literary remains were intrusted by his last will to the charge of Mr Heber, and Dr Hare of Calcutta, his executors. They are understood to contain two volumes of poetry, with many essays on oriental and general literature. His remains, honoured with every respect by lord Minto, now repose in a distant land, far from the green-sod graves of his ancestors at Hazeldean, to which, with a natural anticipation of such an event, he bids an affecting farewell in the solemn passage which concludes the Scenes of Infancy.

The silver moon, at midnight cold and still,  
Looks, sad and silent, o'er yon western hill;  
While large and pale the ghostly structures grow,  
Reared on the confines of the world below.  
Is that dull sound the hum of Teviot's stream?  
Is that blue light the moon's or tomb-fire's gleam,  
By which a mouldering pile is faintly seen,  
The old deserted church of Hazeldean,  
Where slept my fathers in their natal clay,  
Till Teviot's waters roll'd their bones away?  
Their feeble voices from the stream they raise,  
"Rash youth! unmindful of thy early days,  
Why didst thou quit the peasant's simple lot?  
Why didst thou leave the peasant's turf-built cot,  
The ancient graves, where all thy fathers lie,  
And Teviot's stream, that long has murmured by?  
And we—when Death so long has closed our eyes,  
How wilt thou bid us from the dust arise,  
And bear our mouldering bones across the main,  
From vales, that knew our lives devoid of stain?  
Rash youth! beware, thy home-bred virtues save,  
And sweetly sleep in thy paternal grave!"



Such is the language of nature, moved by the kindly associations of country and of kindred affections. But the best epitaph is the story of a life engaged in the practice of virtue and the pursuit of honourable knowledge; the best monument, the regret of the worthy and of the wise; and the rest may be summed up in the sentiment of Samazario,

*Hæcine te fessum tellus extrema manebat  
Hospitii post tot terræque marisque labores?  
Pone tamen gemitus, nec te monumenta parentum  
Aut moveant sperata tuis tibi funera regnis,  
Grata quies patriæ; sed et omnis terra sepulchrum.*

To this eloquent and highly picturesque memoir, upon which we have drawn so largely, it is only to be added; that the Poetical Remains of Dr Leyden were published in one volume 8vo, in 1819, with a memoir by the Rev. James Morton; and that another posthumous work, entitled *Memoirs of the Emperor Baber*, and commemorating for the first time an Indian hero little inferior to Cæsar or Napoleon, but, heretofore, totally unknown in Europe, in which he had had the co-operation of his friend, Mr William Erskine, appeared at Edinburgh in 1826.

LIDDEL, (Dr) DUNCAN, a physician of eminence, was born in Aberdeen in the year 1561, and was son to a respectable citizen of that town.<sup>1</sup> He received his education at the schools, and the university of King's college, in his native city. In the year 1579, at the early age of eighteen, he visited the continent, passing over to Dantzic, whence he travelled through Poland to Frankfort on the Oder, where he had the good fortune to meet with a beneficent countryman, Dr John Craig, afterwards physician to James VI., who then taught logic and mathematics. His views, which were previously wavering, were fixed by the kind attention and assistance of his friend, who enabled him to study mathematics, philosophy, and medicine, for three years in the university of Frankfort, where Craig was himself a professor. In 1582, Craig proposing to return to Scotland, his pupil proceeded to prosecute his studies at Breslaw in Silesia, under the conduct of a statesman at that period of considerable note—Andreas Dudithius, to whose attention his zealous countryman had recommended him. In this new sphere of exertion, he is said to have made extensive progress in his favourite study of the mathematics, under the tuition of professor Paulus Wittichius. After spending somewhat more than a year at Breslaw, he returned to Frankfort, where he again turned his attention to medicine, and commenced a course of private tuition in mathematics and philosophy. A contagious distemper which broke out at Frankfort in 1587, dispersing the students in various directions, induced him to change his place of residence for the celebrated university of Rostock. Here he appears to have first acquired celebrity for his professional knowledge and conversational information, and particularly for his knowledge of astronomy and mathematics. He became the companion and pupil of Bruceus, a physician and philosopher of Flanders, who, although the senior of Liddel, both in years and celebrity, acknowledges himself to have received much useful information and assistance from the young philosopher, while Caselius, another companion and friend of Liddel, pays a tribute to the comprehensiveness of his genius and reading, by remarking that he “he was the first person in Germany who explained the motions of the heavenly bodies,

<sup>1</sup> Inscription on a brass plate, in the church of St Nicholas, Aberdeen; Sketch of the Life of Dr Duncan Liddel, Aberdeen, 1790. This pamphlet, understood to have been written by the late Mr John Stewart professor of Greek in Marischal college, gives so accurate and concise an account of its subject, that little can be added. We are aware of but one work having any reference to Liddel, which has been overlooked. The *Litteræ ad Joannem Keplermum* contain one or two letters from him.



according to the three different hypotheses of Ptolemy, Copernicus, and Tycho Brahe."

The illustrious individual last mentioned, had likewise studied at the university of Rostock: it is probable that the pursuits of the two philosophers brought them into contact, and the author of the Biography of Liddel, considers it sufficiently established, that they were intimate with each other in after life, and that the Danish philosopher frequently visited the subject of our memoir in his journeys to Scotland. There is, however, a shadow of authority for supposing<sup>2</sup> that Liddel held the higher rank of an opponent of Tycho Brahe, and maintained a disputation with him on equal terms. The eccentric Sir Thomas Urquhart, who, whatever information he may have chosen to receive on the subject, certainly was enabled to have made himself master of the true state of the circumstances which he related, says, "These mathematical blades put me in mind of that Dr Liddel, who for his profoundness in those sciences of sensible immaterial objects, was every where much renowned, especially at Frankfort de Main, Frankfort on the Oder, and Heidelberg, where he was almost as well known as the monstrous bacchanalian tun that stood there in his time. He was an eminent professor of mathematics, a disciple of the most excellent astronomer Tycho Brahe, and condisciple of that worthy Longomontanus: yet in imitation of Aristotle, (whose doctrine with great proficiency he had imbued,) he esteemed more of truth than either of Socrates or Plato; when the new star began to appear in the constellation of Cassiopeia, there was concerning it such an intershocking of opinions betwixt Tycho Brahe and Dr Liddel, evulged in print to the open view of the world, that the understanding reader could not but have commended both for all; and yet (in giving each his due) praised Tycho Brahe most for astronomy, and Liddel for his knowledge above him in all the other parts of philosophy." It is not improbable that the imaginative author of the Jewel may have thought proper, without much inquiry, to bestow on a person born in his own near neighbourhood, the merit of a conflict in which a Scotsman, whose name may not have then been known, was engaged; at the same time adding to the lustre of the achievements of his countryman. The author of the Life of Dr Liddel observes, "Upon what authority this circumstance is founded cannot be discovered, for there is no mention of it in either of the very full accounts of the life and writings of Tycho Brahe, by Gassendi and Montucla, nor in a large volume written by Tycho himself, concerning this new star; although he there animadverts at great length upon the opinions of many other astronomers, who had also treated of it. Nor could any such controversy have possibly happened *at the time* mentioned by Sir Thomas Urquhart, for the new star there spoken of was observed by Tycho Brahe in 1572, and the account of it published in 1573, when Dr Liddel was only twelve years of age. There is indeed in the volume of Astronomical epistles of Tycho Brahe, a long letter from him to his friend Rothmannus, chiefly filled with severe reflections upon the publications of a certain Scotsman against his account of the comet of 1577, not of the new star in Cassiopeia; but it appears from Gassendi that this Scottish writer was Dr Craig, formerly mentioned, and not Dr Liddel." When we recollect that Liddel and Craig, as intimate literary associates, may have imbibed the same theories, and similar methods of stating them, this last circumstance approaches a solution of the difficulty.

In the university of Rostock Liddel received the degree of master of philosophy, and in 1590, he left it to return to Frankfort, at the request of two young Livonians of rank, to whom it is probable he acted as tutor. He did not long remain at Frankfort on his second visit, having heard of the rising fame of the

<sup>2</sup> On the authority of Caselius's dedication to Craig, and the funeral oration on Liddel.



new "Academia Julia," founded at Helmstadt by Henry Julius, duke of Brunswick in 1576. Here he accompanied his pupils, and was restored to the company of his old friend Caselius, whom the duke had invited to his youthful establishment.

In 1591, Liddel, by the recommendation of his friend, and of Grunefeldt, an eminent civilian, was appointed to the lower professorship of mathematics in the new university, as successor to Parcovius, who had been removed to the faculty of medicine; and, on the death of Erhardus Hoffman in 1594, he succeeded to the first, or higher mathematical chair. This eminent station he filled during the course of nine years, giving instructions in geometry, astronomy, and universal geography, and keeping the information he communicated to his pupils, on a level with the dawning progress of discovery. In 1596, he obtained the degree of doctor in medicine, and, in a science which was not at that period considered as so completely abstracted from the circle of general knowledge as its practical extent now compels it to be, he acquired the same celebrity which he had achieved in philosophy and mathematics. He is said by his lectures and writings to have proved the chief support of the medical school of Helmstadt; he acted as first physician to the court of Brunswick, and enjoyed a lucrative private practice among the opulent families in the neighbourhood. In 1599, he was elected dean of the faculty of philosophy, a post of honour to which he was frequently re-elected, both by the faculties of philosophy and of medicine. Meanwhile, in the year 1603, he resigned to Henricus Schaperus the chair of mathematics, of which he had remained occupant, notwithstanding his labours in another science; and in the year following, he was chosen pro-rector of the university. The method of studying his profession, and his courses of public tuition had already made Liddel an author of no inconsiderable extent, and, about this period, the fame he had acquired probably induced him to present the academical works which he had written or superintended, in a distinct manner before the world. In 1605, was published "*Disputationes Medicinales Duncani Liddellii Scoti, Phil. et Med. Doctoris, et Professoris Publici in Academia Julia Helmæstadti.*" This work, filling four volumes 4to. contains the theses or public disputations maintained by himself and his pupils at Helmstadt from 1592 to 1606; it is dedicated as a mark of gratitude to his early friend and patron Craig, accompanied by the usual multitude of commendatory verses on the author and his works. This book is mentioned by the author of the memoirs of Liddel as having been reprinted at so late a period as 1720. In 1607, he produced a better known work, "*Ars Medica, succinæ et perspicue explicata,*" published at Hamburg. This work was dedicated to king James. A second edition was published at Lyons in 1624, and a third at Hamburg in 1628. As in other works on medicine of the period, the range of the author's investigation was not confined to subjects to which the term medical would now exclusively refer; metaphysics were included. Into the merit of this, as a work on practical medicine, it would now be useless to inquire, and we may be content with ranking the merit of the author, according to the estimation of the work during the 17th century, which was by no means inconsiderable. At the time when the last mentioned work was published, motives which we cannot now discover, induced Liddel to retire for the remainder of his life to his native country, which he had frequently visited during his honoured residence abroad. It would appear that he privately left the university, as Caselius remarks that the duke of Brunswick, if aware of his intention, would probably not have permitted so active a teacher to leave his favourite institution, which was then falling into confusion. On his return, he passed through Germany and Italy, and finally took up his residence in



Scotland, although in what part of the country seems not to be known, the earliest information obtained as to his locality being of the year 1612, when he subscribed at Edinburgh a deed of settlement, mortgaging certain lands in the neighbourhood of Aberdeen, for the support of six bursars in Marischal college. The magistrates of Aberdeen were appointed trustees for the application of the fund, and according to a not unusual practice, the curse of God was denounced against any one who should abuse or misapply it.<sup>3</sup> By a settlement dated the 9th December, 1613, he confirmed the previous donation, and left for the establishment of a professorship of mathematics in Marischal college the sum of 6000 merks, which was afterwards profitably laid out on land by the trustees. To the same institution he left his books and instruments. This may be considered the last performance of his active life, for he died eight days after its date, on the 17th of December, 1613. He was buried in the church of St Nicholas in Aberdeen, where a tablet of brass, on which his portrait has been boldly and expressively engraved by an artist at Antwerp, was erected to his memory. He is likewise commemorated by a small obelisk erected in the lands of Pitmedden, near Aberdeen—the same which he mortified for the support of bursars. Dying unmarried, the children of a brother and sister inherited his property, and one of the former succeeded Dr William Johnston (brother to Arthur the poet) in the mathematical chair which Dr Liddel had founded.

Besides the literary efforts already mentioned, a posthumous work by Liddel was published at Hamburg in 1628, entitled "*Tractatus de dente aureo*;" being an answer to a Tractate by Jacobus Horstius, who had maintained the verity of a fable, which bore that a boy of Silesia who had lost a tooth, received from nature, in return, one of pure gold. The circumstance was considered an omen to encourage the Germans in their wars with the Turks, and predicative of the downfall of the Mahometan faith. The subject can be interesting only to those who study the extent of human credulity.

LINDSAY, (SIR) DAVID, a celebrated Scottish poet of the sixteenth century, was born about the year 1490. He is distinguished by the title "of the Mount," from the name of his family seat near Cupar in Fife, and which is presumed, though not certainly known, to have been also the place of his birth. The early part of his education he received at Cupar, the after part of it at St Andrews, to which he removed in 1505. Here he remained till 1509. From this period till 1512, there is a hiatus in his history, and it is not known how the intermediate space was employed. In that year, however, he is found to be in attendance upon the young prince, afterwards James V., who was born on the 10th of April, 1512. The particular nature of his appointment, on first settling at court, cannot be ascertained; but it does not appear to have been of a very dignified description. His attendance on the infant monarch seems also to have been divided with its royal parent James IV., on whom he is found waiting as a special servant, on the remarkable occasion of the feigned spectre's appearance before that prince in the chapel of Linlithgow in 1513. Lindsay stood close by the king during the whole of that extraordinary scene, and according to his namesake, the historian, declared that he, along with the other servants in attendance, made several ineffectual attempts to take hold of the ghostly intruder.

The death of James IV., which took place soon after, does not appear to have affected Lindsay's situation at court. He still continued his attendance on the young prince, and this in rather a singular capacity, considering the respecta-

<sup>3</sup> In a minute of the council Records of Aberdeen, of date 6th December, 1638, it is ordained that Dr Liddel's bursars shall wear a black bonnet and a black gown, both in the college and in the street, conform to the will of the mortifier, under the pain of deprivation.



bility of his family, although probably it may be thought that there was no degradation, if indeed it was not a positive honour, to take the personal charge of an infant king. This, however, he seems to have done literally, and as is gathered from passages in his own works, much in the character of a dry nurse. The following are one of these alluded to. The lines occur in the dedication of his poem entitled the "Dream" to the king :

Quhen thou was young I bore thee in my arme,  
Full tenderlie till thou begouth to gang;  
And in thy bed aft happit thee full warme,  
With lute in hand, sine sweetly to thee sang.

And again at an after period, when complaining of the neglect which he met with at court, he thus reminds the king of the days of his childhood, and of the playful and tender kindnesses which then passed between them :

How as ane chapman beiris his pack,  
I bure thy grace upon my back;  
And sometimes strydlings on my neck,  
Dansand with mony bend and beek.  
The first syllabis that thou did mure  
Was pa, da syne, upon the lute;  
Then playit I twenty springis perquier,  
Quhilke was great pleasure for to heir;  
Fra play thou let me never rest,  
Bot Gynkertoun thou luifit ay best.

Lindsay's attendance on the young king was not dignified by any charge whatever, connected with his education. His services were entirely of a personal nature, and were only put in requisition when the royal youth returned from "scole." James's education was intrusted to Gavin Dunbar, an eminent and learned prelate, so that, with all Lindsay's genius, he seems not to have been thought competent to this important and honourable trust. That which he filled, however, such as it was, he retained till the year 1524, when he was dismissed from it, by the intrigues of the queen mother, who, aiming at the sole direction of the national affairs during the minority of the king, carefully removed from the royal presence all whom she feared might exert an influence over the young monarch inimical to her own views and interests, and amongst that number she seems to have reckoned the poet. His dismissal, however, seems by no means to have taken place with the king's consent, although it is evident that he was obliged to submit to it. He was too young to assert his own will in opposition to that of his mother, but he did the next best thing he could for the kind companion of his tender years,—he procured a pension to be bestowed upon him, and took especial care of its punctual payment.

On the king's assuming the reins of government in his own person, and when his will could be no longer opposed, Lindsay was recalled to court, and about 1530, was appointed Lyon king at arms, and as a necessary accompaniment, invested with the honour of knighthood. In the dedication of the "Dream" to the king, already quoted from, and which was written during the time of his banishment from court, although he complains of the treatment which he had received, he not only acquits the king of having any part in inflicting it, but speaks in terms of the warmest gratitude of the kindness of his royal master. He seems, indeed, to have formed a strong personal attachment to the monarch, and there is every reason to believe that it was reciprocal. Lindsay had now begun to make some figure as a poet. He had already written the



"Dream" and the "Complaynt," both productions of great merit; but it was to his talent for satire, a quality which he had not yet exhibited, that he was chiefly indebted for the singular degree of popularity which he afterwards acquired. Of the felicity and point with which he could exercise this dangerous gift, the following curious instance is related by Dr Irving in his *Life of the poet*:—"The king being one day surrounded by a numerous train of nobility and prelates, Lindsay approached him with due reverence, and began to prefer an humble petition that he would install him in an office which was then vacant. 'I have,' said he, 'servit your grace lang, and luik to be rewardit as others are, and now your maister taylor, at the pleasure of God is departit, wherefore I wald desire of your Grace to bestow this little benefite upon me.' The king replied, that he was amazed at such a request from a man who could neither shape nor sew. 'Sir,' rejoined the poet, 'that maks nae matter, for you have given bishopricks and benefices to mony standing here about you, and yet they can nouthier teach nor preach, and why not I as weill be your taylor, though I can nouthier shape nor sew, seeing teaching and preaching are nae less requisite to their vocation than shaping and sewing to aue taylor.' The effect of this well managed *jeu d'esprit* upon the bystanders, many of whom came within its range, may be readily conceived. Whatever might be their feelings on the subject, James himself enjoyed it greatly, and found much amusement in contemplating the angry looks which it occasioned."

This and other witticisms at the expense of the clergy, are supposed by Lindsay's biographers to have been the principal cause of that want of promotion of which he so frequently complains; but this seems doubtful. James himself had but little reverence for the clergy, and it is not therefore likely that he would be displeased with Lindsay for entertaining similar sentiments. Of the king's opinion of the holy men of his time his answer to a deputation of them which waited upon him with a list of protestant peers and chiefs, whom they desired might be brought to punishment, is sufficiently indicative. "Pack, ye jugglers," said he, "get ye to your charges and reform your own lives; be not instruments of discord between my nobility and me; or I vow to God I shall reform you, not as the king of Denmark by imprisonment, nor as he of England by hanging and beheading, but yet by most severe punishments, if ever such motion proceed from you again." It is not, therefore, easy to say, considering the intimate, nay familiar footing on which Lindsay stood with the king, what were the causes that afforded him grounds for his frequent complaints, if indeed, he had any at all that were reasonable, a point by no means made evident. Whatever might be the emoluments arising from his services, they were now occasionally of a sufficiently dignified and important nature. In 1531, he was despatched on an embassy to Antwerp to renew an ancient commercial treaty with the Netherlands, and in 1548, he was sent to the court of Denmark to solicit ships to protect the Scottish coast against the English, and to negotiate a free trade in grain for the Scottish merchants.

Besides being a man of genius, Lindsay was also a man of great practical good sense, if the latter be not indeed a necessary attribute of the former, and this enabled him to see in a peculiarly strong and clear light the errors and absurdities, if not inherent in, at least which had been then engrafted on, the church of Rome, and against these he directed the whole force of his satirical powers, and with an effect which rendered him at once extremely formidable to the clergy, and singularly popular with the great bulk of the people.

Of his talent for ridicule the following exquisitely humorous specimen of his manner of dealing with the impositions of the Romish church will give a correct idea. It is the speech of a pardoner—of one who dealt in miracles and traded



in holy relics and absolutions. It occurs in his play entitled "Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis:"

My potent pardonnis ye may se  
 Cum frae the Can of Tartarie,  
     Weill seillit with ester schellis.  
 Thocht ye haif no discretioun,  
 Ye sall haif full remissioun,  
     With help of buikis and bellis.  
 Heir is a rellik lang and braid,  
 Of Fynmackowll the richt chaft blade,  
     With teith and all togidder;  
 Of Collingis Kow heir is a horne,—  
 For eitting of Makameillis come  
     Was slane into Baquhidder;  
 Heir is the cordis baith grit and lang  
 Quhilk hangit Johnnie Armistrang,  
     Of gude hempt saft and sound:  
 Gude haly pepill, I stand ford,  
 Quhaeir beis hangit in this cord,  
     Neidis never to be drowned.  
 The culum of St Bryddis cow,  
 The gruntill of Sanct Antonis sow,  
     Quhilk bure his haly bell:  
 Quha evir heiris this bell clink  
 Gife me a duccat to the drinke,  
     He sall nevir gang till hell—  
 Without he be with Belliall borne.  
 Maisteris, trew ye that this be scorne!  
     Cum, win this pardon, cum!  
 Quha luvis thair wyvis not with thair hairt  
 I haif power thame to depairt;  
     Me think you deif and dum.  
 Hes nane of you curst wicket wyvis  
 That haldis you into sturt and stryvis  
     Cum take my dispensatioun;  
 Of that cummer I sall mak you quyt,  
 Howbeid yourself be in the wyte,  
     And mak ane fals narratioun.  
 Cum win the pardone, now let see  
 For meill, for malt, or for money;  
     For cok, hen, guse, or gryss.  
 Of rellikkis heir I haif a lunder,  
 Quhy cum ye not! This is a wonder;  
     I trow ye be not wyss.

From this it will be plainly seen what a dangerous and powerful enemy the Romish church had to contend with in the person of Lindsay—infinitely more dangerous and more powerful than the ablest preacher or the most acute reasoner. The effect, indeed, aided as it was, by the circumstance of the public mind being already attuned to such feelings and sentiments regarding religious matters, was altogether irresistible; and there is no doubt that this and similar productions of the satirist, tended more to the accomplishment of the final overthrow of popery in Scotland than any other circumstance previous to the Reformation. Lindsay himself was the Burns of his day. His poems were in every mouth, and were equally appreciated in the cottage as in the castle.



Among the lower orders he was especially popular. His broad humour delighted them beyond measure, and there was scarcely one of them but could repeat large portions of "Davie Lindsay" from memory. Indeed it is not yet a very great while since his popularity among this class began to fade. Nor, though now certainly fast losing ground, is he by any means yet entirely forgotten in the country. Many an ancient tiller of the soil, and his equally ancient better half—for what remains of his fame is more vigorous in the country than the town—still cherishes and appreciates the merits of their old favourite native poet.

The dread and detestation in which Lindsay's satirical poems were held by the clergy is expressively enough indicated by their having procured an act to have his "buick" burned during the regency of Mary of Lorraine, when they had regained a temporary ascendancy under that princess, and a wonder arises that Lindsay himself was not subjected to a similar fate; indeed, that he escaped it at all is a circumstance not easily accounted for.

During his lifetime many unfortunate persons were brought to the stake for heresy, and for contemning the ordinances of the existing religion, and how it happened that he, incomparably the most dangerous and most notorious offender of them all should have escaped, is a question that may well be asked; but we suspect it is one which cannot be satisfactorily answered, otherwise than by supposing that he was protected by the strong arm of royalty.

In 1537, Lindsay acted as sort of master of ceremonies on the occasion of the arrival in Scotland of Mary of Guise, queen of James V. He contrived a variety of pageants, and prepared orations for the reception of her majesty at St Andrews, and superintended in person the execution of his designs. Some of them were absurd and fantastic enough, but they were, of course, in accordance with the taste of the times.

Of the concluding years of his life nothing is known, nor is it ascertained when or where he died. Dr Irving states that he survived till the year 1567; but how long he lived after is unknown. He must, however, from this account, have been at least upwards of seventy years of age at the time of his death. Lindsay's merits as a poet are not of the very highest order. Broad humour was his forte, and the specimen given will sufficiently show, that when he trusted to this talent he did not trust to a broken reed. His principal pieces are "The Dreime," "The Complaynt," "The Complaynt of the King's Papingo," "Satyre on the Thrie Estaitis," "Answer to the King's Flyting," and "The Complaynt of Basche the King's Hound."

LINDSAY, JOHN, eighteenth earl of Crawford, and fourth earl of Lindsay, was born on the 4th of October, 1702. He was the eldest son of John, seventeenth earl of Crawford, by Emilia, daughter of James, lord Doune, and granddaughter to the duchess of Lauderdale. His mother having died while he was yet an infant, he was committed to the charge of an elderly female domestic at the family seat of Struthers, in Fife; his father, who was at this time captain of the second troop of horse grenadiers, and lieutenant-general of queen Anne's forces, residing constantly in London.

His lordship in after-life, has been frequently heard to repeat an interesting anecdote which occurred about this period of his life. The duke of Argyle and the duke of Hamilton were one day dining with his father. After dinner a warm debate ensued about the then all-engrossing topic, the union. In the midst of it, the duke of Argyle caught up the young earl, then a child, who was playing about the room; placed him on the table in the midst of the crowd of bottles and glasses by which it was occupied, and, after contemplating the boy for an instant, "Crawford," he said, addressing his father, "if this



boy lives, I wonder whether he will be of your sentiments."—"If he has a drop of my blood in his veins," replied the earl, "he certainly will."—"I warrant, at any rate, he will make a brave fellow," said Argyle, kissing the child, and placing him again on the floor.

In 1713, his lordship succeeded, by the death of his father, to the family titles and estates, and was soon after invited, together with a younger and only brother and two sisters, by the duchess of Argyle, their grand-aunt, to take up their residence with her in the Highlands, where she then lived in retirement. Here he remained until he had attained a proper age for college, when he was sent to the university of Glasgow. His biographer, Rolt, informs us, that while residing with the duchess of Argyle, the young earl had fallen desperately in love with a little Highland girl; but he unfortunately gives no account of the progress or termination of this boyish attachment. The circumstance, however, affords an early indication of the warm, chivalrous, and romantic disposition for which his lordship was afterwards so much distinguished.

While at the university he rendered himself famous amongst his fellow students by his boldness and courage. He led them on in all their battles with the citizens, headed every expedition of difficulty or danger, and stood forward on all occasions as the champion of the college, when any of its members were injured or insulted, or conceived themselves to be so. He, in short, took the whole burden of the university's honour on his own shoulders, and guarded and protected it with the most watchful zeal and uncompromising intrepidity.

From the college of Glasgow he went to that of Edinburgh, where he remained for some time, and then returned to the retirement of the duchess of Argyle in the Highlands. Here he now prosecuted his studies under the tuition of a private preceptor, and continued this course until he attained his nineteenth year.

On arriving at this age, it was thought proper that he should, agreeably to the usual practice in the cases of young men of rank and fortune, proceed to the continent, at once to complete his education, and to improve himself by travel. With this view, he set out in the year 1721, first for London, where he remained for a short time, and thereafter to Paris. Here he entered the academy of Vaudeuil, and continued to attend that seminary during the two succeeding years. His progress in learning, and in the acquisition of every elegant accomplishment while he resided in the French capital, was so remarkable, as to excite a strong feeling of respect for his talents amongst his fellow academicians, who saw him surpassing many students of much longer standing, and attaining an eminence which left him few competitors. In horsemanship, fencing, and dancing, he was considered, even in the refined city of Paris, to be without a rival.

In 1723, he quitted the academy of Vandeuil, but continued to reside in France till 1726. In the same year in which his lordship left the seminary just named, an incident occurred strongly illustrative of his daring and determined character. Amongst the other sights exhibited during the festivities which were held in celebration of the accession of the young French king, was that of drawing one of the fish ponds in the gardens of Versailles. The earl of Crawford was amongst the crowd assembled to witness this novelty. In pressing forward to the edge of the water to obtain a sight of the young monarch, he was rudely jostled by a French marquis. Irritated by this incivility, the earl instantly caught up the Frenchman, who was in full court dress, in his arms, and tossed him, robes, and feathers, and all, into the middle of the fish pond. The spectators, highly delighted with the unexpected exhibition, burst into immoderate fits



of laughter, in which they were cordially joined by the young king himself, who eagerly inquired who the person was that had thrown the marquis into the water. The latter himself did not think fit to take any notice of the affair either at the time or at any after period.

In 1726, his lordship returned to Britain, acknowledged by all to be one of the most accomplished gentlemen of the age. On the 25th of December of the same year, he obtained a captain's commission in one of the additional troops of the 2nd regiment of royal Scots Greys. This appointment he held till 1730, when, these troops being disbanded, he again repaired to the duchess of Argyle's residence in the Highlands, and remained there for the next eighteen months. In January, 1732, he once more left this retirement to mingle with the world, being appointed to the command of a troop of the 7th, or Queen's own regiment of dragoons. He was also, in the same month, elected one of the sixteen representatives of the Scottish peerage, in place of the earl of Loudon deceased. This honour was again conferred upon him at the general elections in the years 1734, 1741, and 1747.

In the month of June, 1733, his lordship was appointed gentleman of the bed-chamber to the prince of Wales. On the 18th of February, in the year following, he obtained the captain-lieutenancy of the 1st regiment of foot-guards, and on the 1st of October in the same year, a company of the 3d foot guards. Notwithstanding these various appointments, the earl, who entertained from his youngest years a strong passion for military fame, finding his life but an inactive one, and the English service unlikely at the time to present him with any opportunity of distinguishing himself, sought and obtained the king's permission to go out as a volunteer to the imperial army, the emperor being at that time engaged in a war with France.

His lordship joined the Imperialists in 1735, at Bruchsal on the Rhine, where he was received with every mark of distinction and favour by the celebrated prince Eugene of Savoy, then in command of the troops in that quarter. Finding, however, that there was no immediate appearance of active service here, his lordship, accompanied by viscount Primrose and captain Dalrymple, both volunteers like himself, proceeded to the army under count Sackendorff. The first duty imposed on them by this general was to reconnoitre the enemy, who were posted near Claussen. As they advanced towards the French lines they were met by a party of the enemy, three times the number of their own escort, and a skirmish ensued, in which count Nassau, who accompanied them, was killed, and lord Primrose severely wounded by a musket ball close beside the earl of Crawford.

On the evening of the same day, 17th October, 1735, the battle of Claussen was fought, affording his lordship an opportunity of distinguishing himself, which he did not let pass. He attached himself to the prince of Waldeck, who commanded the left wing of the Imperialists, and attended him throughout the whole of the battle. The position in which the earl was placed was the first attacked by the enemy, and was the most sanguinary part of the field. The intelligence, bravery, and good conduct of his lordship in this engagement excited the warmest admiration of the prince, and laid the foundation of his future fame as a soldier.

Preliminaries of peace between the emperor and France having been soon afterwards signed, the earl left the Imperial army, made a tour of the Netherlands and Holland, and again returned to Britain. On his arrival he was graciously received by George II., who honoured him with many warm expressions of esteem. His lordship remained at home for two years. At the end of this period, he again became desirous of exchanging the monotony of



a peaceful and idle, for an active life, and sought the king's permission to serve as a volunteer in the Russian army, under field marshal Munich, then engaged with the Imperialists, in a war against the Turks. Having obtained the royal permission to take this step, he embarked at Gravesend in April, 1738, for Petersburg. On his arrival there he immediately waited upon the Czarina, who received him with the most expressive indications of kindness and favour, and instantly appointed him to the command of a regiment of horse, with the rank of general in the Russian service.

Invested with these appointments, his lordship left Petersburg in the middle of May to join the army, which he effected after a dangerous and tedious journey of a month's duration. Several sanguinary engagements with the Turks soon followed, and in all the earl eminently distinguished himself, both by his military skill, and fearless intrepidity. In one of these murderous conflicts, which took place on the 26th of July, and in which the Turks and Tartars were repulsed with great loss, his lordship, who was at the head of a party of Cossacks, excited the astonishment and admiration of even these bold and skilful riders, by his dexterity in horsemanship. Nor were they less delighted with the gallantry also which he exhibited in this battle, in the instance of a single combat with a Tartar, whom, after a desperate encounter, he sabred and stript of his arms. The latter he afterwards brought to England with him as objects of curiosity.

The season being now far advanced, marshal Munich thought it advisable to retire from the scene of operations, and accordingly retreated to Kiow, whither he was accompanied by the earl, who remained with him for three weeks after the cessation of hostilities. He then left Munich, and joined the Imperialists near Belgrade. The earl had now acquired a large stock of military knowledge, and had been especially improved in the art by his experience under Munich, whom he justly reckoned the first captain of the age. Six weeks after he joined the Imperial army, it was marched into winter quarters. On this occasion he attached himself to prince Eugene's regiment, and proceeded with that corps to Comorra, thirty-three miles S.E. of Presburg. Here, and at Vienna, to which he occasionally resorted, he remained till the middle of April, 1739. During this leisure his lordship employed himself in reducing to method and system the military knowledge which he had acquired, by drawing plans, and writing observations on the Russian campaign; thus availing himself of every means and opportunity that offered, of improving himself in that art, to attain an eminence in which had been from his earliest years the great object of his ambition, and of his fondest hopes.

His lordship now joined the Imperialists assembled near Peterwaradin, under the command of marshal Wallis, and attached himself to his old friend and fellow soldier, the prince of Waldeck, lieutenant-general of infantry. In a short time after, the battle of Krotzka, near Belgrade, was fought. In this engagement, the earl, while fighting the Turks at the head of Palfi's cuirassiers, had his favourite black horse killed under him: another was immediately brought him, but he had scarcely gained the saddle when he himself was struck with a musket ball, which entering the outside of his left thigh, shattered the bone to pieces, and brought him to the ground.

Here he lay for some time in a state of utter insensibility, when he was accidentally discovered by general count Sucherl, who, on perceiving him, ordered some grenadiers to raise him up, and place him on one of his horses. This, however, was all the attention which the urgency of the moment would permit. Having been mounted on the horse he was left to his fate, and received no further assistance until the following morning, when he was found by one of his



own grooms, his face deadly pale, his head uncovered, and himself holding fast by the horse's mane with both hands to prevent his falling off.

He was now immediately carried to Belgrade, where surgical assistance was obtained. On examination of the wound it was at first deemed mortal; but although it certainly shortened his days, it was not immediately fatal. After making some progress towards recovery, his lordship left Belgrade on the 26th of September, being carried on board a vessel on the Danube, with which he proceeded to Comorra, where he arrived on the 27th of December. This place he left on the 28th of April, 1740, and sailed up the Danube to Vienna, which he reached on the 7th May. During all this time his lordship was confined to a recumbent posture by the state of his wounded limb, which still subjected him to the most excruciating agony, and continued constantly emitting splinters from the fractured bone. So desperate and severe was this wound, that his lordship walked for the first time, and even then with the assistance of crutches, only in the beginning of September, 1740; about a year and a half after he had received it.

In Vienna he remained till the 20th of September, when, being advised to try the effects of the baths of Baden, he proceeded to that quarter, and remained there till the 11th of August, 1741. His lordship, still suffering from his wound, which no expedient had yet been able to heal, now proceeded by Presburg, Vienna, and Leipsic, to Hamelen, where he arrived on the 3rd October, and had an interview with George II., who happened to be there at the time. His majesty received the earl with much kindness, and entered into a long conversation with him. On the 23rd of October he took leave of his majesty, and embarked for England. Notwithstanding his absence, the earl's interest had not been neglected at home. In July, 1739, he was made a colonel of horse and adjutant-general, and on the 25th October of the same year, was appointed colonel of the 42nd regiment of foot, or Royal Scots Highlanders. The same inclination to forward his military views marked his return. On the 25th of December, 1741, the year in which he came to England, he was appointed colonel of the second troop of horse grenadier guards.

His lordship's wound still annoying him, he was now advised to try the bath of Bareges in France, and having obtained, for this purpose, a pass from the French king, the *Lynx* British man-of-war was ordered to carry him out. With this vessel he sailed from Portsmouth on the 23rd of May, 1742, and arrived at Bourdeaux on the 30th of the same month.

Soon after landing he proceeded to Bareges, which he reached on the 12th June, and commenced a regular system of bathing, but without much effect; being still able to walk only with the assistance of a crutch and high-heeled shoe. From Bareges he went on the 16th October to Aix in Provence, where he again used the bath, and with much more benefit than he had derived from the same remedy in the former place. Leaving Aix his lordship arrived at Chambery on the 2nd of November, where he waited on the king of Sardinia, with whom he remained till the 18th, when he proceeded to Geneva. In this city he remained till the 1st of January, 1743. He then visited Milan, Genoa, Modena, Verona, and Venice, and from thence proceeded by Trieste, Gatz, Lintz, and through Bohemia and Saxony, and finally joined the British army, of which field-marshal Stair was commander, at Hochstet, on the 24th of May, where George II. happened to be at the time. At the battle of Dettingen, which took place on the 16th of the following month, the earl commanded a brigade of life-guards, and conducted himself throughout that conflict with a coolness and intrepidity which greatly enhanced his reputation for courage and military skill. During the action, his lordship, on one occasion, ordered the



officers of his brigade to the front, the enemy being within fifty paces of them. He then addressed his men, "Hark, my dear lads," he said, "trust to your swords, handle them well, and never mind your pistols." Placing himself then at their head, he led them on to the charge, encouraging them and animating them by his example as they advanced, the trumpets the while sounding the martial strain of "Britons, Strike Home." The soldiers obeying the instructions of their gallant leader, and participating in his enthusiasm, closed on the French, and drove them before them with prodigious slaughter. In the beginning of the battle a musket ball struck his lordship's right holster case, penetrated the leather, and, hitting the barrel of the pistol which it contained, fell harmlessly into the case. Here it was found by his lordship, who showed it the day after the engagement to the king at Hanau, where he then was, and who, on seeing the earl approaching, exclaimed, "Here comes my champion;" following up afterwards this flattering expression of his opinion of his lordship's merits, by the most gratifying remarks on the gallantry of his conduct on the preceding day.

In this year, (1743,) the earl was appointed colonel of the 4th or Scottish troop of horse guards, and, after the battle of Dettingen, was made a general of brigade. In May, 1744, his lordship joined the combined armies, in camp, near Brussels; but, owing to the over caution of marshall Wade no opportunity offered of again distinguishing himself during the whole of the campaign which followed. In the next year, however, this was not wanting. The duke of Cumberland, having been appointed captain general of the British forces, arrived at Brussels on the 11th of April, 1745, his lordship being then with the army as brigadier-general. The arrival of his grace was soon after (30th April) followed by the battle of Fontenoy. In this engagement his lordship conducted himself with his usual gallantry, and exhibited even more than his usual skill, particularly in conducting the retreat, which he did in a manner so masterly, as procured for him a reputation for military genius not inferior to any of that age. His lordship also wrote an exceedingly able and interesting account of the battle. On the 30th of May following, he was promoted to the rank of major-general.

The rebellion in Scotland now occurring, his lordship was ordered, in Feb., 1746, from Antwerp, where he then was, to his native country, to take the command of the Hessians employed by the government on that occasion, and whose numbers amounted to six thousand. With these troops he secured Stirling, Perth, and the passes into the lowlands, while Cumberland proceeded by the north-east coast in quest of the rebels. On this visit to Scotland, his lordship formed an acquaintance with, and afterwards married, lady Jane Murray, eldest daughter, and presumptive heiress of James, second duke of Athole. On the extinction of the rebellion, he returned to the army in the Netherlands, where he arrived early in June. At the battle of Rocoux, which took place on the 1st of October following, he commanded the second line of cavalry, with which he drove back the French infantry, and threw them into irretrievable confusion. His lordship soon afterwards accompanied the army into winter quarters at Bois le Duc. His troop of horse guards being this year disbanded, he was appointed to the command of the 25th regiment of foot on the 25th Dec., 1746.

In February following, (1747,) his lordship embarked at Flushing for England, landed at Southampton, and proceeded to Belford, where he arrived on the 3d March. Here his lordship met, by appointment, lady Jane Murray, to whom he was married on the day of his arrival. His wound, which had never yet been thoroughly healed, now again broke out from fatigue, and subjected him



anew to all the pain and suffering which he had experienced immediately after receiving it. From Bedford, the earl and countess proceeded to London, from thence to Helvoetsluys, and finally to Bois le Duc, where they arrived in June. On the 22d May, his lordship, previous to his leaving England, was appointed to the command of the 2d regiment of dragoons, or royal Scots greys, in room of the earl of Stair, deceased; and, on the 26th of September following, he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-general.

On the conclusion of the campaign, the earl, accompanied by his countess, went to Aix-la-Chapelle, for the benefit of the baths there; being still seriously annoyed by his wound, which had again broken out after a second temporary cure. While his lordship was confined here to bed, his young countess—she had not yet attained her twentieth year—was seized with a violent and malignant fever which carried her off in four days. His lordship, who was deeply affected by his loss, and for a time wholly inconsolable, ordered that the body of his deceased lady should be embalmed, and sent over to his family burial place at Ceres in Fife. He himself remained at Aix till the opening of the campaign in 1748, when he joined the duke of Cumberland and confederate army of 150,000 men. His lordship remained with the army till the conclusion of the peace, which took place in the same year. On the 16th of February of the following year, (1749,) he superintended the embarkation of the British troops at Williamstadt, and soon after returned to London, where he died on the 25th December, in the forty-eighth year of his age, after suffering again severely from his wound. His remains were carried to Ceres, and deposited beside those of his countess.

His lordship is represented to have been of middle size, remarkably stout, but finely formed. His manners were mild, elegant, and refined; his disposition generous, brave, and charitable, often beyond his means. His purse, open to all, was especially at the service of the distressed widows of officers, numbers of whom were relieved from misery and destitution by his bounty. His lordship always maintained a splendid retinue, and lived in a style becoming his rank, but was moderate at table, and temperate in all his habits. His judgment was strong, his temper serene and dispassionate. His lordship having died without issue, the titles of Crawford and Lindsay devolved on George, viscount of Garrock.

LINDSAY, ROBERT, of Pitscottie, author of the *Chronicles of Scotland* known by his name, was born about the beginning of the sixteenth century. He was a cadet of the noble family of Lindsay, comprising the earls of Crawford and Lindsay, and the lords Lindsay of Byres. He is not known otherwise than as the author of the *Chronicles* alluded to, and these have not had the effect of eliciting any information regarding him from his contemporaries, which could be of any avail to a modern biographer. He has, in truth, been scarcely recognized even as a literary man by the chroniclers of Scottish genius, and yet, this is the only ground on which he seems to have any claim to commemoration, there being no other circumstance of any interest in his life but that of his having written the work spoken of above.

As to the *Chronicles* themselves, it is not perhaps very easy to determine in what language they should be spoken of. They present a strange compound of endless and aimless garrulity, simplicity, credulity, and graphic delineation; the latter, however, evidently the effect not of art or design, but of a total want of them. He describes events with all the circumstantiality of an eyewitness, and with all the prolixity of one who is determined to leave nothing untold, however trifling it may be.

But his credulity, in particular, seems to have been boundless, and is remark-



able even for the credulous age in which he lived. He appears to have believed, without question, every thing which was told him; and, believing it, has carefully recorded it. After detailing at some length, and with great gravity, all the circumstances of the mysterious summons of Plotcock, previous to the battle of Flodden Field, "Verily," he says, "the author of this, that caused me write the manner of the summons, was a landed gentleman, who was at that time twenty years of age, and was in the town the time of the said summons; and thereafter, when the field was stricken, he swore to me, there was no man that escaped that was called in this summons, but that one man alone which made his protestation."

The earnest and honest simplicity of the good old chronicler, however, is exceedingly amusing. He aims at nothing beyond a mere record of what he conceived to be facts, and these he goes on detailing, with a great deal of incoherence, and all the unintellectual precision of an artificial process, neither feeling, passion, nor mind ever appearing to mingle in the slightest degree with his labours. These characteristics of the chronicles of Lindsay have greatly impaired their credibility, and have almost destroyed all confidence in them as authorities.

Where he is corroborated by other historians, or by an association of well known and well established circumstances, he may be trusted, but, where this is not the case, his testimony ought to be received with caution; for, where he does not absolutely create, he is almost sure to exaggerate, and is thus in any event a very unsafe guide.

If Lindsay was but an indifferent chronicler, he was a still worse poet, as will be conceded, it is presumed, after a perusal of the following introductory stanzas of a poetical address to Robert Stewart, bishop of Caithness, prefixed to the Chronicles:

"O little book, pass thou with diligence  
To St Andrews that fair city;  
Salute that lord with humble reverence,  
Beseeeking him, of fatherly pity,  
With entire heart, and perfect charity,  
And that he would on noways offend  
To look on thee, one day or two to spend.

And there shew him thy secrets more and less,  
From the beginning unto the end;  
And also you to come utter and express;  
Show him the verity, and make it to him kend—  
The martial deeds, and also the fatal end,  
Of his noble dainty progenitor,  
In Scotland lived sometime in great honour.

The Chronicles begin with James II., 1436, and end with queen Mary, 1565. This latter reign, however, is not completed, being carried down only a little beyond the period at which the marriage of that unfortunate princess with Darnley took place.

LITHGOW, WILLIAM, a well known traveller of the seventeenth century, was born in the parish of Lanark, in the year 1583. Nothing is known of his birth or parentage, or of the earlier period of his life. He seems to have attracted very little general notice prior to the publication of his travels in 1614; and even the celebrity which these acquired for him, does not appear to have suggested any inquiry into his previous history.

There is no reason, however, to believe otherwise than that he was a person



of rather mean condition, and poor circumstances, though evidently possessed of an education very far surpassing what was common among the vulgar at the period when he lived. The motives which induced him to leave his native country, to perform a painful and dangerous pilgrimage through foreign lands, are not more obvious than some of the other particulars of his early life. He himself, in the strange and almost unintelligible jargon in which he frequently indulges in the work which records his adventures, obscurely assigns two: the oppression of enemies,—but who they were, or what was the cause of their enmity, he does not say—and an irresistible desire to visit strange lands. It would, indeed, appear that this last was the ruling passion of his life, and that, together with a roving, unsettled, and restless disposition, it was the principal agent in compelling him to undertake the formidable journeys which he accomplished, and enabled him to bear up with such a series of hardships and bodily sufferings, as perhaps no man ever before or since has endured.

From the obscurity in which his early life is involved, it is not, therefore, until he has assumed the character which has procured him celebrity, namely, that of a traveller, that Lithgow is introduced to us.

In his youth, while he was, as he himself says, yet a stripling, he made two voyages to the “Orcadian and Zetlandian Isles.” Shortly after this, he proceeded on a tour through Germany, Bohemia, Helvetia, and the Low countries. From the latter he went to Paris, where he remained for ten months. William Lithgow nowhere gives the slightest hint regarding the source whence he derived the funds necessary to defray the expenses of these journeys; but there seems to be some reason for believing that he trusted in a great measure to chance, and to the casual assistance which he might receive from any of his countrymen whom he might encounter, in the different places he visited. This applies only, however, to the first part of his career; the latter was provided for by a piece of good fortune which shall be noticed in its proper place.

On the 9th of March, 1609, Lithgow again started from Paris on another roving expedition, and, on this occasion, proceeded, in the first instance, directly to Rome. He was escorted several miles on his way by three or four of his countrymen, with whom he had picked up an acquaintance while in Paris, and who, not improbably, supported him during the time of his residence in that city. These persons he describes as gentlemen, and one of them, at any rate, certainly had a claim to this character on the score of rank. This was Hay of Smithfield, esquire, of the king of France’s body guard.

Although thus associating himself, however, with these gentlemen, Lithgow does not speak of them as equals, but in a marked tone of inferiority; leaving altogether an impression that their kindness and attention proceeded from the circumstances of his being a countryman, a man of talent, and of a singular, bold, and adventurous disposition. Having bid adieu to his companions, he trudged onwards to Rome on foot; for such was his usual mode of travelling. He made it a rule, and strictly adhered to it, never to avail himself of any conveyance during a journey when he could accomplish it on foot, and his only deviation was in the cases of crossing seas, rivers, or lakes. During all his travels he never mounted a horse, or put his foot into a carriage, or any description of vehicle whatever.

While in Rome he made a narrow escape from the inquisition; the most sanguinary and ferocious of whose members were at that time, singular to say, Scotsmen. Two of these were from St Andrews. There were besides, one of the name of Gordon, one Cunningham, born in the Canongate of Edinburgh, and several others, and it was from the eager pursuit of these, his own countrymen, that poor Lithgow found the greatest difficulty in escaping. This, however, he



effected by the assistance of a domestic of the earl of Tyrone, who was then residing at Rome. This man, whose name was Megget, concealed him for three days and nights on the roof of the earl's palace, and, on the fourth night, conveyed him secretly out of the city, by aiding him to scale the walls, as the gates and streets were all carefully guarded by persons appointed by the inquisition to apprehend him.

From Rome Lithgow proceeded to Naples, and from thence to Loretto. On his way to the latter place, he overtook a carriage, in which were two young gentlemen from Rome with their mistresses, all proceeding joyously on a pilgrimage to the shrine of the Madonna. This lively group insisted upon the lonely pedestrian's stepping into their carriage, but, adhering to the rule he had laid down of never availing himself of any such conveyance, he obstinately refused. Finding that they could not prevail upon him to take a seat beside them, the good-natured pilgrims descended from their carriage, and insisted on keeping him company on foot, and, thus associated, the whole party jogged merrily on for Loretto. Here he fell in with another of his countrymen, of the name of Arthur, with whom he had been formerly acquainted, and who seems to have been imbued with some portion of his own restless and rambling disposition. Having spent some time in Loretto, they proceeded together to Ancona, and thence by sea to Venice. Here his companion left him to cross the Alps, while his own "purpose reached for Greece and Asia." Arthur, it appears, had been a domestic servant of the earl of Glencairn. The circumstance, therefore, of Lithgow's making him a companion, would seem to be an additional proof that he did not assume, or pretend to, the character of a gentleman traveller.

Lithgow now proceeded to visit the various islands in the Mediterranean, and thereafter wandered through Greece and Asia, encountering innumerable dangers and difficulties; now shipwrecked, now attacked by banditti, now plundered and maltreated, and, with all this, frequently exposed for days and nights together to the inclemency of the weather; his religion excluding him, in several places, not only from the hospitality of the natives, but even from the shelter of their houses. During his peregrinations through Greece, he met with two gentlemen from Venice, who entertained him kindly for ten days, and, on his departure made him a present of fifty zechins in gold; the first gift, he says, he received in all his travels, and, it may be added, that this is also the first allusion he makes to any pecuniary matters relating to himself. He now proceeds to declare, that if some such instances of good fortune had not befallen him he should never have been able to accomplish his "sumptuous peregrination."

Not contented with the adventures in which he was unavoidably, on his part, involved, there were others which he sought. Like another Don Quixote, he released captives, or at least assisted them to effect their escape, and came to the aid of distressed damsels. Altogether, he appears to have been a singularly benevolent and kind-hearted man; ready at all times to peril his life for the injured or oppressed, whenever he thought such a risk could be of service to them.

From Greece Lithgow proceeded over-land to Egypt, and finally reached Grand Cairo. During his journey thither, he had the good fortune to fall in with three Dutchmen at Jerusalem, who were journeying with a caravan in the same direction. These he joined, and kept by them until they reached the Egyptian capital. Here his three companions speedily killed themselves by drinking "strong Cyprus wine without mixture of water." Each as they died left the survivors all his property, and the last bequeathed the whole accumu-



lated amount to Lithgow. He had, however, some difficulty in rescuing his legacy from the grasp of the Venetian consul; but by sacrificing a part he obtained possession of the remainder, which amounted to nine hundred and forty-two zechins of gold, besides rings and tablets.

Thanking God for his good fortune, he now proceeded, quite at his ease as to money matters, to inspect every thing that was curious in the city. From Cairo he proceeded to Alexandria, where he embarked for Malta. From thence he sailed for Sicily, walked afterwards to Paris, and finally came over to England, where he presented to king James, to queen Anne, and to prince Charles, "certain rare gifts and notable relicks brought from Jordan and Jerusalem."

After remaining in London for about a year, Lithgow's propensity to roving again became too strong to be resisted, and he set out upon a second expedition. He now traversed the Netherlands and Switzerland, and from thence proceeded to Calabria. Here another windfall came in his way, but it was one of a much more questionable nature in point of morality than that which met him at Cairo. Between Saramutza and Castello Franco, he found the dead bodies of two young barons lying in a field, who had just killed each other in a duel. Seeing that they were richly clad, Lithgow, "to speak the truth," as he himself says, searched their pockets, and found two silken purses well filled with Spanish pistoles. These, together with certain rings which they wore on their fingers, he carried off, and appropriated to his own use; and he thus moralizes on the fact. "Well, in the mutability of time there is ay some fortune falleth by accident, whether lawful or not, I will not question. It was now mine that was last theirs; and to save the thing that was not lost, I travelled that day thirty miles further to Terra Nova."

Lithgow now visited Africa, traversing Barbary, Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli. Then, crossing over to Italy, he perambulated Hungary, Germany, and Poland, and finally reached Dantzic, where he embarked for England, and once more arrived in safety in London. He was now an object of curiosity and interest, and, while he remained in England, was frequently admitted to familiar audiences of his majesty, and was at all times a welcome guest at the tables of the first nobility and gentlemen in the kingdom, where he repaid their civilities by relating the story of his adventures.

Lithgow's spirit of adventure and singular restlessness of disposition, however, were still unsubdued; and neither all that he had seen, nor all that he had suffered, could induce him to settle at home. In 1619, he again set out on another roving expedition, but on this occasion he was furnished with letters of recommendation from king James, addressed to "all kings, princes, and dukes." Provided with these documents he proceeded to Ireland. From thence he sailed for France, travelled through Portugal and Spain, and finally arrived at Malaga. Here he was apprehended as a spy, and accused of giving intelligence to some English ships which were then on the Spanish coast, respecting the return of the *Plato* fleet.

All poor Lithgow's proofs and asseverations of innocence availed him nothing. He was subjected to the most dreadful tortures. His limbs were mangled and crushed, and his body torn and lacerated with tightened cords and other engines of torture. His innocence as a spy was ultimately established to the satisfaction even of his persecutors; but he was then handed over to the Inquisition, which inflicted upon him a fresh series of tortures not less horrible than the first.

Maimed and mutilated, Lithgow was at length liberated by the interference of the English consul and of several English residents in Malaga, from whom



all knowledge of the unfortunate traveller's fate had been carefully concealed until it was discovered to them by accident.

Shortly after his release he was carried on board of an English ship, for his person was so fearfully mangled that he was not only wholly unable to walk, but was apparently beyond hope of recovery. In this state, on his arrival in England, which was in 1621, he was exhibited, lying on a feather bed, to the king and the whole of the court, all the persons of whom it was composed, crowding to see him. His miserable situation excited universal sympathy, and might under a more spirited prince have become the ground of a national quarrel with the country in which the cruelty and injustice had been inflicted. If his majesty, however, failed in avenging the unhappy traveller's injuries, he was not wanting in compassion for his sufferings. He was twice sent to Bath at the royal expense, and maintained by the same hand for seven and twenty weeks, until he had in a great measure recovered his original health and strength, "although," he says, "my left arm and crushed bones be incurable."

Soon after his arrival in England, Lithgow was carried, by the king's direction to the residence of Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador at the English court, for the purpose of endeavouring to procure some redress of his grievances. By this celebrated person he was treated with characteristic duplicity. Lithgow, finding the case hopeless, accused the Spaniard, in the presence chamber, and before a crowd of courtiers, of deceit and ungentlemanlike conduct. This charge he followed up with an act of violence on the person of the ambassador, for which, though his spirited conduct was much applauded, he was sent to the Marshalsea, where he was confined nine weeks. Lithgow after this made several attempts to procure some sort of redress or compensation from the house of commons, by a bill of grievances, but none of these were successful. The last effort of this kind which he made was in 1626. In the year following he returned to Scotland; and still under the influence of that spirit which had urged him to roam through the world for so many years, he undertook a tour through the western isles. He speaks of himself as having been in the island of Arran in the year 1628; but from this period little more is known regarding him. He finally, however, and probably soon after this, returned to his native parish, where he remained till his death; but when this took place is uncertain. He was interred in the church-yard of Lanark, and is yet familiarly spoken of in that part of the country, where it is said several of his descendants still exist. The place of his sepulture is unmarked by any memorial, and cannot therefore be pointed out.

The first edition of his travels was printed in 1614, 4to. This work was again reprinted in the reign of Charles I., with a dedication to that monarch. He also published an account of the siege of Buda in 1637, a circumstance which shows that he had attained a considerable age; as in 1637, he would be in his 54th year.

LIVINGSTON, JOHN, one of the most revered names in Scottish ecclesiastical history. He was born at Kilsyth in Stirlingshire, (then called Monybroch), on the 21st of June, 1603. His father, Mr William Livingston, who officiated as minister of Monybroch from 1600 to 1614, and was then translated to Lanark, was the son of Mr Alexander Livingston, his predecessor, in the charge of the parish of Monybroch, and who, in his turn, was a grandson of Alexander, fifth lord Livingston, one of the nobles intrusted with the keeping of queen Mary in her infancy, and the ancestor of the earls of Linlithgow and Callender. His mother was Agnes Livingston, daughter of Alexander Livingston, a cadet of the house of Dunnipace. His christian name he received at baptism in compliance with the request of lady Lillias Graham.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A gentlewoman of the house of Wigton, with whom, as with many persons of equal



"Worthy famous Mr John Livingston," as he was fondly termed by his contemporaries, received the rudiments of learning at home, and at the age of ten was sent to study the classics under Mr Wallace, a respectable teacher at Stirling. During the first year he made little progress, and was rather harshly treated by the schoolmaster; this was corrected by a remonstrance from his father, after which he profited very rapidly by his studies. When he had completed his third year at Stirling, it was proposed that he should go to the Glasgow university; but his father eventually determined that he should remain another year at school, and this, he informs us,<sup>2</sup> was the most profitable year he had at school, being chiefly devoted to a course of classical reading. During the time of his residence in Stirling, Mr Patrick Simpson, a clergyman of much note, officiated in the parish church; and Mr Livingston relates, that, on receiving the communion from his hands, he experienced a physical agitation of an uncommon character, which he believed to have been occasioned "by the Lord for the first time working upon his heart." At his father's house in Lanark, to which he returned in 1617, in order to attend the death-bed of his mother, he had further opportunities of profiting religiously; for it was the occasional resort of some of the most distinguished clergymen and "professors" of that age. The celebrated Mr Robert Bruce was among the number of the former; and of the latter were the countess of Wigton (whom Livingston himself calls the "rare"), lady Lillias Graham, already mentioned, lady Culross, still more famous than any of the rest, and lady Barnton. It seems to have then been a common practice for such persons as were conspicuous for religious earnestness, of whatever rank, to resort much to each other's houses, and to take every opportunity, when on a journey, to spend a night in a kindred domestic circle, where they might, in addition to common hospitalities, enjoy the fellowship of a common faith. To a large mingling in society of this kind, we are no doubt to attribute much of the sanctity for which Mr Livingston was remarkable through life.

The subject of our memoir received his academical education at the university of St Andrews, where Mr Robert Boyd was then principal, and Mr Robert Blair, another eminent divine, the professor of theology. Being tempted at this time by some proposals for a secular profession, he adopted the expedient of retiring to a cave on the banks of Mouse-water (perhaps the same which sheltered Wallace), where he spent a whole day in spiritual meditation, and ultimately resolved to become a preacher of the gospel, as the only means of securing his own eternal interests. During the progress of his subsequent studies in divinity, he gave token of that firm adherence to presbyterian rules which characterized him in his maturer years. He was sitting with some of the people and a few of his fellow students in a church in Glasgow, when the archbishop (Law) came to celebrate the communion for the first time after the episcopal fashion established by the Perth articles. Seeing the people all sitting as usual, Law desired them to kneel, which some did, but among the recusants were Livingston and the little party of students. The archbishop commanded them either to kneel or depart: to this Livingston boldly replied, that "there was no warrant for kneeling, and, for want of it, no one ought to be excommunicated." Law only caused those near them to move, in order that they might remove.

Mr Livingston became a preacher in 1625, and for a considerable time preached for his father at Lanark, or in the neighbouring parish churches. He had several calls to vacant churches, especially to Anwoth in Galloway, which

rank, his father was on intimate terms of personal and religious friendship, and whose father, husband, and eldest son, were all of the same appellation.

<sup>2</sup> In his life, written by himself, Glasgow, 1754.



was afterwards filled by the celebrated Rutherford. The increasing rigour of the episcopal regulations appears to have prevented him from obtaining a settlement. He was at length, in 1627, taken into the house of the earl of Wigton at Cumbernauld, as chaplain, with permission to preach in the hall to such strangers as chose to accompany the family in their devotions, and also to minister occasionally in the neighbouring pulpits. He was living in this manner when he produced the celebrated revival of religion at the kirk of Shotts. This, it seems, was a place where he always found himself in the enjoyment of an unusual degree of "liberty" in preaching. On Sunday, June 20, 1630, the communion was celebrated at Shotts to a large assemblage of people, among whom were all the more eminently pious women of rank in that part of the country. The impression produced by the solemnities of the day was so very great, that many did not depart, but spent the whole night in prayer and conference.<sup>3</sup> Among these was Mr Livingston, who being requested to give a sermon next morning to the still lingering multitude, walked forth very early into the fields. Here, he says, "there came such a misgiving of spirit upon me, considering my unworthiness and weakness, and the multitude and expectation of the people, that I was consulting with myself to have stolen away somewhere." He had actually gone to some distance, and was losing sight of the kirk of Shotts, when the words, "Was I ever a barren wilderness or a land of darkness," were brought into his heart with such an overcoming power, as constrained him to return. In the ensuing service he "got good assistance about an hour and a half" upon the text, Ezek. xxxvi. 25, 26. "Then will I sprinkle clean water upon you," &c. "In the end," says Mr Livingston, "offering to close with some words of exhortation, I was led on about an hour's time, in a strain of exhortation and warning, with such liberty and melting of heart, as I never had the like in public all my lifetime." The effect of the address is spoken of by Fleming, in his "Fulfilling of the Scriptures," as "an extraordinary appearance of God, and down-pouring of the Spirit, with a strange unusual motion on the hearers," insomuch that five hundred, it was calculated, had at that time, "a discernible change wrought upon them, of whom most proved lively christians afterwards. It was the sowing of a seed through Clydesdale, so as many of the most eminent christians in that country could date either their conversion, or some remarkable confirmation of their case, from that day." The importance of such a sermon, in propagating religion in a country where it was as yet but imperfectly introduced, has given this event a prominent place—not perhaps in the history of the *church* of Scotland, but certainly in the history of the *gospel*. It caused Monday sermons after the celebration of the communion to become general, and appears to have been the origin of that now habitual practice.

Livingston gives some curious particulars in reference to this signally successful preaching. He officiated on the ensuing Thursday at Kilmarnock, and there he was favoured with some remains, as it were, of the afflatus which had inspired him on the former day. Next Monday, however, preaching in Irvine, "I was so deserted," says he, "that the points I had meditated and written, and had fully in my memory, I was not, for my heart, able to get them pronounced. So it pleased the Lord to counterbalance his dealings, and hide pride from man. This so discouraged me, that I was upon resolution for some time not to preach—at least, not in Irvine; but Mr David Dickson could not suffer me to go from thence till I preached the next Sabbath, to get, as he expressed it, amends of the Devil. And so I stayed, and preached with some tolerable freedom."

<sup>3</sup> The bed-room of lady Culross was filled with people, to whom she prayed "three large hours' time,"—"having great motion upon her."—*Livingston's Life*, MS. *Ad. Lib.*



Finding all prospect of a parochial settlement in his native country precluded by the bishops, Mr Livingston was induced, in August, 1630, to accept the charge of the parish of Killinchie, in the north of Ireland, where a considerable portion of the population consisted of Scots. Here he ministered with great success, insomuch that, by one sermon preached in the neighbouring parish of Holywood, he was calculated to have converted a thousand persons in as effectual a manner as he had done the five hundred at Shotts. Such extensive utility is, perhaps, only to be expected in a country such as Scotland and Ireland then were, and as America has more recently been; but yet, as similar acts are recorded of no contemporary clergyman whose name is familiar to us, we must necessarily conclude, that there was something in the oratorical talents and spiritual gifts of Mr Livingston, which marked him out as a most extraordinary man. His success, as a minister, is less agreeably proved in another way—by the persecution, namely, of the bishop in whose diocese he officiated. After being once suspended and replaced, he was, in May, 1632, deposed, along with Messrs Blair, Welsh, and Dunbar; after which, he could only hold private meetings with his flock. He and several of his people were now become so desperate, as to the enjoyment of religion, in their own way, under British institutions, that they formed a resolution to emigrate to America. He accordingly set sail from Weymouth; but being driven back by a contrary wind, some circumstances induced him to change his mind. Almost immediately after his return, he and his deposed brethren were reinstated by a letter of the lord deputy Strafford; and, for a year and a half, he continued to preach at Killinchie.

Mr Livingston's salary, in this charge, was only four pounds a-year; yet he takes pains to assure us, that notwithstanding all his travels from place to place, and also occasional visits to Scotland, he never wanted money. He lets slip, afterwards, however, that he received sums occasionally from the countesses of Eglintoune and Wigton, and other devout ladies. His mode of life was so fully justified by the circumstances of the times, which rendered it by no means singular, that Mr Livingston was not deterred from forming a matrimonial connexion. He had formed an attachment to the eldest daughter of Bartholomew Fleming, merchant in Edinburgh, "of most worthy memory." The young lady was also recommended to him by the favourable speeches of many of his friends. Yet—and the fact is a curious trait of the age and of the man—he spent nine months "in seeking directions from God," before he could make up his mind to pay his addresses. "It is like," he says, "I might have been longer in that darkness, except the Lord had presented me an occasion of our conferring together; for, in November 1634, when I was going to the Friday meeting at Antrim, [the lady was then residing on a visit in Ireland,] I forgathered with her and some others, going thither, and propounded to them, by the way, to confer upon a text, whereon I was to preach the day after at Antrim; wherein I found her conference so just and spiritual, that I took that for some answer to my prayer to have my mind cleared, and blamed myself that I had not before taken occasion to confer with her. Four or five days after, I proposed the matter, and desired her to think upon it; and, after a week or two, I went to her mother's house, and, being alone with her, desiring her answer, I went to prayer, and desired her to pray, which at last she did: and in that time I got abundant clearness that it was the Lord's mind that I should marry her, and then propounded the matter more fully to her mother; and, albeit, I was then fully cleared, I may truly say it was about a month after, before I got marriage affection to her, although she was, for personal endowments, beyond many of her equals, and I got it not till I obtained it by prayer; but, thereafter, I had greater difficulty to moderate it."



The parties, having proceeded to Edinburgh, were married in the West Church there, June 23, 1635, under circumstances of proper solemnity, notwithstanding that archbishop Spottiswood, chancellor of Scotland, was understood to have issued orders for the apprehension of Mr Livingston some days before. The wedding was attended by the earl of Wigton and his son lord Fleming, and a number of other pious friends. Having returned to Ireland, he was, in the ensuing November, once more deposed, and even, it appears, excommunicated. He continued, nevertheless, to hold forth at private meetings in his own house, where Blair, also again deposed, took up his abode. At length, in renewed despair, he once more embarked, along with his wife, for the American colonies; but, strange to say, after having sailed to a point nearer to the banks of Newfoundland than to any part of Europe, he was again driven back; after which, conceiving it "to be the Lord's will that he should not go to New England," he made no further attempt.

For about two years, Mr Livingston preached occasionally, but always in a somewhat furtive manner, both in Ireland and Scotland. He was in the latter country in 1637, when at length the bishops brought matters to such a crisis, as terminated their supremacy in Scotland, and enabled such divines as Mr Livingston to open their mouths without fear. Mr Livingston was present at Lanark when the covenant was received by the congregation of that place; and he says, that, excepting at the Kirk of Shotts, he never saw such motions from the Spirit of God; "a thousand persons, all at once, lifting up their hands, and the tears falling down from their eyes." Being commissioned to proceed to London, to confer with the friends of the cause, in reference to this grand national movement, he disguised himself in a grey coat and a grey montero cap, for the purpose of avoiding the notice of the English authorities. An accident which befell him on the way, confined him, after his arrival in the metropolis, to his chamber; but he was there visited by many friends of liberty in church and state, including several of the English nobility. He had not been long in London, when the marquis of Hamilton informed him, through a mutual friend, that the king was aware of his coming, and threatened "to put a pair of fetters about his feet." He was, therefore, obliged to retire precipitately to his own country.

In July 1638, Mr Livingston was enabled, under the new system of things, to enter upon the ministry of the parish of Stranraer, in Wigtonshire; a place with which he had long been familiar, in consequence of his frequently passing that way to and from Ireland. Here his zeal and eloquence appear to have been deeply appreciated, insomuch that the people flocked even to hear his private family devotions, filling his house to such a degree, that he had at length to perform these exercises in the church. It is a still more striking proof of his gifts, that multitudes of his Irish friends used to come over twice a-year to be present at his ministrations of the communion. On one occasion, he had no fewer than five hundred of these far-travelled strangers; on another, he had twenty-eight of their children to baptize! Such was then the keen appreciation of "free preaching," and the difficulty of obtaining it under the restrictions of the episcopal system, that some of these people were induced to remove to Stranraer, simply that they might be of the congregation of Mr Livingston. It is confessed, indeed, by the subject of our memoir, that the obstructions which the Irish presbyterians encountered at that time, in hearing the gospel preached after their own way, tended materially to excite and keep alive religious impressions in their hearts. "The perpetual fear," he says, "that the bishops would put away their ministers, made them, with



great hunger, wait on the ordinances." The narrow views of that age prevented the king or his ecclesiastical friends from seeing the tendency of their measures; but the result was exactly accordant to the more extended philosophy of our own times. We have now less persecution, and, naturally, a great deal more indifference.

It is a fact of too great importance to be overlooked, that Mr Livingston was a member of the general assembly, which met at Glasgow in November 1638, and decreed, so far as an unconstituted association of the clergy could do so, the abolition of episcopacy in Scotland. He accompanied the army in the campaign of 1640, as chaplain to the regiment of the earl of Cassillis, and was present at the battle of Newburn, of which he composed a narrative. In November, he returned to Stranraer, where, in one Sunday, notwithstanding the smallness and poverty of the town, he raised a contribution of no less than forty-five pounds sterling, for the use of the army. A large portion of this, it must be remarked, was given by one poor woman under very peculiar circumstances. She had laid aside, as a portion to her daughter, seven twenty-two shilling pieces and an eleven-pound piece: the Lord, she said, had lately taken her daughter, and, having resolved to give him her portion also, she now brought forward her little hoard, in aid of that cause which she seriously believed to be his. In these traits of humble and devoted piety, there is something truly affecting; and even those who are themselves least disposed to such a train of mind, must *feel* that they are so.

Mr Livingston appears to have always retained a warm feeling towards the presbyterians of the north of Ireland. At the breaking out of the rebellion in 1641, when these poor people fled in a body from the fury of the catholics, multitudes came into Scotland, by the way of Stranraer. Of the money raised in Scotland to relieve the refugees, £1000 Scots was sent to Mr Livingston, who distributed it in small sums, rarely exceeding half-a-crown, to the most necessitous. He complains, in his memoirs, that out of all the afflicted multitudes who came in his way, he hardly observed one person "sufficiently sensible of the Lord's hand" in their late calamity, or of their own deserving of it, "so far had the stroke seized their spirits as well as bodies." This is a remark highly characteristic of the age. One more valuable occurs afterwards. Being sent over to Ireland with the Scottish army, "he found," he says, "a great alteration in the country; many of those who had been civil before, were become many ways exceeding loose; yea, sundry who, as could be conceived, had true grace, were declined much in tenderness; so, as it would seem, *the sword opens a gap, and makes every body worse than before*, an inward plague coming with the outward; yet some few were in a very lively condition." If Mr Livingston had not been accustomed to regard everything in a spiritual light, he would have argued upon both matters with a view simply to physical causes. He would have traced the savage conduct of the catholic Irish to the united operation of a false religion, and the inhumane dominancy of a race of conquerors; and the declining piety of the presbyterians to that mental stupor which an unwonted accumulation of privations, oppressions, and dangers, can hardly fail to produce. It is strange to a modern mind, to see men, in the first place, violating the most familiar and necessary laws respecting their duty to their neighbours, (as the English may be said to have done in reference to the native Irish,) and then to hear the natural consequences of such proceedings, described as a manifestation of divine wrath towards a class of people who were totally unconnected with the cause.

Mr Livingston was minister of Stranraer for ten years, during which time he had not only brought his own flock into a state of high religious culture, but



done much, latterly, to restore the former state of feeling in the north of Ireland. In the summer of 1648, he was translated, by the general assembly, to Ancrum, in Roxburghshire, where he found a people much more in need of his services than at Stranraer. In 1650, he was one of three clergymen deputed, by the church, to accompany an embassy which was sent to treat with Charles II., at the Hague, for his restoration to a limited authority in Scotland. In his memoirs, Mr Livingston gives a minute account of the negotiations with the young king, which throws considerable light on that transaction, but cannot here be entered upon. He seems to be convinced, however, of the insincerity of the king, though his facility of disposition rendered him an unfit person to oppose the conclusion of the treaty. Being of opinion that the lay ambassadors were taking the *curse of Scotland* with them, he refused to embark, and was, at last, brought off by stratagem. In the ensuing transactions, as may be conceived, he took the side of the protestors; but, upon the whole, he mingled less in public business than many divines of inferior note in spiritual gifts. During the protectorate, he lived very quietly in the exercise of his parochial duties; and, on one occasion, though inclined to go once more to Ireland, refused a charge which was offered to him at Dublin, with a salary of £200 a-year. After the restoration, he very soon fell under the displeasure of the government, and, in April, 1663, was banished from his native country, which he never more saw. He took up his residence at Rotterdam, where there was already a little society of clergymen in his own circumstances.

In narrating the events of this part of his life, Mr Livingston mentions some curious traits of his own character and circumstances. "My inclination and disposition," he says, "was generally soft, amorous, averse from debates, rather given to laziness than rashness, and easy to be wrought upon. I cannot say what Luther affirmed of himself concerning covetousness; but, I may say, I have been less troubled with covetousness and cares than many other evils. I rather inclined to solitariness than company. I was much troubled with wandering of mind and idle thoughts. For outward things, I never was rich, and I never was in want, and I do not remember that I ever borrowed money, but once in Ireland, five or six pounds, and got it shortly paid. I choosed rather to want sundry things than to be in debt. I never put any thing to the use of any maintenance I had; yea, if it had not been for what I got with my wife, and by the death of her brother, and some others of her friends, I could hardly have maintained my family, by any stipend I had in all the three places I was in."

The remainder of his life was spent in a manner more agreeable, perhaps, to his natural disposition, than any preceding part. He had all along had a desire to obtain leisure for study, but was so closely pressed, by his ordinary duties, that he could not obtain it. He now devoted himself entirely to his favourite pursuit of biblical literature, and had prepared a polyglot bible, which obtained the unqualified approbation of the most learned men in Scotland, when he was cut off, on the 9th of August, 1672, in the 70th year of his age. Just before he expired, his wife, foreseeing the approach of dissolution, desired him to take leave of his friends. "I dare not," said he, with an affectionate tenderness; "but it is likely our parting will be but for a short time." Mr Livingston, besides his Bible, (as yet unpublished,) left notes descriptive of all the principal clergymen of his own time, which, with his memoirs, were printed in 1754. Some of his children emigrated from Scotland to the state of New York, where their descendants have, in the course of time, become people of the first distinction and weight in society. The late Dr John H. Livingston, minister of the



Reformed Dutch church in New York, professor of Divinity to that body, and president of Queen's college, New Jersey—one of the first men of his age and country, and to whose memoirs, by Mr Alexander Gunn, we have been indebted for some of the preceding facts—was the great-great grandson of the subject of this memoir.

LOCKHART, (SIR) GEORGE, a distinguished constitutional lawyer, and lord president of the court of session, was the second son of Sir James Lockhart of Lee, a judge of the court of session. The period of his birth is unknown, and the earliest circumstance of his life which has been recorded is, that he studied for the bar, to which he was admitted on the 8th of January, 1656, by the commissioners appointed for the administration of justice in Scotland, under the government of Cromwell.<sup>1</sup> The well-known personal interest of his brother, Sir William Lockhart, with the protector, was probably the means of introducing his talents to early notice; and on the 14th May, 1658, he was appointed "sole attorney," or lord advocate of Scotland. On the restoration of the monarchy, his family influence procured him favour at court; and after taking the oath of allegiance, along with the performance of other somewhat humiliating ceremonies, expressive of regret for his support to the fallen government, he was permitted the exercise of his profession, and received the honour of knighthood in 1663. Sir George distinguished himself as an able barrister, and became a man of power and influence. Notwithstanding favours extended towards him, such as monarchs too often find sufficient to secure unhesitating tools, he used the privileges of his profession frequently against the court; and through the progress of the dark deeds perpetrated by Tweeddale and Lauderdale, his name frequently occurs in the books of Adjournal (the criminal record of Scotland), as using his professional abilities in favour of the covenanters. One of the most prominent features of his life, is the struggle which he headed in 1674, for procuring by indirect means, and partly through the influence of the bar, an appeal from the courts of law to the legislature, unauthorized by the theory of the constitution of Scotland, and directly against the wishes of the court, to which a body of paid judges, removeable at pleasure, seemed a more pliable engine, than an assembly of men, partly elected, partly holding by hereditary right. He was the person who in the suit between the earl of Dunfermline, and the earl of Callender and lord Almond, advised the last mentioned to present an appeal to parliament.<sup>2</sup> The earl being cited before the privy council to answer for this act, applied to Sir George Lockhart, Sir Robert Sinclair, Sir George Cunningham, and Sir George Mackenzie, for information how to act in the matter; and a paper was drawn up for him by these eminent men, declaring "that he desired nothing thereby, but to protest for remeid of law;" in other words, that he did not wish the decree of the court of session to be reduced on the ground of injustice or oppression, but a revival by the parliament, declaratory or statutory, as to the law on the point. "In all which," says Sir George Mackenzie, with the bitterness of disappointment, "Sir George Lockhart's design was to bring in this trial before the parliament, hoping thereby that they would lay aside the president, and leave the chair vacant for him." Lauderdale immediately proceeded to court, accompanied by the president of the court of session and one of the judges; and on their report of the proceedings, Charles found the matter of sufficient importance to demand personal interference, and wrote a letter to the

<sup>1</sup> Brunton and Haig's Hist. of Col. of Just., 419.

<sup>2</sup> Those readers who are not acquainted with the details of this event, may find such circumstances connected with it as are here omitted, in the life of Sir John Lauder of Fountainhall.



privy council, in which, expressing his conviction of the necessity of preserving the supreme power of the college of justice, and his "abhorrence" of appeals, he was graciously pleased that no proceeding should be instituted against those who had maintained the political heresy, in case they disavowed it; but that if they did not, they should be debarred the exercise of their professions. The consequence of this letter, was the banishment of Lockhart and Cunningham, and the voluntary exile of fifty advocates, who chose to resent the insult: but the manner in which the act is detailed by Sir George Mackenzie, and the curious views which he casts on the motives and conduct of his great rival, prompt us to extract the passage:—"His majesty having ordained by his letters such as would adhere to that appeal to be debarred from pleading, and Sir George Lockhart and Sir John Cunningham being thereupon called in before the lords, they owned that though formal appeals might be said to be contrary to the 62 act. par. 14 James II., yet a protestation for remeid of law might be allowed; whereupon they were debarred from their employments, till the king should declare his farther pleasure. And albeit it might have been reasonably concluded, that this exclusion should have pleased the younger advocates, whom these seniors overshadowed, interrupting the chief advantage and honour that was to be expected in that society; yet most fearing to offend so eminent men, who they knew would soon return to their stations, and being pushed on by the lords of the party, and the discontented persons to whom they owed their employments, went tumultuarly out of the session house with those who were debarred; and thus, as Sir George Lockhart broke that society at first by his avarice, in the matter of the regulations, he broke them now again by his pride, in the matter of the appeals; and by raising a clamour against the president, and joining in the popular dissatisfaction, he diverted early from himself that great hatred which was so justly conceived against his insolence and his avarice; two crimes which were more eminent in him than his learning."

Although the causes of the enmity entertained by Mackenzie towards Lockhart are not fully explained, the allusions of the former make it quite clear that it arose from professional and political rivalry. The king had written to the burghs, advising them to renew their old acts, against the choosing of representatives. "The king's design in this was," says Sir George, "to exclude such as had been factious in the former parliament, and to engage the burghs to an immediate dependence on the crown." The disaffected advocates endeavoured to inspire the burghs with a wish to oppose the designs of the court; in the mean time, however, it was necessary that the king's letter should be answered, and a draught of such a document was prepared for the committee by Sir George Mackenzie. This letter was sent for the perusal of Lockhart, who altered it "so as of a discreet and dutiful letter, it became, by adding what was humorous, and striking out what was discreet, a most unpolisht and indiscreet paper. And when Sir George Lockhart was askt why he had deformed it so, his answer to James Stewart was, that it was fit to make Sir George Mackenzie unpardonable." Sir George Mackenzie alleges that Lockhart had induced him to join the body in favour of appeals, on the ground that the union of so many members of the bar would form a formidable opposition to Lauderdale; and it is to his enmity against that minister at the period, that, without a better reason, we must date Mackenzie's accession to the cause. But when the king, on the 12th of December, issued a proclamation, declaring, on the word of a prince, that such of the advocates as should not petition for re-admission before the 28th of January following, should never be permitted to return to their profession, Sir George Mackenzie "did so much tender the reputation of his



king, that he, having been bedrid of a broken leg when the rest were debarr'd, shunn'd to have himself debarr'd, or publicly to own the appeal; though to secure such as had, he declared that he would not return to his employment without them. Which not satisfying Sir George Lockhart, who pressed still that Sir George Mackenzie should be debarr'd, he was content, in a letter under his hand, to oblige himself in those terms; but this letter not having satisfied, and he being prest, merely to satisfy Sir George Lockhart's private humour, he called for his former letter, and wrote in a postscript these words: 'But if I enter, and put myself in the same condition with the rest, I do declare this letter, and all the obligations therein, to be void and not obligatory.' And having owned the appeal with a very undaunted courage, did from that hour despise that party which had jealous'd him, after so many proofs of his courage and fidelity, to please a little creature, who had never follow'd them, but his own passion, to which he and they were become such slaves, that they had thereby lost the glory and reputation of impartial reformers, which had so much recommended them at first, while they followed *Sir George Mackenzie's* disinterested advices." Mackenzie then adds a circumstance, which will hardly diminish the suspicion of his tortuous conduct in the business, although it may shed a ray of additional light on the causes of his rancour towards Lockhart. This is the letter from which the party concluded Sir George Mackenzie to be guilty of perjury, in having entered before the rest; dispersing copies of the letter, without the postscript, because they knew the postscript destroyed their malicious pretences. Before the day which the court had named as the last for receiving the submission of the recusant advocates, a document, couched in the form of a petition, but steadily vindicating the right of appeal for remeid of law, was presented to the privy council. This very valuable paper, which has been preserved at full length by Mackenzie, is full of legal knowledge, and clear concise reasoning; it had, however, to strive, not only against power, but also against precedent; no clear established law could be found on which to rest the right of appeal, and a course of ingenious special pleading had to be derived from implication, and the plea that the court of session was a distinct body from the daily session of old, which, being a committee of parliament set apart for the purpose of saving the time and trouble of the main body, would have defeated its end by the admission of appeals. The grand constitutional argument of a check on the venality of judges, could only be hinted at under the cloak of deference and submission to the royal authority; and the petitioners thought it prudent to terminate their certainly firm and manly statement of their rights, with the concession, that "as the petitioners acknowledge there are eminent lawyers upon the session, of deserved reputation; so if the lords of session, by an act of sederunt, or otherwise, will plainly and clearly declare that protestations for remeid of law, to his majesty and estates of parliament, were and are in themselves unlawful, and that the parliament cannot thereupon review and rescind their decreets, if they find just cause; the petitioners will so far defer to their authority, as to be concluded thereby, and satisfy what was prescribed and required by the lords of session as to that point." Mackenzie was induced to sign this petition: he says, "Sir George Lockhart's love of money making him weary of that love to revenge, he persuaded the appealers (for so all the adhorers were called) to give in an address to the privy council; but so bitter and humorous, that Sir George Mackenzie though he had concur'd in furnishing materials and argument, did with some others dissent from it; till they were again conjur'd, by some of their comrades, not to make a rupture, at a time wherein their fist adherence to one another was their only security."<sup>3</sup> The

<sup>3</sup> With the petulant remarks on Lockhart, so plentifully scattered through the above



petition was viewed by the privy council and the king, as a daring and seditious piece of pleading; and Sir John Cunningham proceeding to London to endeavour by his personal influence to alleviate the threatened effects, was quickly followed by Sir George Lockhart and Sir Robert Sinclair; "but upon express promise," says Mackenzie, "that if Sir George Mackenzie and those who had signed the address, should be pursu'd for it, they should return and concur with him in the defence. Notwithstanding whereof," he continues, "they having been pursu'd in a process before the privy council, Sir George Lockhart and Sir Robert Sinclair retir'd, and lurk't near to North Allerton, without acquainting even their wives of their residence, lest thereby they might have been advertis'd. Whereupon Sir George Mackenzie gave in his defence," &c. The defence deserted the constitutional origin of the struggle, and assumed the aspect of a mere vindication of the motives of presenting the petition. Mackenzie at length yielded: as a motive for so doing, he says—but we are aware of no document that confirms the assertion—that he "intercepted at last a letter, wherein they (Lockhart and Sinclair) told their confidants that they had resolved to wait the event of that process; in which, if Sir George Mackenzie was absolved, they would be secure by the preparative; but if he was found guilty, the malice of the pursuers would be blunted before it reacht them." Accordingly, on the plausible ground that "it was no dishonour to submit to their prince, ceding being only dishonourable amongst equals, and never being so, when the contest was rais'd by such as design'd to make them knaves and fools," prevailed on the greater number of his brethren to submit. Sir George Lockhart, left to maintain the struggle almost alone, fully aware that unanimity and number only can give effect to political resistance, presented a tardy submission in December, 1675, and was re-admitted to the privileges of his profession on the 28th of January, 1676.<sup>4</sup> We have dwelt thus long on this incident, because it is one of the very few constitutional struggles connected with the history of Scotland, and the curious details lately brought to light in the *Memoirs* of Sir George Mackenzie, are not very generally perused.

The next political transaction in which we find Lockhart professionally engaged, is the trial of Mitchell in 1678, for having four years previously attempted the murder of archbishop Sharpe. He was tried on his own confession, and there is no point of history more surely ascertained, or less liable to doubt, than that the confession was obtained on a promise of pardon. "But," as Burnet expressively says, "Sharpe would have his life." For the purpose of facilitating the prosecution, Nisbet, the lord advocate, was superseded by Mackenzie and Primrose, from being clerk register, was appointed justice general. "He fancied," says Burnet, "orders had been given to raze the act that the council had made (the act offering the conditional pardon), so he turned the books, and he found the act still on record. He took a copy of it and sent it to Mitchell's counsel." Thus armed, Lockhart appeared, to meet the confession. Burnet, who says, "he was the most learned lawyer and the best pleader I have ever yet known in any nation," states that "he did plead to the admiration of all, to show that no extrajudicial confession could be allowed in a court. The

quotations, compare the following *published* character of the professional abilities of his great rival, by Sir George Mackenzie, in his *Eloquence of the Bar*—it would be difficult to conceive a more perfect picture of a great forensic orator. "Lockartus corpus alterum juris civilis, alterque Cicero dici poterat. Illi etiam pecuniare erat argumenta sua eo ordine disponere, ut tanquam lapides in fornice alter alterum sustineret; que ex improvise, dum oraret, ei suggererentur, prompta solertia indicabat, aptisque locis disponebat. Nihil ab eo ascendit jurisprudentia, et quamprimum casus illi a cliente aperiretur, sua omnia, omniaque adversarii argumenta retexebat. Tracundia, que alios oratores turbabat, cum tantum excitare solebat; vocem tamen latrato, vultumque rugis deformabat."

<sup>4</sup> Mackenzie's *Memoirs*, 267 to 310.



hardships of a prison, the hopes of life, with other practices, might draw confessions from men, when they were perhaps drunk, or out of their senses. He brought upon this a measure of learning that amazed the audience, out of the lawyers of all civilized nations. And when it was opposed to this, that the council was a court of judicature, he showed that it was not the proper court for crimes of this nature, and that it had not proceeded in this as at a court of judicature. And he brought out likewise a great deal of learning upon those heads. But this was overruled by the court, and the confession was found to be judicial. The next thing pleaded for him was, that it was drawn from him upon the hope and promise of life : and on this Sharpe was examined. The person he had sent to Mitchell gave a full evidence of the promises he had made him ; but Sharpe denied them all. He also denied he ever heard any promise of life made him by the council ; so did the lords Lauderdale, Rothes, and Halton, to the astonishment of all that were present. Lockhart upon that produced a copy of the act of council, that made express mention of the promise given, and of his having confessed upon that. And the prisoner prayed that the books of council, which lay in a room over that in which the court sat, might be sent for. Lockhart pleaded, that since the court had judged that the council was a judicature, all people had a right to search into their registers ; and the prisoner, who was like to suffer by a confession made there, ought to have the benefit of those books. Duke Lauderdale, who was in the court only as a witness, and so had no right to speak, stood up, and said he and those other noble persons were not brought thither to be accused of perjury ; and added, that the books of council were the king's secrets, and that no court should have the perusing of them. The court was terrified with this, and the judges were divided in opinion. Primrose and one other was for calling for the books, but three were of opinion that they were not to furnish the prisoner with evidence, but to judge of that which he brought, and here was only a bare copy, not attested upon oath, which ought not to have been read. So this defence being rejected, he was cast and condemned."<sup>5</sup> Perhaps the annals of crime scarcely produce another so perfect specimen of judicial villany.

The talents and courage of Lockhart were employed by the duke of Argyle at his memorable trial in 1681 ; three times the privy council denied him the sanction of their warrant—unfortunately often necessary at that period for the safety of the lawyer who should defend a person accused of treason—and it was at last granted, lest Argyle, on the ground that he was deprived of legal assistance, might interrupt the trial by refusing to plead. In the parliament of 1681, he was appointed one of the commissioners of the shire of Lanark, a seat which he held till his death, and in 1685, after the fall of his opponents in the ministry, we find him one of the committee appointed to answer the king's letter to the parliament, and a lord of the articles.<sup>6</sup> In 1685, on the death of Sir David Falconer of Newton, Lockhart was appointed president of the court of session, and was soon afterwards made a privy councillor, and a commissioner of the exchequer. Having in the year 1679, boldly undertaken the task of representing before the king the grievances against Lauderdale, he was considered one of the chief political opponents of that minister, and seems to have been gradually led to a participation with the proceedings of the duke of York. After having followed the actions of a high minded man through the path of honour, and seen him use his talents and influence in the protection of the weak, and resistance to the powerful, it is painful to arrive at transactions, in which the presence of his accustomed firmness, or integrity, may seem wanting. He is said to have been at first opposed to a repeal of the penal laws

<sup>5</sup> Burnet, i. 41.

<sup>6</sup> Act. Parl., viii. 456,7.



against papists, but after a journey to London, concerted for the purpose of overcoming his scruples, to have entertained a different view<sup>7</sup>—a view which, it is to be feared, was produced more by the benignant smile of royalty, than by a sudden accession of liberal principles. On the question of the applicability of the disabling laws to the duke of York, he somewhat sophistically maintained that “a commission to represent the king’s person fell not under the notion of an office.”<sup>8</sup> But, if he chose to assist the court in obtaining its ends by legal means, his former spirit returned on an attempted stretch of arbitrary power, and he objected to the privy council’s sanctioning a relaxation, in favour of the Roman catholics, becoming law, through the mere royal prerogative.<sup>9</sup>

This great man, whose talents and courage would have adorned a better period, fell a victim to the fury of one of those savages which misgovernment produces. He was murdered by John Chiesley of Dalry on the 31st of March, 1689.

The determination to commit the murder on the part of this man, arose from a dispute with his wife, the latter claiming aliment for herself and ten children, and the parties consenting that the claim should be settled by the arbitration of Lockhart and lord Kennay, who gave a decree appointing an annual sum out of Chiesley’s estate to be paid to his wife. Infuriated at not being permitted to deprive his wife and offspring of their daily bread, he formed the resolution of taking vengeance on the president at whatever cost. On communicating his intention to Mr James Stewart, advocate, he was answered that “it was a suggestion of the devil, and the very imagination of it a sin before God;” to which he replied, “Let God and me alone; we have many things to reckon betwixt us, and we will reckon this too.” The victim, it appears, was informed of his intention; but he disdained precautions. The murderer confessed that, when in London, he had walked up and down Pall-mall, with a pistol beneath his coat, lying in wait for the president. The day on which he consummated the deed was Sunday. He charged his pistol, and went to church, where he watched the motions of his victim, and when Lockhart was returning to his own house through the close or lane on the south side of the Lawn Market, now known by the name of “The Old Bank Close,” following close behind him, discharged a shot, which took effect. The president fell, and being carried into his own house, immediately expired, the ball having passed through his body. Chiesley did not attempt to escape, and, on being told that the president was dead, he expressed satisfaction, and said “he was not used to do things by halves.” He was put to the torture, and made a full confession, and having been seen committing the act, and apprehended immediately after, or as it is technically termed, “red hand” he was summarily tried before the provost of Edinburgh, as sheriff within the city. He was sentenced to have his right hand cut off while alive, to be hanged upon a gibbet with the instrument of murder suspended from his neck, and his body to be hung in chains between Leith and Edinburgh.<sup>10</sup>

LOCKHART, GEORGE, a celebrated political partisan, and author of *Memoirs concerning the Affairs of Scotland, Commentaries, &c., &c.*, was the eldest son of the above, by Philadelphia, youngest daughter of Philip, fourth lord Wharton. He was born in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, in the year 1673. He appears to have been educated for the Scottish bar, but, having succeeded, on the death of his father, to a very ample fortune, he seems to have turned his attention chiefly to politics, and having obtained a seat in the Scottish parliament, 1703, he distinguished himself by his opposition to all the measures of the

<sup>7</sup> Fountainhall’s Diary, 167.

<sup>8</sup> Burnet, i. 408.

<sup>9</sup> Fountainhall, 192.

<sup>10</sup> Arnot’s Crim. Tr., 168 74.



court, and his ceaseless activity in behalf of the fallen episcopal church, and the exiled royal family. Singularly unlike his father, in discernment of the justice of a cause and liberality of principle, he appears to have resembled him in the stubborn courage with which he pursued any favourite object. To all the principles of the Revolution, he professed a deep aversion, and the union of the kingdoms of Scotland and England he considered, especially in regard to the former, as likely to terminate in that misery which a peculiar class of politicians always argue to be the consequence of any change, or some reason which it is difficult to fathom; he was, however, named, by the queen, one of the commissioners upon that famous treaty, and, with the exception of the archbishop of York, was the only tory that was so named. "He had no inclination to the employment," he has himself told us, "and was at first resolved not to have accepted it, but his friends, and those of his party believing he might be serviceable, by giving an account how matters were carried on, prevailed with him to alter his resolution." Before entering upon the duties of his high office, he accordingly took their advice, in what manner he was to conduct himself, and in particular, "whether or not he should protest and enter his dissent against those measures, being resolved to receive instructions from them, as a warrant for his procedure, and to justify his conduct: so, when they all unanimously returned this answer, that if he should protest, he could not well continue longer to meet with the other commissioners; and, if he entered his dissent, it would render him odious to them, and that they would be extremely upon the reserve with him, so as he would be utterly incapable to learn any thing that might be useful afterwards in opposing the design; whereas, if he sat quiet, and concealed his opinion as much as possible, they, expecting to persuade him to leave his old friends and party, would not be so shy, and he might make discoveries of their designs, and thereby do a singular service to his country; therefore they agreed in advising him, neither to protest or dissent, nor do any thing that might discover his opinion and design, unless he could find two or three more that would concur and go along with him, (which was not to be expected,) but to sit silent, making his remarks of every thing that passed, and remain with them as long as he could; and then, at last, before signing the result of the treaty, to find out some pretence of absenting himself." Such were the feelings and intentions which he brought to the accomplishment of a transaction which he was chosen for the purpose of furthering, in the most expeditious and most efficient manner; and he relates with pride that he acted up to his instructions, that he acted as a spy on the proceedings of the others, and, at least, was enabled to interrupt and render more laborious the consummation of a measure which his party was unable to stifle. The archbishop, disclaiming to follow a similar course, absented himself from the meetings.

But Lockhart had other and more dangerous duties to perform for his party; he held a commission from the Scottish Jacobites to communicate with the English tories, and, if possible, to ascertain how far the latter might be brought to concur in a scheme, projected in Scotland, for the restoration of the son of the abdicated monarch by force. This commission he executed with similar fidelity, but he found the English less zealous than the Scots, and disinclined to any attempt, at least during the lifetime of the queen. All the transactions which might be interesting to the exiled family, he faithfully reported to the courts of Versailles and St Germain, through the instrumentality of an emissary, called captain Straiton, while he submitted his proceedings to the cognizance of his brother Jacobites, whom he aptly termed his constituents. His account of the proceedings of the commissioners, is distorted by party colouring, beyond the usual allotment of such documents, and one is tempted to ask how a person, who



saw, in every branch of the proceedings, something so irredeemably wicked, could have so far compromised his conscience, as to have permitted himself to be chosen as one of those whose duty it was to assist in and further them.

The scheme of a general rising was designed for the purpose of stilling the projected union; but the attempt having failed, the Jacobites were compelled to debate the treaty, clause by clause, in open parliament, where, notwithstanding every artifice for exciting public clamour, it was triumphantly carried. Lockhart, through the whole, was uniform in his opposition—adhered to every protest that was taken against it, and, in more than one instance, entered protests against it in his own name. He also, in conjunction with Cochrane of Kilmaronock, gave fifty guineas to Cunningham of Eckatt, for the purpose of forwarding a design of forcibly dispersing the parliament by an army of Cameronians, which he proposed to raise in the western shires, but which, as he alleged, he was prevented from doing by the intrigues of the duke of Hamilton.

The union having been ratified by the parliaments of both kingdoms, and peaceably carried into effect, the next hope of the Jacobites was the French invasion, which Hooke had negotiated with them during the preceding year, and to which they now looked forward with the most ardent expectation. Of all the partizans of James, perhaps none were more zealous, on this occasion, than the subject of this memoir; but, fortunately for himself, he followed in the train, and acted by the advice of the duke of Hamilton, who, being at the time at his seat in Lancaster, and taken there into custody by a king's messenger, could not meet his Scottish friends at Dumfries, according to agreement, till the defeat of the French fleet rendered any further appearance at that time unnecessary, in consequence of which he himself, as well as his friends, escaped any thing like serious prosecution. Mr Lockhart also having the powerful influence of his uncle, lord Wharton, exerted in his favour, remained unmolested.

The next hope of the Jacobites was in the inclinations of the queen, which, with all her coldness, they naturally expected, and indeed had, if we may believe their own account, and lay much weight on a few accidental circumstances, a well-grounded hope, that they might be extended to her brother and his family; and that they might more effectually influence her counsels, it was resolved, that no influence or endeavour should be spared in procuring seats in parliament for the heads of the party. Mr Lockhart started for the county of Edinburgh, and had sufficient interest to secure his election, though he was obnoxious both to the court and the presbyterians, to whom he seems to have been always inimical. The first session of the first British parliament, did not afford much scope for that species of ingenuity for which Mr Lockhart has taken so much credit to himself; and by his efforts, joined to those of Mr Houston, younger of Houston, Lag, younger of Lag, Dull of Drummure, and Cochrane of Kilmaronock, all unwavering supporters of the same political creed, little or nothing was effected. The next session was almost wholly occupied with the affair of Sacheverel, in whose behalf the Jacobites were joined by those supporters of the house of Hanover, who either conceived, or for political purposes alleged, that the church was in danger, while the affairs of Scotland were neglected amidst more exciting discussions. A field was soon, however, to be opened, in which they doubted not shortly to reap a rich harvest.

At the period when a waiting woman in the queen's bed-chamber was sapping the foundation of the Godolphin and Marlborough administration, that ministry requested leave to dismiss Mrs Masham, threatening her with an address from the two houses of parliament; to which was to be attached an invitation to Prince George, of Hanover. "As such treatment much chagrined the queen against her ministry," says Lockhart, "she was very desirous to secure



herself against such attempts, and did avowedly solicit a great many members of both houses of parliament, that they would not consent to a motion to deprive her of the liberty allow'd to the meanest housekeeper in her dominions, viz., that of choosing her own domestic servants."—"And I accordingly," continues the narrator, in a very remarkable passage bearing on one of the most obscure points in British history, "procured an address, in a very high monarchical style, from the barons and freeholders in the county of Edinburgh; and having brought it up with me when I came to parliament, I was introduced by the duke of Hamilton to present the same; and having read it to her majesty, she seemed very well pleased, gave a gracious return to the address, and then told me, tho' I had almost always opposed her measures, she did not doubt of my affection to her person, and hoped I would not concur in the design against Mrs Masham, or for bringing over the prince of Hanover. At first I was somewhat surprised, but recovering myself, I assured her I should never be accessary to imposing any hardship or affront upon her; and as for the prince of Hanover, her majesty might judge, from the address I had read, that I should not be acceptable to my constituents, if I gave my consent for bringing over any of that family, either now or any time hereafter. At this she smiled, and I withdrew; and then she said to the duke, she believed I was an honest man; and the duke replied, he could assure her I liked her majesty and all her father's bairns."<sup>1</sup> The gradual steps towards a delicate and dangerous subject, so naturally laid down in this valuable passage—the hope expressed by the queen that the Jacobite partisan was averse to the removal of the favourite, and the introduction of the prince—the surprise of the Jacobite, and his ingenious extension of the request—the queen's smile and remark on his honesty—and, finally, the cautious but bold extension of the insinuations in the kindly rejoinder of the duke, all speak to the authenticity of the scene, and the accurate observation of the narrator. That he may be depended on, there is little doubt. The cautious Hallam considers that the Lockhart Papers sufficiently prove that the author "and his friends were confident of the queen's inclinations in the last years of her life, though not of her resolution." Nor can a vanity to be esteemed the depository of the secrets of princes, be likely to operate on a man whose works are not to be witnessed by his own age. On the whole, the passage may be said almost to prove that the queen's "inclinations" were with her brother; but a "resolution" on either side, she appears to have never attained.

The circumstance last mentioned was soon followed by the renowned downfall of Anne's whig ministry. Strong but ineffectual attempts were made by the whigs at the elections. Lockhart was violently opposed in Edinburghshire, but carried his election by a great majority, as did Sir Hugh Paterson of Bannockburn for the shire of Stirling, and Sir Alexander Areskine, lord Lyon king at arms, for the shire of Fife, both thorough paced Jacobites and violent episcopalians. The last of these gentlemen, along with Mr Carnegie of Boysack, Mr James Murray, second son to the viscount Stormont, afterwards created by the Pretender lord Dunbar, and Sir Alexander Cuning of Cantar, joined Mr Lockhart in a close confederacy, agreeing to mutual support, in cordially prosecuting the great objects for which they had come into parliament, viz., the dissolving of the treaty of union, and the breaking up of the protestant succession. Keeping their agreement as secret as was compatible with its efficacy, and prudently cultivating the friendship of the English Tories, they soon became conspicuous, and were regarded by both sides of the house as men of superior consequence, whose feelings and views it was necessary to consult in all measures regarding Scotland. The first fruit of this confederacy was a breach of the union, committed by the

<sup>1</sup> Lockhart Papers, i. 307



house of lords, in reversing a sentence of the magistrates of Edinburgh which shut up the meeting-house of a Mr Greenshields, the first clergyman who introduced the English liturgy into the service of the Scots Episcopal church. The full harvest was the act of toleration, with the oath of abjuration annexed, to be imposed upon all the ministers of the Scottish church; the act restoring lay patronage; and the act for the observing certain holidays, all of which were prepared by Mr Lockhart, and by him and his friends forced upon the ministry, contrary to the expressed opinion of the people, and with the avowed purpose of undermining the presbyterian interest.

At the same time that he was so deeply engaged in forwarding the particular views of himself and his friends, in regard to affairs purely Scottish, Mr Lockhart was also employed upon the more general business, or what may be called the drudgery of the house. He was one, and the only Scotsman, who was upon the commission of the house for examining the national accounts, with the view of criminating the ex-whig ministers; and, as chairman of that commission, gave in a long report, intended to implicate the duke of Marlborough, a person whose conduct was certainly not pure, while it still affords a pleasing contrast to that of his accusers. The report, however, when it came to be examined, discovered only the headstrong party spirit of its authors, and not much against the accused, but the usual political corruption, too characteristic of the period.

The duties of a commissioner upon the national accounts, did not, however, by any means absorb the whole attention of the indefatigable Lockhart, for while he devoted himself to the service of the pretender, he also proposed a bill in parliament to bestow upon curates the bishops' rents, to resume all grants of church property that had been made to the universities, which he declared to be public nuisances, mere nests of rebellion, which could not be soon enough annihilated. The service to be accomplished in favour of the exiled family by these measures, is not very clear, and we are prevented from knowing the effect their proposal would have produced, from his friends declining to adopt them. So high, indeed, was he borne by his zeal, that an order was obtained by his friends from St Germain, recommending to him moderate measures, and dissuading him from attempts to openly force the English ministry upon desperate projects, as they were themselves well enough disposed, and were the best judges of the means whereby their good intentions would be carried into effect. This order he dared not disobey, but he owns it was much against his inclination, and takes the liberty of affirming that it injured the pretender's interest.

On the duke of Hamilton being appointed ambassador to the court of France, he selected the subject of our memoir to wait privately upon him, and to act according to his orders upon an affair of extraordinary moment, which he never explained, but which Lockhart understood to be the pretender's restoration, and he was just leaving Scotland with the hope of being called to accompany the duke upon that pleasing duty, when he heard that a quarrel betwixt Hamilton and lord Mohun had brought both these distinguished noblemen to an untimely end. This circumstance he affirms to have been fatal to the hopes of the pretender, no one having been found capable of conducting so delicate a business till the period when disputes in the cabinet and the death of the queen rendered the case hopeless. But these circumstances did not damp his ardour, or prevent him from impeding the government, which he could not overturn. Accordingly, on the attempt to extend the malt tax to Scotland, in the year 1713, he made a desperate effort, in which he was seconded by the earls of Mar, Eglington, Hay, &c., for the dissolution of the union, a project which narrowly failed of success, as we have narrated more at large in the life of John, duke of Argyle. The attempt to assimilate the Scottish to the English militia which fol-



lowed, he resisted, and, in his personal friendship, defended the hereditary title of the duke of Argyle to the lieutenancy of the county of Argyle. His friends, who could not see the advantage of such a measure, were displeased, but his design was to bring over the duke to the interests of the Pretender, of which he was always suspicious the ministry were less careful than of their own. He, however, continued to sit and to act with them, under the strongest assurances from Bolingbroke, that every thing he could desire would be done for the Pretender so soon as it was possible to do it with safety, till the prorogation before the death of the queen, when he retired to his residence in the country, and though the same parliament was assembled on the death of the queen, did not attend it, having lost all hope of the Pretender's restoration by other means than arms.

He accordingly began privately to provide horses and arms for himself and his dependants, though from his late conduct he was not trusted by the leaders of the party to the extent that might have been expected. Nothing, indeed, but mere general surmises seem to have reached him till the month of August, 1715, when warrants were already issued out against all who were suspected as favouring the designs of the earl of Mar, and under one of these warrants he was, early in that month, apprehended at his house of Dryden, and committed prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh. In these circumstances he immediately wrote to the duke of Argyle, who, in return for his services in regard to the militia bill, procured his enlargement, after he had been fifteen days a prisoner, on his giving bail for six thousand merks. He was no sooner liberated than he waited upon his rebel associates, who had not been apprehended; but, finding them still disinclined to the communication, he retired to his house at Carnwath, where he secretly and diligently employed his personal influence in the furtherance of the cause, though still unacknowledged by any of the ostensible leaders of the insurrection, and waited till the arrival of the Pretender, or the transit of the Forth by Mar, should give the signal for him and his friends to appear in arms. In the mean time, a letter from the duke of Argyle informed him that his practices were well known to the government, and requiring him forthwith to repair to his house at Dryden. Every thing, arms, horses, &c., were again disposed of in the best manner that could be devised, and he immediately repaired to Dryden, where he negotiated with Kenmore and the southern rebels; his troop of horse, under the command of his brother Philip Lockhart, being sent to join them at Biggar, he himself staying behind for a few days to arrange some minor concerns. To ensure his safety after concluding his transactions with the rebels, he wrote to the lord justice clerk, requesting to know whether he should remain in Edinburgh or go home to Dryden, and was ordered to choose the latter alternative. Mackintosh, however, having that night crossed the Forth, on his march to the south, a party of soldiers was sent out to Dryden, who apprehended Lockhart, and carried him again to the castle; a circumstance which saved both his life and his estate, as well as those of many others who were prepared to set out with him on an expedition that proved desperate—his whole troop being taken at Preston, along with the rest of their companions, and his brother shot as a deserter by order of a court-martial.

Mr Lockhart suffered a long confinement, but escaped, through the steadiness of his friends, that punishment which was likely to have followed his conduct, and which the government, could they have elicited sufficient evidence, would most willingly have inflicted; but he was by no means cured of his affection for the exiled family, and before two years had elapsed, he was employed as an agent to bring up six thousand bolls of oatmeal, to be given to the king of



Sweden as the hire or the reward for his setting the Pretender upon the British throne. Of all the attempts made by the party in its despair, this was certainly the most singular; yet he seems to have embarked in it with that ardour which marked his character, and he contrived to obtain, from the earl of Eglinton, the offer of three thousand guineas towards its accomplishment. It was soon, however, found to be a project which could not be carried into effect. He narrowly escaped being involved in the affair of Glenshiel, and when the Spanish battalion was brought to Edinburgh, he supplied the commander, Don Nicolas, with what money he wanted till he could be supplied with bills from the Spanish ambassador in Holland, telling him, at the same time, that "it was unkind in him to allow himself to be straightened, when he knew the king, for whose cause he suffered, had so many friends in town that would cheerfully assist him."

In 1718, the Pretender commenced a correspondence with Mr Lockhart, which continued with little interruption till 1727, when it fell into the hands of the government, by what means has never been fully explained, though most probably it was in consequence of a dispute Mr Lockhart had got into with the episcopal college, respecting the election of a bishop of the name of Gillon, whose ordination was keenly opposed by a number of the presbyters, who objected to the nomination that had been made of him by the Pretender, as unduly influenced by Lockhart, who, for a number of years, had been the only channel through which they communicated with their exiled prince. Many meetings were held, and much rancour displayed on the subject, by the enraged presbyters, who threatened the consequences of the rebellion, in which most of the parties were implicated, if the consecration was persisted in. The bitterness of the disputants made it impossible for them to be secret: the whole came before the public, and the government being masters of the channel of communication, the earliest packet transmitted to Lockhart was waited for, and sent to London. Orders were immediately sent to seize Strahan, a merchant in Leith, to whom the packet had been directed, and, under a strong guard of dragoons, to send him to London. Before setting out, however, he was well instructed how to conduct himself, supplied with money by Lockhart, and the earls of Kincardine and Dundonald, with the assurance, that if he behaved with firmness, nothing could be brought legally home to him, while his family, in the mean time, should be carefully seen to, and he himself would gain honour by the incident. Warrants were at the same time issued for the apprehension of Mr Lockhart and Mr Corsar, one of his friends. The latter was apprehended at Glammis, but the former, taking the alarm, effected his escape into Durham, where he remained in the house of a friend till the 8th of April, when he sailed for Dort, where he arrived in safety. He immediately wrote to the Pretender, through lord Inverness, stating the circumstances into which he had fallen, and that he was waiting his master's commands before finally resolving how to dispose of himself. In the mean time, he met lord North and Grey at Brussels, who had also been under the necessity of leaving his native country for dabbling in the affairs of the Pretender, and was thus far on his way to the court of that personage, where he hoped to be trusted with the management of his affairs, which, in the hands of colonel Hay and James Murray, (created lords Inverness and Dunbar,) were generally supposed to have fallen into disorder, pressing at the same time that Mr Lockhart should accompany him, and take charge of the affairs of Scotland, while he attended to those of England. Lockhart, however, would not approach the court of the Pretender without his orders, shrewdly suspecting that James was too fond of the lady Inverness, who was lord Dunbar's sister, to part permanently with either of the three. The lord North and Grey proceeded to



his destination, but found, instead of the premiership which he expected, an appointment provided for him in the army of Spain, with which he was obliged to be content. Inverness had been nominally superseded by Sir John Graham, who proposed the most flattering terms to Lockhart; but the former was still first in the Pretender's affection, and, along with Dunbar, held the entire management of his counsels, which were, and had long been, very far from what the latter gentleman wished. By their advice, and in pursuance of his own feelings, the Pretender no sooner heard of the death of George I. than he left Bologna for Lorrain in the greatest haste, intending to put himself at the head of the Highlanders, and, with their assistance, conquer and secure the throne of the three kingdoms; a similar project to that which his son attempted in the year 1745. A messenger was sent to consult Lockhart, who, astonished at the folly of the proposal, assured the Pretender that it would prove the ruin of himself and all his friends, and would deprive him of the power of ever again renewing the attempt. More wise than his son upon a like occasion, he accepted the advice, and returned to Avignon. Lockhart tendered him, afterwards, some long letters, containing very good advices, with which he probably had little hope that he would comply, and learning, in the month of April, 1728, that his friends the duke of Argyle, lord Ilay, and Duncan Forbes, then lord advocate for Scotland, had procured him liberty to return and to live at home unmolested, he embraced the opportunity of doing so, nothing being required of him but his simple promise that he would live in peace. He was, however, required to go by the way of London, and to return thanks personally to George II., who was now in possession of the throne. "This," he says, "did not go well down with me, and was what I would most gladly have avoided; but there was no evading of it; and as others, whose sincere attachment to the king was never doubted, had often preceded me on such like occasions, I was under the necessity of bowing my knee to Baal, now that I was in the house of Rimmon." Having performed this piece of unwilling submission, he returned to his family in 1728, evidently in despair of furthering the cause in which he had so long exerted himself, and determined to resign all connexion with politics. Of his after history, we have been unable to learn more than that he was slain in a duel some time in the year 1732, having entered the fifty-ninth year of his age.

He was married on the 13th of April, 1697, to Euphemia Montgomery, third daughter of Alexander, ninth earl of Eglinton, by his first wife, Margaret, daughter of William, lord Cochrane, son of the earl of Dundonald. He had seven sons and eight daughters. His eldest son George, possessing somewhat of the prudent foresight of his father, delivered himself up in the year 1746, to Sir John Cope, the day after the battle of Gladsmuir, and was for a considerable time a prisoner at large in England. His grandson George, continued with Charles till after the fatal battle of Culloden, after which he escaped to the continent, and died an exile at Paris some few months before his father, in the year 1761.

As an author, Mr Lockhart is entitled to very considerable praise. His Memoirs concerning the Affairs of Scotland, and his commentaries, though neither so clear nor so impartial as could be wished, are yet valuable materials for history, and throw very considerable light both upon the individual characters and transactions of those times. And his register of letters is still more interesting, as giving us not only an account of the proceedings, but the acts themselves, of the Jacobites of the period. His memoirs were surreptitiously published during his lifetime, by a friend to whom he had lent them, and a key to the names (given in the published volume in initials) was afterwards circulated. He left



his papers carefully concealed, with instructions to his heir, to abstain from publishing them till the year 1750; but the connexion of his grandson with the rebellion of 1745 rendering their appearance even then inexpedient, they lay unnoticed until, at the request of count Lockhart, they were edited by Mr Anthony Anfrere in 1817.

We have only to add, that in private life his character seems to have been exceedingly amiable, and he enjoyed, in a high degree, the respect and affection, notwithstanding the contrariety of their political principles, of the best and wisest public man of his age, Duncan Forbes of Culloden.

LOCKHART, (SIR) WILLIAM, of Lee, an eminent statesman under the Protectorate of Cromwell, was the third son of Sir James Lockhart of Lee, by Martha, daughter of Douglas of Mordington. He was born in the year 1621, and received the earlier part of his education in Scotland, whence he proceeded to some one of the usual seminaries in Holland. He did not long remain in that country, but after visiting Scotland for a short period, joined the French army as a volunteer, and so far distinguished himself as to attract the attention of the queen mother, who procured for him a pair of colours.<sup>1</sup> He subsequently accompanied lord William Hamilton to Scotland, and accepted the appointment of lieutenant-colonel in that nobleman's regiment.

In the course of his military duty he was introduced to Charles I., at his surrender to the Scottish army before Newark. He was on this occasion knighted, and was afterwards employed to negotiate for the safety of the marquis of Moreton. Having joined in the enterprise of the duke of Hamilton, called the Engagement, he was taken prisoner in the unfortunate action at Preston, and after remaining a year in custody at Newcastle, regained his liberty at the serious cost (at that period) of one thousand pounds. Having attached himself to the house of Hamilton, he necessarily attracted the jealous notice of the rival nobleman, Argyle, and on several occasions subsequent to the arrival of Charles II. in Scotland, suffered, through its influence, a degree of contumely from the king, which roused his haughty spirit to exclaim, that "No king upon earth should use him in that manner." But while he did not conceive that he should suffer the insults of a king with more patience than those of any other man, his private feeling towards the nominal head of the government did not interfere with his duty to his country, and his services to the cause he had adopted as the best. He remained an officer in Charles's army, and his regiment was distinguished for its services at the battle of Worcester. The cause of monarchy being now suppressed in both ends of the island, he remained for two years in retirement; but, weary of keeping in dormancy powers which he was aware might distinguish him in the service of the state, he repaired to London, and was welcomed by the Protector, who never permitted a man of Lockhart's powers to remain unwillingly idle. From which side the advances were made appears not to be known; it was probably from that of Lockhart. This step is the more surprising as he had belonged to that party of the Scottish presbyterians which used to regard monarchy with most respect. On the 18th of May, 1652, he was appointed one of the commissioners for the administration of justice in Scotland, and in 1654, the Protector gave him one of his nieces in marriage,<sup>2</sup> and raised him to the possession of the highest political influence

<sup>1</sup> Harding's Biographical Mirror, iii. 54.

<sup>2</sup> Harding calls the niece 'Robina Sewster.' Noble thinks the lady whom Lockhart married was probably a daughter of Desborough, because secretary Thurloe writes to Lockhart, "H. H. (the Protector) doe very much rejoice to hear that your lady is in a way of recovery, and so doth general Desborough, and truly no more than yours, &c."—*House of Cromwell*, ii. 256.



in the land. In 1654 and 1656, he represented the shire of Lanark in Cromwell's parliaments. He was also appointed one of the trustees for disposing of the forfeited estates of the royalists, and a member of the Protector's privy council for Scotland.

On the 14th December, 1655, he was appointed ambassador from England to Louis XIV. ; a duty which, at that dangerous period, when the British government was acknowledged abroad only from its strength, was eminently calculated to bring out the peculiar energies of his mind. He did not proceed on his mission until April, 1656 ;<sup>3</sup> a circumstance which probably accounts for his having sat for Lanark during that year. The character both of the government and its servant quickly secured respect. "He was," says Clarendon, "received with great solemnity, and was a man of great address in treaty, and had a marvellous credit and power with the cardinal Mazarine."<sup>4</sup> His countryman Burnet, who probably knew him better, says, "He was both a wise and gallant man, calm and virtuous, and one that carried the generousities of friendship very far. He was made governor of Dunkirk, and ambassador, at the same time. But he told me that when he was sent afterwards ambassador by king Charles, he found he had nothing of that regard that was paid him in Cromwell's time."<sup>5</sup> He arrived at Dieppe on the 24th of April, and was received with all the civic honours which the town could bestow.<sup>6</sup> An alliance with France in opposition to Spain, and indeed anything resembling amity towards the former nation, was considered an anomaly in the British constitution resembling an infraction of the laws of nature, and the measure, although it was boldly undertaken, and successfully executed, has met the reprobation of historians, whose simple statement of its impolicy and folly is embraced in the terms, "An alliance between Great Britain and France." But the union was an act of almost diplomatic necessity on the part of the Protector, from the alliance (as it was termed) of Spain with the exiled Charles ; and with whatever reluctance the French may have at first looked upon the novelty, Mazarine found himself associated with a government whose assistance was useful, and whose enmity might be dangerous.

From the influence of the clergy alone was any opposition to be dreaded. "I have received," says the ambassador, "many civil messages from persons of honour and good interest ; and I fynd also, that my being here is much disliked by others, especiallie by the assembly of the clergy. And," he continues, in the manner of the period, "I shall make it my endeavour to wait upon God for his directione and protectione, and shall verie little trouble myself with their menaces." But Lockhart found that the French were at least lukewarm in assisting the vast designs of Cromwell, and that they were naturally averse to be the mere auxiliaries of their natural enemies, in subjecting those neighbouring provinces which had often called forth the full power of their armies.

Lockhart, accordingly, takes many occasions to express the discontent of his

The following passage from the same source is perhaps more conclusive :—

COLONEL LOCKHART TO SECRETARY THURLOE.

"When I had the honour to take leave of you, I had your permission to give you trouble in any business wherein I was concerned ; therefore being engaged by articles of agreement with general Desbrowe to make a purchase in England for a settlement to my wife and her children, and the daie being elapsed, by which time I was bound either to make a purchase, or to secure so much money by way of mortgage upon land in England, I am bound to beseech you to move his highness, for leave to me for a month to come to London for settling that affair." &c. Edinburgh, December 25th, 1655.—*Thurloe's State Papers*, iv. 342.

<sup>3</sup> Thurloe, iv., 647, 728.

<sup>4</sup> History, vii. 180.

<sup>5</sup> Burnet's Own Times, i. 76.

<sup>6</sup> Thurloe, iv. 739.



energetic temper at the interruptions thrown in his way. Alluding to the cardinal's conduct about the dispute which then divided France, he says—"So soon as I have the opportunity of being at court, I shall endeavour to inform myself as fully as shall be possible for me, of what hath passed in this particular; and if I find that the differences betwixt the cardinal and the prince are in any good way of accommodatiōne, I shall then persuade myself, that the cardinal (whatever pretences he hath had to the contrary,) intends a peace with Spayne in good earnest, and hath got over the greatest rub that was in his way: for in his discourses on that businesse, I found that the restoration of the prince stuck more with him than either the re-delivery of towns, or the leaving of his allye the Portugal, to the Spanyard's mercy."<sup>7</sup> And, probably under the irritation of delay, he wrote to secretary Thurloe in June, saying, "I beg leave to discharge my conscience, by letting you know, that I am verie much convinced, that his highnesse affairs here doe infinitelie suffer by mismanagement. They doe requyre the addresse of a hande muche more happie than myne; and therefore shall humbly beg, that you may be pleased to lett his highnesse knowe how much it concerns his interest heare that some other person be employed, whose parts and experience may be more suitable to this trust than myne are."<sup>8</sup> But Lockhart did not either give up his commission in discontent, or submit to be dallied with. Towards the termination of the year, he says in his despatches, "The audience my last told you I demanded and was promised, hath been defered till this evening, notwithstanding my endeavours to the contrary: and though it lasted from six o'clock at night till ten, yet I cannot say I had much satisfaction in it, for Mons. De Lion was with his eminence all the tyme, and by his presence necessitated my syllence in some particulars, that, if I had had the honour to entertain the cardinal by himself I durst have ventured upon. Howsoever, finding several particulars formerly agreed upon, questioned, and others absolutely denyed, I was guiltie of the rudenesse to tell his eminence that I did not understand such proceedure in businesse, and was astonished to meet so unexpected changes."<sup>9</sup> From remonstrances the ambassador proceeded to threats. It was the determination of the English that Mardyke and Dunkirk should be taken and left in their hands; and in the commencement of the year 1657, "Lockhart," says Clarendon, "made such lively instances with the cardinal, and complaints of their breach of faith, and some menaces that his master knew where to find a more punctual friend, that as soon as they had taken Montmedy and St Venant, the army marched into Flanders: and though the season of the year was too far spent to engage in a siege before Dunkirk, they sat down before Mardyke, which was looked upon as the most difficult part of the work; which being reduced would facilitate the other very much; and that fort they took, and delivered it into the hands of Reynolds, with an obligation that they would besiege Dunkirk the next year, and make it their first attempt."<sup>10</sup>

Lockhart's contest for the interests of Britain did not terminate after the capture of Mardyke: he accused the French of purposely leaving the town undefended, that the British might be compelled to raze the fortifications, and gain no advantage from their captures, while they weakened the enemies of France. He urged Turenne to proceed immediately to the siege of Dunkirk, then but ill defended, offering for the service 5000 veterans and 2000 recruits; but he had to wait until June, 1658, ere the design was put in practice. At this celebrated siege Lockhart commanded the British foot, with which he charged and routed those of Spain. "As to the siege of Dunkirk," says lord

<sup>7</sup> Thurloe, v. 441.

<sup>8</sup> Thurloe, v. 120.

<sup>9</sup> Thurloe, v. 574.

<sup>10</sup> History, vii. 212.



Fouconberg, "by the little discourse I have had with the duke de Crequy, chevalier Grammont, and others, I find they infinitely esteeme my lord Lockhart for his courage, care, and enduring the fatigue beyond all men they ever saw. These were their own words."<sup>11</sup> When the fortifications had yielded to his efforts, and those of his illustrious coadjutor Turenne, he found himself still perplexed by the interruptions of the French: that the possession of so important and long-hoped-for an acquisition should be left to foreigners, was humiliating; and whatever respect they paid to Cromwell's government, these might at least indulge the privilege of preventing their assistance from being so ample as it appeared. Almost unassisted, Lockhart was compelled with his small army immediately to put the place in a posture of defence, and complaining that he was "forced to buy the very pallisades of the Fort-Royall; otherwayes the French, notwithstanding any order the king and cardinall can give, would pull them out; and not only burn them, but pull down the earthen works in taking them out."<sup>12</sup>

After the siege Lockhart was visited by commissary Mandossi, a person who, under pretence of paying some debts which the Spanish army had incurred during the siege, acted as an emissary from the marquis of Caracine, privately to discover the extent to which Lockhart might countenance an immediate treaty as the avenue to a peace; but the conquering general returned polite and haughty answers to the hints laid before him. He was appointed governor of Dunkirk, an office in which he was enabled to distinguish himself for his resolution and consistency; and he was employed as plenipotentiary at the treaty of the Pyrenees. After the accession of Richard Cromwell, and even during the uncertainty of the continuance of a protectoral government in England, Sir William Lockhart so far supported in his own person the influence of the commonwealth, that the interference of the exiled prince was disregarded by both the foreign powers. After the peace, he visited England, and met with Monk, whom he found still apparently intent on the continuation of the protectorate. Being thus lulled into security, he returned to his foreign station, which he hardly reached when he heard rumours of the approaching restoration of monarchy. When Monk first hinted that his exertions would be at the service of the king, and advised him speedily to quit Spain, lest his person might be seized as a hostage for the restoration of Dunkirk, Charles fled to Breda; and Lockhart might at once have obtained pardon for all offences, and the prospect of high promotion under the new order of things, if he would have acceded to a request (made with many flattering promises) to throw open to him the gates of Dunkirk. But the man who had said he would not be insulted even by a king, answered that "he was trusted by the commonwealth, and could not betray it."<sup>13</sup>—"This scruple," says Hume, "though in the present emergence it approaches towards superstition, it is difficult for us entirely to condemn;" but the elegant historian made the observation on the presumption that Lockhart "was nowise averse to the king's service."—"Whether this refusal," says Clarendon, "proceeded from the punctuality of his nature (for he was a man of parts and of honour), or from his jealousy for the garrison, that they would not be disposed by him, (for though he was exceedingly beloved and obeyed by them, yet they were all Englishmen, and he had none of his own nation, which was the Scottish, but in his own family;) certain it is, that, at the same time that he refused to treat with the king, he refused to accept the great offers made to him by the cardinal, who had a high esteem of him, and offered to make him marshal of France, with great appointments of pensions and other emolu-

<sup>11</sup> Thurloe, vii. 151.<sup>12</sup> Thurloe, 112.<sup>13</sup> Burnet, i. 86.



ments, if he would deliver Dunkirk and Mardyke into the hands of France; all which overtures he rejected: so that his majesty had no place to resort to preferable to Breda."<sup>14</sup> After the termination of the period of excitement and energy in which he bore so active a part, little of interest remains to be told connected with the events of Lockhart's life. He was of course deprived of the government of Dunkirk, which was bestowed on Sir Edward Harley. Through the intercession of Middleton, he was suffered to return to Britain, and was introduced to Charles; he then retired to Scotland, where he buried himself in retirement, and amused himself with teaching his fellow countrymen the English methods of agriculture; but, driven away by the prevailing anarchy, he preferred a residence with the relations of his wife in Huntingdonshire. In 1665, when a renewed struggle of the commonwealth's men was expected in Scotland, the busy spirits, who had dreamed of, rather than concocted the enterprise, looked to the earl of Cassillis and Lockhart as the individuals who would probably become their leaders; but, neither countenancing the advances which were cautiously made, the project fell for a period. In 1671, he was brought to court by Lauderdale, and he showed no disinclination to be employed, "not so much," says Burnet, "out of ambition to rise, as from a desire to be safe, and to be no longer looked on as an enemy to the court." But Charles seems to have considered him as one of his "natural" enemies, "for when a foreign minister," continues Burnet, "asked the king leave to treat with him in his master's name, the king consented, but with this severe reflection, that he believed he would be true to any body but himself."—"He was sent," continues the same authority, "to the courts of Brandenburg and Lunenburg, either to draw them into the alliance, or, if that could not be done, at least to secure them from all apprehensions. But in this he had no success. And indeed when he saw into what a negotiation he was engaged, he became very uneasy. For though the blackest part of the secret was not trusted to him, as appeared to me by the instructions which I read after his death, yet he saw whither things were going; and that affected him so deeply, that it was believed to have contributed not a little to the languishing he soon fell into, which ended in his death two years after. This event took place on the 20th March, 1675, a year after the death of his father. Noble has told us that his death was attributed to the alternate causes of "a poisoned glove," and disgust at the machinations betwixt Charles and Louis, of which he had been the unconscious instrument. "I have ever looked on him," says Burnet, "as the greatest man that his country produced in this age, next to Sir Robert Murray."

LOGAN, GEORGE, chiefly celebrated as the controversial opponent of Ruddiman, was born in the year 1678, and is supposed to have been the son of George Logan, a descendant of the family of Logan of Logan, in Ayrshire, who married Miss Cunningham, a daughter of the clergyman of Old Cumnock, and sister to Mr Alexander Cunningham, professor of civil law in the university of Edinburgh, towards the latter end of the 18th century.<sup>15</sup> George Logan was educated at the university of Glasgow, of which he entered the Greek class in 1693, and became a master of arts in 1696. Being destined for the church, he was licensed as a preacher by the presbytery of Glasgow about the year 1702, and on the 7th of April, 1707, he was ordained a minister by the same presbytery, in pursuance of a popular call to the parish of Lauder, the ministry of which he obtained in preference to two other candidates, Mr Stephen Oliver and Mr George Hall. He remained at Lauder until the 22nd January, 1719,

<sup>14</sup> Clarendon *ut sup.*

<sup>15</sup> Chalmers' *Life of Ruddiman*, 190.



when, in consequence of another call, which was unanimous on the part of the parishioners, he was appointed to the ministry of Sprouston, in the presbytery of Kelso. A second time inducements were held forth, which prompted him to change his sphere of duty, and on the 22nd January, 1722, he was inducted as minister of Dunbar. Here he married his first wife, the sister of Sir Alexander Home of Eccles in the Merse, a lady who left him a son and daughter, both of whom survived him. His ministry appears to have secured much popularity, for advancement was again held forth to him; and on the 14th December, 1732, he was admitted one of the ministers of Edinburgh. He whose fame and fortune had been so much advanced by the popular voice, now published a treatise "On the Right of Electing Ministers," and it may safely be presumed, that the liberal opinions thus commenced and continued through the rest of his life, were at least fostered by the influence which the exercise of a popular right had produced on his own fortune. It is probable that this tract was published just before his appointment to the charge in Edinburgh, being dated in the same year. When the act for bringing to punishment those connected with the Porteous mob, in 1736, was ordered to be read in all the churches, on the last Sunday of every month during a year, "all the ministers," says Mr Chalmers, rather enigmatically, "did not think with Logan that the will of the legislature ought, on this occasion, to be obeyed. And he was carried, by the activity of his temper, into a contest, in 1737, with the late Dr Alexander Webster, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, on the propriety of refusing obedience to an act of parliament, in a point wherein it is not easy to perceive how either conscience or religion could be concerned." On the 8th of May, 1740, Logan was appointed moderator of the general assembly. During the occupation of Edinburgh by the Highlanders, in 1745, Logan, in common with most of the other ministers of Edinburgh, thought it prudent to secure his personal safety by quitting the town. His house, being near the weigh-house, where the Highlanders had a guard to prevent communication between the city and castle, was occupied by them as a guard-house. After their retirement, he inserted in the newspapers an advertisement for the recovery of some articles abstracted by his late guests, a document containing more satire upon the tory party than his political pamphlets. His controversy with Ruddiman originated in the edition of Buchanan's works, edited by that eminent scholar in 1715. He had become a member of a society of critics, whose ostensible purpose was to rescue the memory of Buchanan from the prejudicial opinions of his editor, but whose labours, though they appear to have reached a considerable extent of matter, were never published. In 1746, Logan published "A Treatise on Government: showing that the right of the kings of Scotland to the crown was not strictly and absolutely hereditary;" and, in 1747, he subjoined "A Second Treatise on Government, showing that the right to the crown of Scotland was not hereditary in the sense of Jacobites." The first answer he received was in an anonymous letter, written in a spirit of airy ridicule, and in July, 1747, appeared the graver discussion of the grounds of his opinions by Ruddiman. Logan, in company with many men who have supported liberal and enlightened political sentiments, had the misfortune to be more anxious to establish them on historical precedent, than on their native merits, and the history of Scotland was peculiarly barren in ascertained facts for such a purpose. His principles appear to have been somewhat akin to those of Grotius, which admitted nothing in hereditary right but a continuation to the descendants of the permission given to their ancestor to govern. To show that the crown of Scotland did not descend through the Stewarts in a pure legitimate stream, he discussed the well-known subject of the legitimacy of Robert III., and the question, certainly at one time debateable,



whether the Pretender was or was not the son of James II. The former of these points has now been pretty satisfactorily established by the labours of Innes, Hay, Stewart, and Ruddiman, and the latter is no longer a matter of doubt. But Logan is accused of having gone to other and more frail sources; a fabulous list of kings had been added to the number of the tenants of the Scottish throne, by Boece and the other early chroniclers. Buchanan, if he did not know the list to be fabricated, knew the circumstances of the lives of these persons to rest on so unstable a foundation, that he found himself enabled to twist their characters to his theories. On the events connected with the reigns of these persons, Logan likewise comments; but after having done so, turning to the writings of Innes and Stillingfleet, he remarked—"But I shall be so good as to yield it to Lloyd, Stillingfleet, and Innes: but then let our Scottish Jacobites and the young chevalier give over their boasting of hereditary succession by a longer race of kings in Scotland than in any kingdom in the known world."<sup>2</sup> Ruddiman employed his usual labour in clearing the questions about Robert III. and the birth of the Pretender; but in another point—the wish to prove that Robert the Bruce was a nearer heir to the Scottish crown by feudal usages than John Baliol—he failed. Chalmers, who can see neither talent nor honesty in Logan, and no defect in Ruddiman, observes, that "it required not, indeed, the vigour of Ruddiman to overthrow the weakness of Logan, who laid the foundations of the government which he affected, either on the wild fables of Boece, or on the more despicable fallacies of Buchanan;" but the fables, which were satirically noticed by Logan, were subjects of serious consideration to the grave critic. Ruddiman brings against his opponent the charge, frequently made on such occasions, of "despising dominions, speaking evil of dignities, and throwing out railing accusations against kings, though the archangel Michael durst not bring one against the devil himself, whom our author, I hope, will allow to be worse than the worst of our kings."<sup>3</sup> This was, at least, in some degree, complimentary to Logan, and the critic, proceeding, tries to preserve, for the ancestors of Charles II., both their length of line and their virtues, and is anxious to show that, at least, such as cannot be easily saved from the censures of Buchanan and Logan, were not lineal ancestors of the great Charles II. In point of philosophy, Ruddiman's work cannot well be compared with the several pamphlets of Logan, although even the arguments of the latter against divine right, would now be considered too serious and uncalled for, by any power of defence. The different pamphlets will be found accurately enumerated in "Chalmers's Life of Ruddiman." Logan was the more restless and determined of the two, and continued his attacks until 1749, when both had reached a period of life fitted for more peaceful pursuits. Logan died at Edinburgh on the 13th of October, 1755, in the seventy-seventh year of his age.

LOGAN, JOHN, a poet and sermon-writer of no mean eminence, was born in the year 1648, at Soutra, in the parish of Fala, in the county of Mid-Lothian, being the son of George Logan, a small farmer at that place, of the dissenting persuasion. He received the elements of learning at the school of Gosford, in East-Lothian, to which parish his father removed during his childhood. Being the younger of two sons, he was early destined to the clerical profession, according to a custom not yet abrogated in families of the humbler rank in Scotland. At the university of Edinburgh, he formed an acquaintance with the unfortunate Michael Bruce, and also with Dr Robertson, afterwards minister of Dalmeny, and known as author of a *Life of Mary queen of Scots*. In the society of the former individual, he cultivated poetical reading and composition, being fondest,

<sup>2</sup> First Treatise, 50.

<sup>3</sup> Ruddiman's Answer, 27.



as might be supposed from the character of his own efforts, of the writings of Spencer, Collins, Akenside, and Gray, the three last of whom bear so honourable a distinction from the cold and epigrammatic manner of their contemporaries. During one of the recesses of the college, while residing in the country, he became known to Patrick lord Elibank, who, with his usual enthusiasm in favour of genius of every kind, warmly patronized him.

On completing his education, Logan was received as tutor into the house of Mr Sinclair of Ulbster, and thus became the preceptor of the present venerable author of the *Code of Agriculture*. He did not long retain this situation, in which he was succeeded by his friend Robertson. In 1770, he superintended the publication of the first edition of the poems of Bruce, who had died three years before. The volume professedly contained a few supplementary pieces by other writers, and of these Logan was himself the principal author. The best of his contributions was the *Ode to the Cuckoo*, which, notwithstanding the obvious fault of a want of connexion between the various parts of various stanzas, is still one of the most popular poems in the language.

In 1773, Logan was licensed as a preacher by the presbytery of Edinburgh, thus joining the ranks of the established, instead of the dissenting church. He soon became known as an eloquent and affecting preacher, and in the same year was called by the kirk-session and incorporations of South Leith, to be their minister; a situation always considered as one of the most honourable in the church of Scotland, and which had just been vacated by another man of genius, Dr Henry Hunter, whose life has been given in the present work. Here he continued to cultivate literature with devoted ardour, though it was not till 1781, that he thought proper to publish any poetry under his own name. Among the studies of Dr Logan, history was one of those in which he most delighted. In the winter of 1779, he delivered a course of lectures on the *Philosophy of History*, in St Mary's chapel, Edinburgh, under the countenance and approbation of Drs Robertson, Blair, Ferguson, and other eminent persons connected with the university. So successful was he in these exhibitions, that, on the chair of universal history becoming vacant in 1780, he would unquestionably have obtained it, if he had possessed the incidental qualification of being a member of the Scottish bar. In the succeeding year, he published an analysis of his lectures, so far as they related to ancient history, under the title of "*Elements of the Philosophy of History*," which was followed by one of the lectures "*On the Manners and Government of Asia*." His poems, published in 1781, attracted so much attention, that a second edition was called for next year. In this collection, he reprinted several of the pieces which he had formerly given to the world, along with those of Michael Bruce. A painful charge rests against his memory, regarding the real authorship of some of those pieces, and also respecting the use he made of a copious manuscript of Bruce's poetry, intrusted to him after the publication of the first volume. Into this controversy, which is fully stated in Anderson's edition of the *British Poets*, we deem it unnecessary, in the present state of the literary reputation of both men, to enter; but we can state, as a fact not formerly known to the biographers of Logan, that he asserted his innocence in a very decided manner, after his removal to London, by ordering an Edinburgh agent to take out an interdict against an edition of Bruce's poems, in which several of his own pieces had been appropriated, under the supposition of their belonging to that poet.

Undeterred by the fate of Home, Logan produced a tragedy in 1783. It was entitled "*Runnimeide*," and aimed at combining the history of *Magna Charta* with a love-story said to be expressly borrowed from the *Tancrede* of Voltaire. *Runnimeide* was rehearsed by Mr Harris at Covent Garden theatre,



but prevented from being acted by an order from the chamberlain, who, in the recent feeling of the American war of independence, took alarm at several of the breathings in favour of liberty. Logan then printed it, and had it acted in the Edinburgh theatre; but in neither form did it meet with decided success. This, with other disappointments, preyed upon the spirits of the poet, and he now betook himself to the most vulgar and fatal means of neutralizing grief. It is to be always kept in mind, that his father had died in a state of insanity, the consequence of depressed spirits. Hence it is to be presumed, that the aberrations of the unhappy poet had some palliative in constitutional tendencies. From whatever source they arose, it was soon found necessary that he should resign the charge of the populous parish with which he had been intrusted.<sup>1</sup> An agreement to this purpose was completed between him and the kirk-session, in 1786, and he retired with a certain modicum of the stipend, while Mr Dickson was appointed his assistant and successor.

In the autumn of the preceding year, Logan had proceeded to London, apparently with the design of devoting himself entirely to literature. He was engaged in the management of the *English Review*, and compiled a view of ancient history, which passed under the name of Dr Rutherford. In 1788, he published an anonymous pamphlet, entitled "A review of the principal charges against Mr Hastings;" which, being construed into a breach of the privileges of the house of commons, caused a prosecution of the publisher, Stockdale, who, however, was acquitted. This was the last production he gave to the world. After a lingering indisposition, he died in London, December 28, 1788, about forty years of age.

Dr Logan destined legacies to the amount of £600 to certain of his friends and relations, to be realized out of his books and manuscripts. The latter consisted of sermons, miscellaneous prose pieces, lectures, and a few small lyrical poems. In 1790, the first volume of the sermons was published, under the superintendence of Drs Robertson, Hardy, and Blair. The second volume appeared in the following year; and, before the end of 1793, both volumes had undergone a second impression. None of his other posthumous works have been published.

Except in the latter part of his life, when rendered irritable and sottish by the results of his constitutional temperament, Dr Logan is allowed to have been a man of the most amiable character, full of refined sensibility, and free from all mean vices. Of his poetry, which has been several times reprinted in the mass, it is no small praise to say that it advances before the age in which it was written, having more of the free natural graces which characterize modern verse, than the productions of most of his contemporaries. It is also characterized in many instances by singularly happy expressions, as it is in general by extreme sweetness of versification. His *Ode to the Cuckoo* and his hymns, are the pieces which may be expected to last longest. A selection from the latter, omitting portions of some of those chosen, has been embodied in the volume of paraphrases, sanctioned by the church of Scotland as an addition to the psalmody. "The sermons of Logan," says his earliest biographer, Dr Anderson, "though not so exquisitely polished as those of Blair, possess in a higher degree the animated and passionate expression of Massillon and Atterbury. His

<sup>1</sup> An aged parishioner of Dr Logan, mentioned to a friend of the editor of this work, that he was present in church one day, when the conduct of the reverend gentleman was such as to induce an old man to go up, and, in no very respectful language, call upon the minister to descend from the pulpit which he disgraced. Such an anecdote, if read immediately after perusing one of the elegant discourses of Logan, would form a singular illustration of the propinquity which sometimes exists between the pure and impure, the lofty and the degraded, in human character.



composition is everywhere excellent—its leading characteristics being strength, elegance, and simplicity. The formation of his sentences appears the most inartificial; though at the same time, it will be found, strictly correct. But the manner, amidst all its beauties, is, on the first perusal, lost in the enjoyment the reader feels from the sentiment. Devotional and solemn subjects peculiarly accord with his feelings and genius. In exhibiting deep and solemn views of human life, his sentiments are bold and varied, and his imagination teems with the most soothing and elevated figures. \* \* It appears to have been no part of his plan to seek out for new subjects of preaching, or to exert his ingenuity in exhibiting new views of moral and religious topics. To embellish the most common subjects, which are certainly the most proper and useful, with new ornaments; to persuade by more forcible and captivating illustration; to unite the beauties of elegant diction, and the splendour of fine imagery; in this lay his chief exertions, and here rests his chief praise."

LOTHIAN, (DR) WILLIAM, F.R.S.E., author of a History of the United Provinces of the Netherlands, was born at Edinburgh in 1740, being the son of Mr George Lothian, a respectable surgeon in that city. Having passed through the various stages of his education with some eclat, he was licensed as a preacher of the gospel in 1762, and appointed, in 1764, one of the ministers of the Canongate. As a preacher his method of instruction was simple and perspicuous, his sentiments rational and manly, and his manner unaffected and persuasive. For many years before his death he was afflicted with a very painful disease; yet he not only performed his professional duties with unabated zeal, but found energy and spirit to compose the work above-mentioned, which appeared in 1780. Previously to this publication he had been honoured by the Edinburgh university with the degree of doctor of divinity. He died December 17, 1783, having only completed the forty-third year of his age. Two sermons by him are published in the Scotch Preacher, 4 vols. 12mo, 1776. For a more copious notice of this respectable divine, reference may be made to the first volume of the Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh.

LOVE, JOHN, a controversial critic of celebrity, was born at Dumbarton in 1695.<sup>1</sup> He was the son of John Love, a bookseller, who, as Chalmers indisputably remarks, "like greater dealers in greater towns, supplied his customers with such books as their taste required." The son was educated at the grammar school of Dumbarton, and the university of Glasgow. Having finished his studies, he became assistant or usher to his old master Mr David McAlpine, and in 1720, succeeded him in his humble duty. On the 17th October, 1721, he married Elizabeth, daughter of Mr Archibald Campbell, a surgeon of Glasgow, who had been one of the baillies of that city. By her he had thirteen children, two of whom, a clergyman and an officer in the navy, were alive when Chalmers wrote his Life of Ruddiman. In 1733, Mr Love entered the field of controversy by publishing "Animadversions on the Latin Grammar lately published by Mr Robert Trotter, schoolmaster of Dumfries," a production chiefly designed for the purpose of defending Ruddiman, whose grammar had been reflected on by Trotter. "Like Ruddiman," says Chalmers very aptly, "Love seems to have delighted in marriage, or like him, to have been driven to conjugal connexions, by his scholastic business, which required female superintendence." Accordingly, in pursuance of the disposition so aptly associated with his name, he married in 1741, for his second wife, Giles, the youngest daughter of the reverend Mr James Elphinston, minister of Dalkeith, who had died in 1710. Love was subjected, it would appear, at one period of his life to a species of religious persecution, on an accusation of brewing on Sunday,

<sup>1</sup> Chalmers's Ruddiman, 135.



preferred before the church judicatories by Mr Sydsert, minister of Dumbarton, "who," says Chalmers, "after a judicial trial, was obliged to make a public apology, for having maliciously accused calumniated innocence." In October, 1735, he was appointed one of the masters of the high school of Edinburgh, and in 1737, with the assistance of Ruddiman and Robert Hunter, he edited a very handsome edition of the Translation of the Psalms of Buchanan, which attracted the notice of the duke of Buccleuch, and obtained for the editor in 1739 the rectorship of the grammar school of Dalkeith; a situation which has for a long period been deemed of considerable importance, and very ably filled, but which would not now be considered an advancement from that which Love previously enjoyed. In the following year he engaged in the controversy about the respective merits of Johnston and Buchanan as translators of the Psalms, known by the name of *Bellum Grammaticale*, and already referred to in our memoir of Arthur Johnston. He was of course the supporter of the work he had edited. "The conquests which Love had made over Trotter and Lauder," says Chalmers, "probably gave him a fondness for controversy." In 1749, he published "A Vindication of Mr George Buchanan," a work levelled at the imputations of Camden on the one part, and the reflections of Ruddiman, his former friend, on the other. It says much for the candour of Love, that Chalmers allows him to have been actuated by "honest zeal." The chief subject of discussion was the alleged penitence of Buchanan on his deathbed, on account of his attacks on the character of queen Mary. In July, 1749, in his old age, Ruddiman published an answer, termed "Animadversions on a late pamphlet, entitled A Vindication of Mr George Buchanan." The venerable grammarian survived his opponent, who died on the 20th September, 1750, at the age of fifty-five. Chalmers admits that "he was certainly an eminent scholar, an excellent teacher, and a good man."

LOW, GEORGE, an ingenious naturalist, was born at Edzel in Forfarshire, in the year 1746. He was educated at the universities of Aberdeen and St Andrews, and afterwards was tutor in the family of Mr Graham at Stromness in Orkney. During his residence at this place, Mr (afterwards Sir Joseph) Banks and Dr Solander arrived at the island, on their return from the last voyage of discovery, in which captain Cook lost his life; and Mr Low, having acquired a taste for natural history, was much noticed by these distinguished philosophers, and was requested to accompany them in their excursions through the Orkneys, and also to the Shetland islands, which he accordingly did.

In 1774, he was ordained to the ministerial charge of the parish of Birsay and Staray, on the mainland of Orkney, to which he devoted the remainder of his life, employing his leisure in the study of nature. Considering the disadvantages of his situation, his success was highly creditable. Sir Joseph Banks, with his accustomed zeal for the promotion of science, introduced him to Mr Pennant, by whose advice he engaged to undertake a "*Fauna Orcadensis*," and a "*Flora Orcadensis*." Before these works could be given to the world, he died, in 1795. The MSS. of the former work, with his zoological collections, and the manuscript of a translation of Torfaeus's History of Orkney, executed by Mr Low, came into the possession of Mr George Paton, the eminent antiquary, at whose decease they were sold to different persons. The "*Fauna*" was published in 1813, 4to, by W. F. Leach, M.D., F.L.S., and forms a very interesting addition to the natural history of the British Islands. The "*Flora*" has not been discovered. A tour through Orkney and Shetland, containing hints relative to their ancient, modern, and natural history, was also prepared for the press by this industrious individual, but, owing to his premature death, was never published.



LOWE, JOHN, a poet of considerable celebrity, though the author of only one small lyrical piece which has acquired popularity, was born at Kenmore in the stewartry of Kircudbright, in the year 1750. His father was gardener to Mr Gordon of Kenmore, son of the unfortunate viscount Kenmore; and young Lowe was reared to the business of a country weaver. Having, however, a strong desire of rising above his native lot, he fitted himself by his own exertions for entering an academical career at the university of Edinburgh, where his expenses were chiefly defrayed, it is said, by friends whom he had secured by his agreeable character and evident talents. While pursuing the study of divinity, he was engaged as family tutor by a country gentleman of his native district, Mr McGhie of Airds. The residence of this gentleman, as partly implied by its Celtic appellation, was situate on a piece of lofty and picturesque ground, at the confluence of the Dee with the long narrow lake, in which the Ken meets with that river. Lowe, already addicted to versification, rejoiced with a poet's ardour in the beautiful scenery of the Airds, amidst which he constructed an arbour still called "Lowe's Seat." He here composed a considerable number of poems, fragments of which are still recollected in the district; and here also he became attached to one of the beautiful daughters of his employer, who, it is to be supposed, must have materially added to the inspiring powers of the scenery. His happy lyric, entitled "Mary's Dream," but for which, in all probability, he never would have been heard of beyond his native district, was written at the Airds, in reference to the death of a gentleman named Miller, a surgeon at sea, who was attached to the sister of his own mistress, and perished in the manner described in the poem.

It is not certain that Lowe, though he seems to have completed his theological studies, ever became a licentiate of the Scottish church. In 1773, he was induced to proceed to America, in order to become family tutor to a brother of the illustrious Washington. He subsequently set up a boarding academy at Fredericksburg in Virginia, which succeeded for a time, but afterwards failed. Before leaving Scotland, he had interchanged pledges of mutual love with Miss McGhie, and it was understood that their marriage should take place as soon as he should be properly settled in life. The lapse of years—distance—hopelessness, perhaps, of ever reaching the necessary degree of fortune, and not impossibly the intervention of seven years of war between the two countries, conspired to annul this engagement; and the parties eventually married different individuals in their respective countries. Lowe is charged by his biographers with glaring infidelity to his promise; but the case is too obscurely related, to enable us to join in the censure which he has thus incurred. The fondest lovers, when divided by time and space from each other, will hardly be able to maintain their flame: as love is often at first the result of exclusive intercourse, so is it apt to expire when the parties cease for a length of time to enjoy that intercourse, or become exposed to a wider range of society. We are far from implying that a breach of youthful vows is justifiable on any principle; but yet when we see a young female bind herself up to a person who has no immediate prospect of being able to make her his wife, and who, perhaps, before that event, has to spend a long time in a distant land, where his very character is exposed to a radical change, we cannot help perceiving that such a woman perils her happiness upon a point in human nature, and a series of contingencies, where the chances are greatly against her, and therefore is not entitled to throw the *whole* blame of her misfortune, should it arrive, upon one who is simply, perhaps, the partner of her early imprudence. Lowe eventually paid his addresses to a Virginian lady, who rejected them, but whose sister had conceived for him a violent affection, and whom he afterwards married, from a



sentiment, as he expresses it, of gratitude. At what time this took place has not been stated by his biographer;<sup>1</sup> but it is impossible, from the account given by that individual, to resist the impression that it was almost half a lifetime after his engagement at the Airds. His wife proved totally unworthy of his affections, and, by driving him for relief to the bottle, caused his death under the most miserable circumstances about the year 1798. This succession of events appears from Mr Gillespie's narrative, to have been rapid: hence it is allowable to conjecture, that at least twenty years must have elapsed between his parting with Miss McGhie, and his unhappy union to another. If such was the case, we can hardly see how the most ardent impressions of youth could have been maintained at such a distance, and under the continued depression of circumstances on the part of the gentleman, which is acknowledged by the biographer, and which must have tended so much to make sick the hearts of both parties.

A letter from Virginia from an early friend of the poet, gave the following particulars respecting his death:—"That perceiving his end drawing near, and wishing to die in peace, away from his own wretched walls, he mounted a sorry palfrey, and rode some distance to the house of a friend. So much was he debilitated that scarcely could he alight in the court and walk into the house. Afterwards, however, he revived a little, and enjoyed some hours of that vivacity which was peculiar to him. But this was but the last faint gleams of a setting sun; for on the third day after his arrival at the house of his friend, he breathed his last. He now lies buried near Fredericksburg, under the shade of two palm trees; but not a stone is there on which to write, 'Mary, weep no more for me.'"

The wretched woman to whom he had been united made no inquiries after her husband for more than a month afterwards, when she sent for his horse, which had been previously sold to defray the expenses of the funeral.

Lowe is said to have been a very handsome man, of quick and lively apprehension, and very agreeable as a companion. His reputation as a poet has the strange peculiarity of resting on one small ballad. That, however, has melody, pathos, and imagery, of no common character, and will probably be always reckoned among the happiest small pieces in the English language. Some fragments of his other compositions are given in Crome's Remains; but they do not rise one step above the cold second-rate pastoral epics of the period.

## M

MACDIARMID, JOHN, a miscellaneous writer, was born in the year 1779. He was the son of the Rev. Mr Macdiarmid, minister of Weem, in Perthshire. After studying at the universities of Edinburgh and St Andrews, and acting for some time as tutor to a gentleman's family, he proceeded, in 1801, to London, for the purpose of prosecuting a literary career. He soon obtained lucrative employment as a writer in periodical works, and became editor of the *St James's Chronicle*, a newspaper in which some of the first scholars and wits of the last seventy years have employed their pens. On the renewal of the war with France, in 1802-3, the attention of Mr Macdiarmid was attracted to the system of national defence which had been adopted, and he forsook his other employ-

<sup>1</sup> The Rev. Mr Gillespie, minister of Kelso, in Crome's Remains of Nithsdale and Gallo-way Song.



ments to devote himself to a work of a very elaborate character, which appeared in 1803, in two volumes 8vo, under the title of "An Inquiry into the System of Military Defence of Great Britain." He aimed at exposing the defects of the volunteer system, as well as of all temporary expedients, and asserted the superiority of a regular army. His next work was an "Inquiry into the Nature of Civil and Military Subordination," 1804, 8vo, perhaps the fullest disquisition which the subject has received. Being thus favourably introduced to public notice as a general writer, he began to aim at higher objects, but, it would appear, without properly calculating his own physical capabilities. Mr D'Israeli, who saw him at this time, and who had afterwards the melancholy task of introducing his case into the work called "The Calamities of Authors," describes him as "of a tender frame, emaciated, and study-worn, with hollow eyes, where the mind dimly shone, like a lamp in a tomb. With keen ardour," says the historian of literary disaster, "he opened a new plan of biographical politics. When, by one who wished the author and his style were in better condition, the dangers of excess in study were brought to his recollection, he smiled, and, with something of a mysterious air, talked of unalterable confidence in the powers of his mind—of the indefinite improvement in our faculties; and although his frame was not athletic, he considered himself capable of trying it to the extremity. His whole life, indeed, was one melancholy trial: often the day passed cheerfully without its meal, but never without its page." Under the impulse of this uncontrollable enthusiasm, Mr Macdiarmid composed his "Lives of British Statesmen," beginning with Sir Thomas More. For the publication, he was indebted to a friend, who, when the author could not readily procure a publisher, could not see even the dying author's last hopes disappointed. The work has obtained a reputation of no mean order. "Some research and reflection," says Mr D'Israeli, "are combined in this literary and civil history of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries."—"The style," according to another critic, "is perspicuous and unaffected; authorities are quoted for every statement of consequence, and a variety of curious information is extracted from voluminous records, and brought for the first time into public view. His political speculations were always temperate and liberal. He was indeed in all respects qualified for a work of this description, by great power of research and equal impartiality." The poor author was destined to enjoy, for a short time only, the approbation with which his work was received. His health sustained, in November, 1807, an irreparable blow by a paralytic stroke; and a second attack in February, 1808, proved fatal, April 7.

MACDONALD, ANDREW; a dramatic and miscellaneous writer, was born about the year 1755. His father, George Donald, was by profession a gardener, and resided at the foot of the broad way which connects Leith with Edinburgh, called Leith Walk; the place also of young Macdonald's nativity.

The subject of this memoir received the early part of his education at Leith, and went through the usual initiatory course of classical learning in the grammar school of that town. Having exhibited early indications of superior parts, his parents and friends entertained the most sanguine hopes of his success in the world, and especially anticipated his attaining eminence in literature. With a view to his becoming a minister of the Scottish episcopal communion, in which he was born and educated, they entered him a student in the university of Edinburgh, where he remained till 1775, when he was put into deacon's orders by bishop Forbes of Leith, who became also his chief patron. On this occasion, at the bishop's recommendation he prefixed the syllable Mac to his name, though for what reason is not stated.

Although now invested with the clerical character, there was yet no vacant



living for him ; but through the interest of his patron, the worthy divine just named, he procured the appointment of preceptor in the family of Mr Oliphant of Gask, as a temporary employment and means of support, until a vacancy in the church should present itself. In this situation he remained about a year, when he was chosen pastor of the episcopal congregation at Glasgow, in room of Mr Wood, who had gone to St Petersburg. His appointment took place in the year 1777. His patron, bishop Forbes, having in the mean time died, he was put into priest's orders by bishop Falconer. Although much addicted to literary pursuits, Macdonald made no public appearance as an author for five years after this period, when he made a debut in the character of a poet, by publishing a poem, or rather part of a poem, entitled " *Velina, a Poetical Fragment.*" Neither this work, nor a novel which he subsequently published under the title of the " *Independent,*" met with any remarkable degree of success. He therefore resolved to try his talents in dramatic composition ; and his first effort was the tragedy of *Vimonda*, which was brought out at the Edinburgh theatre royal, for the benefit of Mr Wood, with a prologue by Henry Mackenzie, and was received with marked applause by the public, though, like all the other works of its unfortunate author, it is now scarcely known to exist.

In the mean time, Macdonald, who still resided at Glasgow, was making but little progress in worldly prosperity. His fortunes, notwithstanding the success of his play, which does not seem to have yet yielded him any considerable pecuniary remuneration, were rather retrograding than advancing. The episcopal church of Scotland was at this period in a very depressed state. The old members were fast dying out, and there were none to replace them. The result was that Macdonald's congregation was speedily reduced to a number so trifling, that he could no longer live by his charge. Thus situated, he resolved on resigning it ; and as no better prospects presented themselves elsewhere in the Scottish episcopal church, he denuded himself altogether of his ecclesiastical functions, and finally threw aside even the outward sign of his calling, the clerical dress, and became at all points entirely secularized. On throwing up his ministry, he came to Edinburgh, with, it would seem, pretty confident hopes of being able to make a living by his pen ; an idea in which he was encouraged by the success of his tragedy. He had, however, before leaving Glasgow, taken a step which his friends thought fit to consider as at once imprudent and degrading. This was his marrying the maid servant of the house in which he had lodged. His reception, therefore, on his return to Edinburgh, from these friends and those of his acquaintances who participated in their feelings on the subject of his marriage, had much in it to annoy and distress him, although no charge could be brought against the humble partner of his fortune, but the meanness of her condition. Whatever question, however, might have been made of the prudence or imprudence of his matrimonial connexion, there could be none regarding the step which he next took. This was his renting an expensive house, and furnishing it at a cost which he had no immediate means of defraying, although with all that sanguine hope which is but too frequently found associated with literary dispositions, he fully expected to be enabled to do so by the exertion of his talents. The result was such as might have been looked for. His literary prospects, as far as regarded Edinburgh, ended in total disappointment. His creditors became pressing, and the neglect of his friends, proceeding from the circumstance already alluded to, and which in some cases amounted to direct insult, continued as marked as when he first returned amongst them, and added greatly to the distress of mind with which the unfortunate poet was now overwhelmed.



Under the pressure of these accumulated evils, he determined on quitting Edinburgh, and on seeking in London that employment for his literary talents which he could not find in his native capital. Having come to this resolution, he left his mother, for whom he always entertained the most tender regard, in possession of his house and furniture, and proceeded, accompanied by his wife, to the metropolis. Here his reception was such as to compensate in some measure for the treatment which he had experienced at home. The fame of his tragedy had gone before him, and soon after his arrival procured him many sincere and cordial, though it does not appear very powerful, friends. *Vimonda* was brought out with much splendour by Colman, in the summer of 1787, a short time after its author had arrived in London, and was performed to crowded houses. In the following summer, it was again produced, and with similar success. This good fortune, operating on a temperament naturally sanguine, lifted poor Macdonald's hopes beyond all reasonable bounds, and filled his mind with the brightest anticipations of fame and independence. In this spirit he wrote several letters to Mr M. Stewart, music-seller in Edinburgh, the principal, if not indeed the only friend he had left behind him, full of the most splendid ideas regarding his future fortunes. Having left Edinburgh in embarrassed circumstances, so that neither his house rent nor his furniture had been paid, he promises speedy remittances to defray all his debts, and amongst the rest that which he had incurred to his correspondent, who seems to have managed all his affairs for him after he left the Scottish capital, and to have generously made, from time to time, considerable advances of money on his account.

"Thank Heaven," says the ill-fated poet in one of these letters to Stewart, in which he announces the good fortune which he now conceived was to be his for the remainder of his life, "thank Heaven, my greatest difficulties are now over; and the approaching opening of the summer theatre will soon render me independent and perfectly at ease. In three weeks you will see by the public prints, I shall be flourishing at the Haymarket in splendour superior to last season. I am fixed for the summer in a sweet retirement at Brompton, where, having a large bed, and lying alone, I can accommodate you tolerably, and give you a share of a poet's supper, sallads and delicious fruits from my own garden."

All this felicity, and all these gay visions of the future, were, however, speedily and sadly dissipated. In a few short months thereafter Macdonald sunk into an untimely grave, disappointed in his hopes, and reduced to utter destitution in his circumstances. That he did thus die is certain, but neither the immediate cause, nor the progress of the sudden blight which thus came over his fortunes before his death, is very distinctly traced in any of the memoirs which have been consulted in the composition of this article, unless the following remark, contained in an advertisement prefixed to a volume of posthumous sermons of Macdonald, printed in 1790, can be considered as an explanation:—"Having no powerful friends to patronize his abilities, and suffering under the infirmities of a weak constitution, he fell a victim, at the age of thirty-three, to sickness, disappointment and misfortune." Macdonald died in the year 1788, in the thirty-third year of his age, leaving behind him his wife and one child, wholly unprovided for.

Macdonald made several attempts in dramatic composition subsequent to the appearance of *Vimonda*, but none of them were at all equal in merit to that performance, a circumstance which affords, probably, a more satisfactory elucidation of the cause of those disappointments which gathered round and hurried him to his grave, and embittered his dying moments, than those enumerated in the extract employed above. For some time previous to his death, under the fictitious



signature of Matthew Bramble, he amused the town almost daily with little humorous and burlesque poems, after the manner of Peter Pindar's (*Dr Walcot*), and these were not unfrequently equal in point and satirical allusion to some of the most felicitous effusions of his celebrated prototype.

As a preacher, he was distinguished for neat, classical, and elegant composition; qualities which procured a favourable reception for the volume of posthumous sermons published in 1790. A tragedy, which he left in a finished state at his death, was printed and included in a volume of his poetical works, published in 1791.

On the whole, Macdonald's literary talents seem to have been of that unfortunate description which attract notice, without yielding profit, which produce a show of blossom, but no fruit, and which, when trusted to by their sanguine possessor as a means of insuring a subsistence, are certain to be found wholly inadequate to that end, and equally certain to leave their deceived and disappointed victim to neglect and misery.

It may be proper, before concluding this brief sketch of Macdonald, to advert to the account given of him by D'Israeli, in his "*Calamities of Authors.*" That account is an exceedingly pathetic one, and is written with all the feeling and eloquence for which its highly distinguished writer is so remarkable; but unfortunately it is inconsistent in many parts with fact. What Mr D'Israeli mentions regarding him from his own knowledge and experience, we do not question; but in nearly all the particulars which were not so acquired, he seems to have been egregiously misinformed. In that information, however, which is of the description that there is no reason for doubting, the following affecting passage occurs:—"It was one evening I saw a tall, famished, melancholy man, enter a bookseller's shop, his hat flapped over his eyes, and his whole frame evidently feeble from exhaustion and utter misery. The bookseller inquired how he proceeded with his tragedy? 'Do not talk to me about my tragedy! Do not talk to me about my tragedy! I have indeed more tragedy than I can bear at home,' was his reply, and his voice faltered as he spoke. This man was Matthew Bramble—Macdonald, the author of the tragedy of *Vimonda*, at that moment the writer of comic poetry." D'Israeli then goes on, giving the result of his inquiries regarding him, and at this point error begins. He represents him as having seven children. He had, as already noticed, only one. He says he was told, "that he walked from Scotland with no other fortune than the novel of the *Independent* in one pocket, and the tragedy of *Vimonda* in the other." The novel alluded to was published four years before he went to London; and *Vimonda* had been brought out at Edinburgh a considerable time before he left that city. D'Israeli speaks of the literary success which the "romantic poet" had anticipated while yet "among his native rocks." The reader need scarcely be reminded that Macdonald was born in the immediate vicinity of the Scottish capital, and that the whole of his life, previously to his leaving Scotland, was spent in the cities of Edinburgh and Glasgow, and great part of it in what has always been considered the profession of a gentleman.

MACFARLANE, ROBERT, a political and miscellaneous writer, was born in the year 1734, and educated at the university of Edinburgh. At an early period of life he proceeded to London, in search of a livelihood, and for many years kept an academy of considerable reputation at Walthamstow. He engaged warmly in the political disputes which took place during the Bute administration; and, in 1770, concentrated his sentiments respecting them in a "*History of the Reign of George III.*" 8vo. This work, without possessing any large share of intrinsic merit, had a curious history. The author quarrelled with the publisher, (Mr Evans,) who, in 1782, issued a second, and, in 1794, a third



volume, both written by a different person; Mr Macfarlane, then became reconciled to Mr Evans, and added a fourth volume. Mr Macfarlane at one time edited the *Morning Chronicle*. He was also engaged, it is said, in the preparation of the *Poems of Ossian*, some of which he afterwards translated into Latin verse. He had an essay upon the authenticity of those celebrated productions in the press, when he was crushed to death in one of the mobs which distinguished the election contest for Westminster, between Sir Francis Burdett and Mr Mainwaring, August 8, 1804. In 1797, Mr Macfarlane published "An Address to the People of Great Britain, on the present Fortune and future Prospect of Public Affairs," by which it appears that he had now become more attached to the government than he had formerly been. In 1801, he published an English translation of Buchanan's celebrated tract, "*De Jure Regni*," prefaced with two disputations, in which there is much curious antiquarian and historical matter.

MACINTYRE, DUNCAN, one of the best of the modern Highland poets, was born in Druimlaighart, in the district of Glenorchy, Argyshire, on the 20th March, 1724. He was the child of poor parents, and never received the slightest tincture of school learning. He was engaged in the civil war of 1745, but on the loyal side. Local and family ties made him a member of the large force which Argyshire sent forth on that occasion to support the government, and he fought at the battle of Falkirk under the command of colonel Campbell of Carahin. It is not to be inferred on this account that he had any antipathy to the cause in which so many of his countrymen were engaged. He was involved in the disgraceful retreat of the king's troops, in which he lost his sword, circumstances which gave him no small degree of mortification, as he has himself shown by the clever song which he wrote upon the occasion. At what period of his life he commenced the composition of poetry, is not known. His only models in the art must have been those legendary verses of various kinds and ages, which the Highlanders used to recite by the winter fire-side, and hand down from one generation to another, by oral communication.<sup>1</sup> Of the grammatical principles of language, he must have been completely ignorant; his knowledge would be confined in a great measure to the objects of his own Highland vale, and to the Scriptural lore which he would hear occasionally expounded in the parish church. He possessed, however, the genuine talent of the poet—not only that natural eloquence which supplies imagery and suggests incident and allusion, but that felicitous power of expression, which from its being alike found in the untutored Burns and the refined Horace, ought to be considered as much a native gift as any other. This poor Highlander—the reader cannot conceive any man poorer in the goods of fortune—is said to exhibit in his poetry a purity and aptitude of diction, and a harmony of versification, such as are not surpassed in the poetry of any age or country. He may not only, indeed, be introduced here as a Scotsman who has earned a respectable fame, but he might be instanced, in works more expressly devoted to the consideration of the intellectual powers of men, as a singular specimen of original and brilliant talent, altogether unfavoured by direct instruction, and going contentedly side by side for a long life with a character of the most simple and unworldly kind.

Being an excellent marksman, Duncan—or, as he was generally styled by his countrymen, Donacha Ban, (fair-haired Duncan)—was appointed forester to the earl of Breadalbane in *Coire-Cheathaich* and *Bein Dourain*, and thereafter to the duke of Argyre, in *Buachill-Gie*. In 1768, a volume of his poems was

<sup>1</sup> There was not a printed book in the Gaelic language which contained any sort of poetry except the Psalms, until Alexander Macdonald published his *Gaelic Songs* in 1751.



published at Edinburgh, under the descriptive title of "Orain Ghaidhealach, le Donacha Mac-an-t-soir;"<sup>2</sup> it was reprinted in 1790, and again in 1804,<sup>3</sup> and has long been out of print. One of the poems in this volume was "Oran na Briogais," or, as it may be freely rendered, "The Anathema of the Breeks," being a pretty open expression of the most disloyal sentiment on the part of the author, respecting the abolition of the Highland, and the substitution of the Lowland dress, which formed one of the measures of the government for breaking the Jacobite spirit, after the rebellion of 1745. It is well known that the Highlanders in general resented this measure very bitterly, and none more so than such as, like Macintyre, had been loyal to the king during the late broils. They deemed the breeches at once a literal and emblematic restraint—a thing unsuited to their habits as well as tastes—and, as is plainly intimated by Donacha Ban, a sufficient cause of offence to cause a *universal* rising in favour of prince Charles, should he ever again appear in the country. Of the spirit of this poem we can give no fair specimen—though the first stanza has been cleverly rendered in the following terms:—

My curse upon the grey breeks,  
That bind our supple limbs so light!  
We're fetter-bound in slavery;  
And right is now o'ercome by might.  
Had we been faithful to our king,  
We ne'er should have to dree such thing,  
But light's a bird upon the wing  
Might be each free-born mountain wight.

When by the exertions of the marquis of Graham, the act for abolishing the Highland dress was repealed (1782), Macintyre celebrated the event in a pæan of clamorous joy, such as would have done honour to a repelled invasion or a liberated country. These poems, with an English translation, are to be found in the *Cambrian and Caledonian Magazine* for October, 1833.

In 1793, the poet, though advanced to a considerable age, became a private in a fencible regiment then raised by the earl of Breadalbane, in which situation he continued till the corps was disbanded in 1799. It is probably to a period antecedent to either of these dates, that we are to ascribe an anecdote of Macintyre, which was related to the editor of this dictionary by the late Mr Alexander Campbell, editor of *Albyn's Anthology*. The earl of Breadalbane, being anxious to provide permanently for the latter life of his ingenious dependent, consulted the poet himself, as to the way in which he thought that object might be best accomplished. Macintyre, whose whole life had been passed in the humblest obscurity, undisturbed by so much as a wish for any thing better, took some time to consider the matter, and to make inquiries, and then came to his lordship with a request that he would exert his influence to procure a place for him in the city-guard of Edinburgh, a military police whom Sir Walter Scott has since rendered classical by his pen; but who were then the alternate scoff and terror of their fellow townsmen at *sixpence a day*! Into this antiquated corps—for such it was, both in its general character, and in respect of the age of most of its members—Macintyre was accordingly transplanted;<sup>4</sup> thus exchanging the Highland solitude, whence the inspiration and enjoyment of his whole life had been derived, for the duties of a peace-officer in one of the most crowded streets in the world, where every object must have been to him artificial

<sup>2</sup> "Gaelic Songs by Duncan Macintyre."

<sup>3</sup> With some additional poems composed during these intervals.

<sup>4</sup> He composed a poem in Edinburgh, in which he shows the poetical talent of nice observation, describing every remarkable or novel object, but without any expression of surprise.



and strange. It is an affecting illustration, however, of the pleasure which unambitious minds may derive from humble sources, that the poet wrote upon this occasion a self-gratulatory ode, in which he expresses quite as bounding a transport at his accession to a salary of sixpence a day, as Napoleon could have done at the addition of a kingdom to his dominions. We have thought this poem so extraordinary a curiosity in its way, as to make a translation of it, with which we have been furnished by an obliging friend, the example to be presented in this place of the style of Macintyre, so far as the unavoidable formality and tameness of a literal English version can exemplify the exquisite graces of the Gaelic bard.

#### TRANSLATION OF VERSES TO HIS MUSKET

BY DUNCAN MACINTYRE.

Many a turn of fortune may happen to a man,  
He may fall in love with one he may not get—  
I devoted twenty years to the first I fancied,  
But she forsook me and I was left alone.

I came to Edinburgh to seek a sweetheart:  
Said captain Campbell in the town guard,  
That he knew a widow in a secret place,  
And would endeavour to put her in my way;

He did, as he was wont, fulfill his promise;  
He gave her to me by the hand, and her portion with her.  
Whoever may ask her name or surname,  
They call her Janet,<sup>6</sup> and George was her grandsire.

She is quiet and affable, without gloom or vexing look,  
And as high in rank as any lady in the land;  
She is the means of my support since she joined me—  
Great is the cause of grief to him who has not got her.

I have forsaken Nic-Coshum,<sup>7</sup> tho' she still lives,  
And allowed the crested stags to wander where they please;  
I have chosen a young wife, which I do not repent;  
I am not without wealth since I espoused the fair one.

I pass my word that she is most excellent,  
And that I never discovered any hidden fault in her;  
She is stately, fine, straight, and sound,  
Without defect or blemish, twist or bend.

When needy folks are pinched for money,  
George's daughter will not let my pocket be empty;  
She keeps me in drink in the alehouses,  
And pays every stoup that I call for.

She does every turn as I bid her,  
She tells me no lie nor false story;  
She keeps my family as well as I could wish,  
Though I do no labour nor dirty work.

I worked laboriously though I amassed no wealth,  
I vowed that I would disdain to be a menial;  
I have ceased to toil since I have remarked  
That the idle man endures longest.

It is my loving wife who will not deceive me;  
She is able always to earn my bread,  
I shall have no lack of clothes or linen,  
And worldly cares now give me no concern.

<sup>6</sup> A byeword for a regimental firelock, but never applied to any other gun.

<sup>7</sup> A favourite fowling piece to which he composed another song.



How long he remained in the situation alluded to has not been ascertained. The latter years of his life were spent in Edinburgh, and are said to have been cheered by the bounty of the earl of Breadalbane. He died in that city, October, 1812, in the 89th year of his age.

"In his young days," says the author of *Bibliotheca Scoto-Celtica*, "Macintyre was remarkably handsome, and throughout his whole life, he possessed a very easy and agreeable disposition. Although, when provoked, his enemies generally felt the effects of his pride and resentment, yet to his benefactors he was equally grateful. He was very fond of company and a cheerful glass, and was not only very agreeable over his bottle, but also very circumspect. Although Macintyre discovered an early inclination to poetry, he did not produce any thing till the memorable battle of Falkirk, a description of which forms the first song in the valuable collection published by him, wherein it is said to have been his first regular attempt at composition. The collection contains lyric, comic, epic, and religious compositions, of such merit as renders it difficult to say in what department of poetry this writer most excelled. \* \* His poetical talents justly entitled him to rank among the first of Celtic bards, for all good judges of Celtic poetry agree that nothing like the purity of his Gaelic, and the style of his poetry, has appeared in the Highlands." Of *Donacha Ban* it might justly be said,

'Nan leabhadh eas' òg gach òran a's sgéul,

Cha chuireadh neach beò a ghlas-ghuùl air a' bhéul!"

MACKENZIE, GEORGE, first earl of Cromarty, a distinguished political and literary character, was born in the year 1630, being the eldest son of Sir John Mackenzie of Tarbat, by Margaret, daughter of Sir George Erskine of Innerteil, one of the senators of the college of justice. He succeeded his father in 1654, and acted a conspicuous part in the irregular warfare carried on at that period by general Middleton, against the forces of Cromwell. After the Restoration, when Middleton received an earldom, and was appointed to the direction of Scottish affairs, Sir George Mackenzie became his principal confidant, and had a prominent share in the transactions connected with the celebrated *billeting act*, which ended in the common disgrace of the earl and Sir George. The latter, consequently, remained unemployed throughout the whole administration of the duke of Lauderdale. He afterwards obtained that promotion to which his extraordinary talents entitled him. In 1678, he was appointed justice general for Scotland, and, in 1681, a lord of session, and lord register. In 1685, James II. created him viscount of Tarbat, by which name he is best known. Though an active and unscrupulous agent of the two last Stuarts, he

<sup>5</sup> *Note by a correspondent.*—All this must be taken in a very qualified sense. There is nothing approaching to sublimity in the whole range of Macintyre's compositions. His poem in praise of Bendourain is in somewhat of a heroic strain; but it scarcely deserves the name of Epic. Alexander Macdonald was far superior to him in what is usually understood by the term genius; but from his classical education he was less scrupulous about the purity of his style, and his works abound in classical allusions. It is to the purity of his language, and the harmony of his numbers, that Macintyre owes his fame in a great measure. In these qualities he is almost equalled if not rivalled by Mary Macleod, an untutored poetess, but her compositions are not so numerous, and she had not the varied talent of Macintyre. As already said, his poetry is chiefly of a descriptive character, and Dr Johnson's criticism on Thomson's Seasons may be applied to him, with this qualification, that his comprehension of the vast was not equal to his attention to the minute. His love songs are remarkable for delicacy of sentiment—and his descriptions of the chase are very animated. Here he was quite at home. Some of his pieces are valuable as descriptive of country manners, now almost extinct. He may be called the Pope of the Highlands, as Macdonald was the Byron, and William Ross the Burns. Macdonald had more originality of genius than any of the Highland poets; but it was irregular and not under proper restraint—Ross, for tenderness and sensibility, was what Burns may be supposed to have been if he had been born and bred in the Highlands. Macintyre was more agreeable.



had no objection to continue in employment under the system of things established at the Revolution. But king William, to whom he lost no time in paying his respects, did not think proper to employ him till 1692, when his lordship was restored to his office of lord register.

Here the evil habits he had contracted under the late government appear to have still clung to him. The spirit which induced Charles II. to say, that, though Lauderdale was complained of by the *people*, he did not seem to have done any thing contrary to the interests of the *sovereign*, was what animated this veteran instrument of arbitrary authority. Having been accused of falsifying the minutes of parliament for private objects, he does not appear to have paid the least regard to the truth or falsity of the charge: in his defence, addressed to Mr Carstairs, he dwells only on the malice which animated his accusers, and on the constancy of his own attachment to the king. He found it necessary, however, to retire upon a pension of £400 a-year. In a subsequent letter, he is found petitioning for a remission, and in such terms as gives a curious idea of the state of moral feeling among politicians in that age:—"I wish," says he, "to have a very general remission sent me, because I see faults fish't for in others upon as great grounds. If it comes, let it contain *treason, perduellion, and a general of all crimes*; though, on all that's sacred, I know not myself guilty, nor do I fear any thing on this side Irish witnesses or evidence." At the accession of queen Anne, this able statesman was made secretary of state for Scotland; an office which he resigned in 1704, for that of justice general. In 1703, he was elevated to the dignity of earl of Cromarty. Having resigned the justice generalship in 1710, he retired some years after, to his seat of New Tarbat, in Ross-shire, intending, without any apparent regard to his advanced age, to live there in an economical manner for six years, in order that he might be subsequently enabled to reside in London. The design was almost at the very outset interrupted by death; his lordship expiring, August 17, 1714. He has an elegant obelisk erected to his memory in the neighbourhood of Dingwall.

The earl of Cromarty, notwithstanding the faults already alluded to, is acknowledged to have been a good-natured man, "possessed of a great measure of polite learning, and good parts, and master of an extraordinary gift of pleasing and diverting conversation, which rendered him one of the most entertaining companions in the world. He was one of the original fellows of the Royal Society, and reckoned among the ablest members of that learned body; in the Philosophical Transactions, many papers of his lordship may be seen. His other publications, arranged in chronological order are, 1. A Vindication of king Robert III. from the imputation of Bastardy, Edin. 1695, 4to.—2. The mistaken Advantage of Raising of Money, Edin. 1695, 4to.—3. Letter to the Earl of Wemyss, concerning the Union with England, 1706, 4to.—4. Friendly Response to a Letter concerning Sir George Mackenzie's and Sir John Nisbet's Observations and Response on the matter of the Union, 1706, 4to.—5. Synopsis Apocalyptica, or, a Short and Plain Explication of Daniel's Prophecy, and of St John's Revelation in concert with it, 1707, 4to.—6. Historical Account of the Conspiracy of the Earl of Gowrie and of Robert Logan of Restalrig, against king James VI., 1713, 8vo.—7. A Vindication of the same from the Mistakes of Mr John Anderson, Preacher of Dumbarton, in his Defence of Presbytery, 1714, 8vo.

MACKENZIE, (SIR) GEORGE, a celebrated lawyer and state officer, and perhaps the first Scotsman who wrote the English language in a style approaching to purity, was born at Dundee, in 1636. His father was Simon Mackenzie of Lochslin, brother of the earl of Seaforth, and his mother Elizabeth Bruce, daughter of Dr Peter Bruce, principal of St Leonard's college, St Andrews. His progress at school was so rapid, that in his tenth year he was master of



all the classical authors usually taught in schools. He afterwards studied Greek and philosophy in the universities of St Andrews and Aberdeen, and civil law in that of Bourges in France; and, in January, 1659, before the termination of his twenty-third year, entered as an advocate at the Scottish bar.

In 1660, he published his *Aretina*, or *Serious Romance*, in which, according to his kind biographer, Ruddiman, he gives "a very bright specimen of his gay and exuberant genius." His talents must have been early observed and appreciated, for in 1661, his third year at the bar, he was selected as one of the counsel of the marquis of Argyle, then tried by a commission of parliament for high treason. On this occasion, he acted with so much firmness, and even boldness, as at once established his character. As the counsel for Argyle were appointed by parliament, they presented a petition under form of protest, that in the defence of their client, they might not be made responsible for every expression they might utter, but that a latitude and freedom of expression, suitable to the extent and difficulty of the charges they were called upon to canvass, might be allowed them. This being peremptorily refused, Sir George and his associates took such steps, in consequence, as subjected them to the imminent risk of a charge of treason: "it is impossible to plead for a traitor," said the young lawyer, "without speaking treason!" an antithesis certainly more bold than true, but calculated to make a considerable impression upon the multitude. The counsel only escaped from the consequences of their rashness by the special mercy of the court.

The purely literary labours of this eminent person, appear to have been chiefly executed during his earlier years. His "*Religio Stoici*," or a short Discourse upon several divine and moral subjects," appeared in 1663. Two years afterwards, he published his *Moral Essay upon Solitude*, preferring it to public employment, with all its appendages, such as fame, command, riches, pleasures, conversation, &c. This production was answered by the celebrated Evelyn, in a Panegyric on Active Life. "It seems singular," says the Edinburgh Review, "that Mackenzie, plunged in the harshest labours of ambition, should be the advocate of retirement, and that Evelyn, comparatively a recluse, should have commended that mode of life which he did not choose."<sup>1</sup> But it is probable that each could write most freshly on circumstances disconnected with the daily events of his life, while speculative ingenuity was all they cared to reach in their arguments. "You had reason to be astonished," says Evelyn, writing to Cowley, "that I, who had so much celebrated recess, should become an advocate for the enemy. I conjure you to believe that I am still of the same mind, and there is no person who can do more honour, and breathe more after the life and repose you so happily cultivate and advance by your example; but as those who praised dirt, a flea, or the gout, so have I public employment, and that in so weak a style compared with my antagonists, as by that alone it would appear, that I neither was nor could be serious." In 1667, Mackenzie published his *Moral Gallantry*, one of the reflective treatises of the period, intending to prove the gentlemanliness of virtue, and the possibility of establishing all moral duties on principles of honour—a theory supported by arguments which, had any of the nicer metaphysical minds of the succeeding age thought fit to drive to their ultimate principles, they might have found to be somewhat inimical to the author's hearty church of England feelings, or even the principles of Christianity. But Mr Mackenzie was not a metaphysician, and religion required to be plainly spoken, in terms of presbyterianism or papistry, before it attracted his legal attention. To this production he added a *Consolation against Calumnies*. The fiery course of politics which he had afterwards to run, made

<sup>1</sup> XXXVI. 5.



a hiatus of considerable extent, in the elegant literary pursuits of Mackenzie; but after his retirement from public life, he wrote another work which may be classified with those just mentioned—*The Moral History of Frugality*; nor in this classification must we omit his *Essay on Reason*. Mackenzie had associated himself with the elegant wits of England, and his opportunities enabled him, if he was inferior in the actual bullion of genius to many of his countrymen who had gone before him, to give it a more elegant, or, at least, fashionable form. It is probable that any direct imitation, on the part of Mackenzie, may have been from the writings of Cowley, who, in the youth of the ambitious Scottish author, was the acknowledged leader of refinement in English composition. From his opponent Evelyn, he may also have derived facilities in composition; but it is probable that the best tone he assumed was imparted by the colloquial influence of Dryden. Of Mackenzie, that great man has left an interesting memorial:—"Had I time, I could enlarge on the beautiful turns of words and thoughts, which are as requisite in this, as in heroic poetry itself. With these beautiful turns I confess myself to have been unacquainted, till about twenty years ago, in a conversation which I had with that noble wit of Scotland, Sir George Mackenzie. He asked me why I did not imitate, in my verse, the turns of Mr Waller and Sir John Denham, of whom he repeated many to me. I had often read with pleasure, and with some profit, these two fathers of our English poetry, but had not seriously enough considered their beauties, which give the last perfection to their works. Some sprinkling of this sort I had also formerly in my plays, but they were casual and not designed. But this hint, thus seasonably given me, first made me sensible of my own wants, and brought me afterwards to seek for the supply of them in other English authors." This is given by Dryden in his *Discourse on the Origin and Progress of Satire*, prefixed to his *Juvenal*, published two years after Mackenzie's death. Mackenzie is characterized by the *Edinburgh Review*, as having been in his style not exempt from *Scotticisms*: "but he is perfectly free from those, perhaps, more disagreeable vices, into which more celebrated Scottish writers have been betrayed, by a constant fear of *Scotticism*. He composes easily and freely, and his style is that of a man who writes his native language." Meanwhile, along with his elegant prose, he found time and inclination to dabble in poetry. Sometime during his early years, at the bar, he wrote "*Celias' Country House and Closet*," a poem in English epics, and written in a manner more nearly akin to the style of Pope and his contemporaries, than that which flourished in the author's own time. Such a passage as the following will enable the reader to comprehend at once the merit of the work, and, taking into consideration the political life of the author, its artificial feeling:—

"O happy country life, pure as its air;  
Free from the rage of pride, the pangs of care;  
Here happy souls lie bathed in soft content,  
And are at once secure and innocent.  
No passion here but love: here is no wound,  
But that by which lovers their names confound,  
On barks of trees, whilst with a smiling face,  
They see those letters as themselves embrace."

Country life, and love in the midst of it, were standing characteristics of the fashionable poetry of the period, and the stormy politician, anxious, like Richelieu, to distinguish himself in song, must submit to them, as absolutely as the love-sick swain, to whom they are a natural habit. The author seems to have been apprehensive that the fruit of his more elegant studies would not give the



world a favourable opinion of his professional attainments. "The multitude," he says in the conclusion to his Religious Stoic, "(which, albeit, it hath ever been allowed many heads, yet hath never been allowed any brains,) will doubtless accuse my studies of adultery, for hugging contemplations so eccentric to my employment. To these my return is, that these papers are but the parings of my other studies, and because they were but parings, I have flung them out into the streets. I wrote them in my retirements, when I wanted both books and employment; and I resolve, that this shall be the last inroad I shall ever make into foreign contemplations."

Let us now turn from his literature to the political and professional advancement, which interfered with its progress, or at least changed its course. Soon after the Restoration, he was appointed a justice-depute, or assistant to the justice or chief justice; a situation, the duties of which were almost equivalent to that of an English puisne judge of the present day, in criminal matters. He must have received the appointment very early in life, as in 1661, he and his colleagues were appointed to repair "once in the week at least to Musselburgh and Dalkeith, and to try and judge such persons as are ther or therabout delated of witchcraft;" and the experience in the dark sciences, obtained by him in this occupation, provided him with much grave and learned matter for his work on the criminal law of Scotland. Within a few years after this period, (the time is not particularly ascertained,) he was knighted. In 1669, he represented the county of Ross, where the influence of his family was extensive, in parliament. During that year, the letter of Charles, proposing the immediate consideration of a plan for an incorporating union of the two kingdoms, was read in parliament. Sir George, an enemy to every thing which struck at the individual consequence and hereditary greatness of the country, in which he held a stake, opposed the proposition. He tells us, in his amusing memoirs of the period, that when the commissioner proposed an answer, closing with the king's proposals, and entitling him to the election of the commissioner, he moved, that the parliament should have a day for the consideration of so serious a matter, as there might be questions about succession to be discussed, "whereupon the commissioner rose in a great passion, and told that he consented that the parliament should deliberate upon the letter now read till to-morrow; but that he understood not, how any member of parliament could be so bold as to inquire into the succession, upon a supposition that his majesty, and all the present royal line, should fail." Next day, Sir George came prepared with a speech on the subject. Of this somewhat interesting effort, he has given us a transcript, which is generally understood to be the earliest authentically reported specimen of legislative eloquence in Scotland. It is compact, clear, accurate, well composed, without flights of ardour, and, therefore, destitute of the burning impetuosity which afterwards distinguished Fletcher and Bellhaven. On the whole, it appears, in its present form at least, to have been composed in the closet. His reasoning, when the aim is considered, was prudent and cautious—he considered and doubted "whether it was suitable to our honour, to advance in this union those steps, before England met us in one: and that we have done so in this letter, appears from this, that to treat of an union is one step; the second is to name commissioners; the third is to appoint their quorum, time, and place of their meeting: all which are several steps because they behoved, if they had been concluded in parliament, to have had several votes and conclusions." He also doubted, "whether it were fitter for his majesty's service, and the intended treaty, that the nomination of the commissioners should be referred to his majesty, or rather that they should be nominated in parliament." His speech gave great offence to those who had peculiar grounds for objecting to



long harangues. "About the close of his discourse, he was interrupted by the earl of Tweeddale, who said, that such long discourses were intolerable, especially where they intended to persuade the parliament not to comply with his majesty's desires—which interruption was generally looked upon as a breach of privilege—and it was desired by duke Hamilton, that the earl of Tweeddale should go to the bar; but the gentleman who was interrupted declared, that he had not been interrupted, but had finished his discourse; and, thereupon, that motion took no further effect." Sir George sought distinction in his course through parliament by popular measures. In 1669, an act had been passed, compelling merchants to make oath as to their having paid duties on their merchandise. "The commissioner had that day said, that the stealing of the king's customs was a crime, which was to be provided against: whereupon, Sir George Mackenzie replied, that if it was a crime, no man could be forced to swear for it; for by no law under heaven was it ever ordained that a man should swear in what was criminal. This, and all other passages of that day, joined with Sir George owning the burghs, in which it was alleged he had no proper interest, made his grace swear, in his return from the parliament, that he would have that factious young man removed from the parliament: to effectuate which, he called a council of his favourites, and it was there contrived, that his election should be quarrelled, because he held only lands of the bishop of Ross, but not of his majesty, and so was not a free baron. But they were at last diverted from this resolution by the register, who assured them, that this would make the people jealous of some close design to overturn their liberties, which, as they believed, that gentleman defended upon all occasions; and that he would glory in his exclusion, because it would be believed that they could not effectuate their intentions, if he were allowed to keep his place in parliament." Such is his own account of his parliamentary conduct,—it may be correct, in point of fact, and he has abstained from any mention of the motives. He opposed the act of forfeiture against the western rebels, insisting that no man ought to be found or proved guilty in absence. His account of the opposition of the advocates on the subject of appeals, along with his somewhat suspicious conduct towards his rival Lockhart, have been already detailed.<sup>2</sup> Sir George Mackenzie would have gone to the grave with the character of a patriot, had he not been placed in a position where serving a king was more beneficial than serving the people. On the 23d of August, 1677, he was named king's advocate, on the dismissal of Sir John Nisbet. The object of the change was a subject of deep and well founded suspicion. Sir George states that his precursor, "a person of deep and universal learning, having disoblged my lord Hatton, he procured a letter to the lords of session, ordaining them to make inquiry into his having consulted *pro et con.* in the case of the lord chancellor and lord Melville, concerning the tailzie of the estate of Leven," and Sir George amiably represents himself as having persuaded Nisbet to stand to his defence. Wodrow observes that he was appointed, "some say upon a very sordid reason;" and Burnet distinctly states, that it was for the purpose of prosecuting Mitchell, who had been pardoned four years before for the attempted murder of Sharpe: at all events this was his first duty in his high office—it was one which on the whole required some address. Mackenzie had prepared himself, by having been counsel for Mitchell when he was previously tried. "He was a very great instrument," says Wodrow, "in the hands of the presbyterians, and was scarce ever guilty of moderating any harsh proceedings against them, in the eyes of the prelates themselves." As the trial of the earl of Argyle in 1661, was the first important political case in which he had tried his powers as

<sup>2</sup> In the Life of Sir George Lockhart.



a defender, so was that of his son in 1681, the first which exercised his abilities as a state prosecutor. In the father's case he had to resist the oppressive fictions of the crown lawyers, but all he suffered was amply repaid on the son. After this celebrated trial, he appears to have obtained, as part of the spoil, a gift of the barony of Bute, ratified by the parliament of 1681.<sup>3</sup> On the recapture of the earl after his escape, Mackenzie was one of those who objected to a new trial, and he accordingly recommended his suffering on his former sentence; he is alleged to have done so from the probability, that, owing to the extreme injustice of the sentence, his heirs might probably be restored to their heritage. If such was indeed his motive, no man was ever more improvident of his own fame, or disinterested in sacrificing it for others; but Mr Laing has shrewdly observed, "no doubt Sir George at the Revolution would assume that merit with Argyle's son, when they sat together in the convention parliament. But he was the man who procured, when king's advocate, that illegal sentence, on which he moved for Argyle's execution."<sup>4</sup> Meanwhile his professional ingenuity had been employed in the case of the lawburrows, by which a legal form, useful in the defence of the subject against lawless aggression, was, by adding to its natural power the weight of the royal influence, made an engine of oppression. It would be a vain task to enumerate the minor state prosecutions, which, in this eventful period, gave full employment to this active servant of government—most of them are well known, and they were at any rate numerous enough to stamp him in the minds of his opponents with a character which must live with his name—"The blood-thirsty advocate." In the year 1680, he tried the celebrated Cargill, who, among other acts of inefficacious spiritual authority, had pronounced sentence of excommunication on the lord advocate. When the indictment was read, bearing, in the ordinary terms, that the accused "having cast off all fear of God," &c., the clerk was interrupted by Cargill, who said, "The man who hath caused this paper to be drawn up, hath done it contrary to the light of his own conscience, for he knoweth that I have been a fearer of God from my infancy; but that man, I say, who took the holy Bible in his hand, and said it would never be well with the land till that book was destroyed, I say, *he* is the man who hath cast off all fear of God." In 1684, after the escape of Sir Hugh Campbell, it being felt necessary that Baillie of Jarviswood should suffer, Mackenzie's energies were exercised on the occasion; and he gained the gratitude of the court, by doing what was wanted. Fountainhall has a characteristic note about his proceedings at this period. "Sir William Scott, of Harden, fined in 1500 lb. sterling, for his ladie's being at a conventicle, and being at one himself. It was said the king's advocate, Sir George Mackenzie, got a previous gift of this fine, for journeys to London."<sup>5</sup> Sir George found it necessary to attempt a vindication of his acts, under the title of "A Vindication of the Government of Charles II.," which, lord Woodhouselee calmly observes, "will fully justify his conduct in the breast of every man whose judgment is not perverted by the same prejudices, hostile to all government, which led those infatuated offenders to the doom they merited."<sup>6</sup> Sir George was a calm and thinking man, and his vindication bears the aspect of candour; but it is deficient in conclusiveness. "No age," he says, "did see so many thousands pardoned, nor so many indemnities granted, as was in his time: which, as it must be principally ascribed to the extraordinary clemency of the kings he served, so it may be in some measure imputed to the bias which Sir George had to the merciful hand." Sir George leaves out of view, that it is possible for one lord advocate so far to exceed another in the number of his prosecutions,

<sup>3</sup> Acts, viii. 679.<sup>4</sup> History, ii. 151.<sup>5</sup> Fountainhall's Notes, 70.<sup>6</sup> Life of Kames, i. Ap. 12.



as both to acquit and sacrifice more than the whole number accused by his brethren. It was not those who were forgiven, but those who were not forgiven, that fix upon the reign of Charles II., and also upon his Scottish advocate, the indelible character of oppression and blood-thirstiness. It must, at the same time, be allowed, that the acute mind of Sir George Mackenzie was never asleep to practical improvements in jurisprudence, although the lust of power was sufficient to subdue his efforts, or turn them into another course. While he wielded the sword of persecution himself, he did much to unfit it for the use of others. He countenanced and cherished a principle, which called for the examination of all witnesses in criminal cases, in presence of the accused, instead of the secret chamber of the privy council. A frightful fiction of the law of both countries, by which no evidence could be led by a prisoner in opposition to the assertions of the libel made by the prosecutor, as representing the king, was removed by Sir George, forty years before it ceased to exist in England; and he put a stop to the system of permitting the clerk of court to be enclosed with the king, for the purpose of assisting him. This was done with a view to preserve the independence of jurymen; but let it be remarked, that in his work on criminal law, he advises the total abolition of trial by jury. In 1686, Mackenzie showed that he had a feeling of conscience and that his religion, if entirely political, was not accurately squared to personal aggrandizement, by suffering himself to be dismissed for not agreeing to the catholic projects of James II. In 1688, however, he was restored, on the advancement of his successor, Dalrymple, to the presidency of the court of session.<sup>7</sup> The Revolution terminated his political career. At this feverish moment of struggle and disappointment, he could so far abstract his mind from politics, as to perform the greatest public service which is ever now connected with his name, by founding the Advocates' Library. The inaugural speech which was pronounced on the occasion, is preserved in his works. The institution has flourished, and redeems Scotland from the imputation of not possessing an extensive public library. After the Revolution, Sir George threw himself into the arms of the university of Oxford, the fittest receptacle for so excellent a vindicator of the old laws of divine right. He was admitted a student on the 2nd of June, 1690; but he did not long live to feel the blessings of the retirement he had praised, and for the first time experienced. He died at St James's on the 2nd May, 1691. He was still remembered in the national feeling as a great man, and his funeral was one of unusual pomp. He lay several days in state in the abbey of Holyrood House, whence his body was conveyed to the Grey Friars' churchyard, attended by a procession, consisting of the council, the nobility, the college of justice, the college of physicians, the university, the clergy, and many others.

Sir George wrote several works of a more laborious cast than those to which we have referred. His *Institute of the Law of Scotland* is well arranged, but, in comparison with the profoundness of Dalrymple, is meagre, and its brevity makes it of little use. His *Laws and Customs in Matters Criminal*, is full of useful information, and is the earliest arrangement (though not a very clear one) of our criminal code. His "Observations on the Laws and Customs of Nations as to Precedency, with the Science of Heraldry as part of the Law of Nations," is esteemed by heralds. When Stillingfleet and Lloyd made their critical attacks on the fabulous history of Scotland, Sir George, who seemed to consider it a very serious matter to deprive his majesty of forty ancestors, wrote in 1680 "A Defence of the Royal Line of Scotland," in which he comes forward as his majesty's advocate, and distinctly hints to the contemners of the royal line,

<sup>7</sup> Fountainhall, 267.



that, had they written in Scotland, he might have had occasion to put his authority in force against them. These works, along with the observations on the acts of parliament, and some other minor productions, were edited by Ruddiman, in two handsome folio volumes, in 1722. His "Memoirs," or account of his own times, certainly the most interesting of all his works, though promised at that time, was withheld through the timidity of his friends. When long lost sight of, the greater part of it was a few years ago recovered to the world. It is full of graphic pictures of the state of the times; and if not so descriptive in character as Clarendon or Burnet, is often more lively in the detail of incident, and more acute in perceiving the selfish motives of the actors.

MACKENZIE, HENRY, one of the most illustrious names connected with polite literature in Scotland. He was born at Edinburgh in August 1745, while the citizens were preparing, by ineffectual fortifications, for the dreaded attack of prince Charles Stuart, then collecting his army in the Highlands.<sup>1</sup> The nativity of Mr Mackenzie was fixed by himself, at a public meeting which he attended late in life, upon the venerable alley denominated *Liberton's Wynd*, now removed in order to admit of a bridge for the connexion of the High Street with the southern districts of the city. His father was Dr Joshua, or (as his name is spelt in the Scots Magazine for 1800, where his death is recorded) Josiah Mackenzie, an eminent physician. Dr Mackenzie was, we believe, a native of Fortrose, upon the Moray frith, but had removed in early life to Edinburgh, where he acquired an extensive practice as a physician, and distinguished himself in the world of letters as author of a volume of Medical and Literary Essays.<sup>2</sup> The mother of the author of the *Man of Feeling* was Margaret, eldest daughter of Mr Rose of Kilravock, a gentleman of ancient family in Nairnshire.

After being educated at the high school and university of Edinburgh, Mr Mackenzie, by the advice of some friends of his father, was articled to Mr Inglis of Redhall, in order to acquire a knowledge of the business of the Exchequer, a law department, in which he was likely to have fewer competitors than in any other in Scotland. To this, though not perfectly compatible with the literary taste which he very early displayed, he applied with due diligence; and, in 1765, went to London to study the modes of English Exchequer practice, which, as well as the constitution of the court, were similar in both countries. While there, his talents induced a friend to solicit his remaining in London, and qualifying himself for the English bar. But the anxious wishes of his family that he should reside with them, and the moderation of an unambitious mind, decided his return to Edinburgh; where he became, first, partner, and afterwards successor, to Mr Inglis, in the office of attorney for the crown.

His professional labour, however, did not prevent his attachment to literary pursuits. When in London, he sketched some part of his first and very popular work, *The Man of Feeling*, which was published in 1771, without his name,

<sup>1</sup> Sir Walter Scott, in the memoir of Mr Mackenzie, prefixed to his novels in Ballantyne's Novelist's Library, states that his birth took place "on the same day on which prince Charles landed." This, however, is incompatible with the fact of Mr M. having been born in August, as the prince landed on the 25th of July. We may here also mention, that the original source of the memoir itself was not, as implied by Sir Walter, a Paris edition of the *Man of Feeling*, but a publication, entitled "The British Gallery of Contemporary Portraits."

<sup>2</sup> "We have heard that some of Harley's feelings were taken from those of the author himself, when, at his first entrance on the dry and barbarous study of municipal law, he was looking back, like Blackstone, on the land of the Muses, which he was condemned to leave behind him. It has also been said, that the fine sketch of Miss Walton was taken from the heiress of a family of distinction, who ranked at that time high in the Scottish fashionable world. But such surmises are little worth the tracing; for we believe no original character was ever composed by any author, without the idea having been previously suggested by



and was so much a favourite with the public, as to become, a few years after, the occasion of a remarkable fraud. A Mr Eccles of Bath, observing the continued mystery as to the author, laid claim to the work as his own, and, in order to support his pretensions, transcribed the whole with his own hand, with an appropriate allowance of blottings, interlineations, and corrections. So plausibly was this claim put forward, and so pertinaciously was it adhered to, that Messrs Cadell and Strachan, the publishers, found it necessary to undeceive the public by a formal contradiction.

Though Mr Mackenzie preserved the anonymity of the *Man of Feeling* for some years, (probably from prudential motives with reference to his business,) he did not scruple to indulge, both before and after this period, in the literary society with which the Scottish capital abounded. He informs us in his *Life of Home*, that he was admitted in boyhood as a kind of page to the tea-drinkings which then constituted the principal festive entertainment of the more polished people in Edinburgh; and his early acquaintance with Hume, Smith, Robertson, Blair, and the rest of the literary galaxy, then in the ascendant, is evidenced from the same source. He was an early intimate of the ingenious blind poet, Dr Blacklock; and at the house of that gentleman, as we have been informed by a survivor of the party, then a youthful boarder in the house, met Dr Johnson and Boswell, when the former was passing through Edinburgh on his journey to the Hebrides. To quote the words of our informant—"Several strangers had been invited on the occasion, (it was to breakfast;) and, amongst others, Dr Mackenzie, and his son, the late Mr Henry Mackenzie. These gentlemen went away before Dr Johnson; and Mrs Blacklock took the opportunity of pronouncing a panegyric upon the father and son, which she concluded by saying, that though Dr Mackenzie had a large family, and was married to a lady who was his son's step-mother, nevertheless the son lived with his own wife and family in the same house,<sup>3</sup> and the greatest harmony obtained among all the parties. On this Dr Johnson said, 'That's wrong, madam;' and stated a reason, which it were as well to leave unchronicled. This settled Mrs Blacklock's opinion of the doctor. Several years ago, on calling to remembrance the particulars of this breakfast with Mr Henry Mackenzie, he said there was another reason for Mrs Blacklock's dislike: she had filled no less than twenty-two cups of tea to Dr Johnson at this breakfast; which, I told Mr M., was too many, for Mrs Blacklock had appointed me to number them, and I made them only *nineteen*!"<sup>4</sup>

Some years after the publication of the *Man of Feeling*, Mr Mackenzie published his *Man of the World*, which was intended as a counterpart to the other. In his former fiction, he imagined a hero constantly obedient to every

something which he had observed in nature."—*Sir Walter Scott, in Ballantyne's Novelists' Library.*

<sup>3</sup> Their residence was in one of the floors of a tall house at the junction of the Cowgate and Grassmarket, either above or below a floor occupied by Mrs Syme, the maternal grandmother of Lord Brougham.

<sup>4</sup> Our correspondent's introduction to this anecdote may be deemed worthy of the reader's notice. "I was twice in company with Dr Johnson, when he came to Edinburgh, on his journey to the Hebrides. Being then a boarder in Dr Blacklock's, my request to be present at the breakfast given to Dr Johnson was readily granted. The impression which I then received of him can never be effaced; but it was not of an unpleasant nature. He did not appear to me to be that savage which some of my college companions had described him: on the contrary, there was much suavity and kindness in his manner and address to Dr Blacklock. The blind poet generally stood in company, rocking from one side to another; he had remarkably small white hands, which Dr Johnson held in his great paws during the most part of the time they conversed together, caressing and stroking them, as he might have done those of a pretty child." It is necessary to mention, that the great moralist was, by Boswell's showing, in one of his gentlest moods on this occasion.



emotion of his moral sense. In the *Man of the World*, he exhibited, on the contrary, a person rushing headlong into misery and ruin, and spreading misery all around him, by pursuing a happiness which he expected to obtain in defiance of the moral sense. His next production was *Julia de Roubigné*, a novel in a series of letters, designed, in its turn, as a counterpart to the *Man of the World*. "A friend of the author," says Sir Walter Scott, "the celebrated Lord Kames, we believe, had represented to Mr Mackenzie, in how many poems, plays, and novels, the distress of the piece is made to turn upon the designing villany of some one of the dramatis personæ. On considering his observations, the author undertook, as a task fit for his genius, the composition of a story, in which the characters should be all naturally virtuous, and where the calamities of the catastrophe should arise, as frequently happens in actual life, not out of schemes of premeditated villany, but from the excess and over-indulgence of passions and feelings in themselves blameless, nay, praiseworthy, but which, encouraged to a morbid excess, and coming into fatal and fortuitous concurrence with each other, lead to the most disastrous consequences. Mr Mackenzie executed his purpose; and as the plan fell in most happily with the views of a writer, whose object was less to describe external objects, than to read a lesson to the human heart, he has produced one of the most heart-wringing histories which has ever been written. The very circumstances which palliate the errors of the sufferers, in whose distress we interest ourselves, point out to the reader that there is neither hope, remedy, nor revenge."

In 1777 or 1778, a number of young men of literary taste, chiefly connected with the Scottish bar, formed themselves into an association for the prosecution of their favourite studies, which came to bear the name of the *Mirror Club*. An account of this fraternity, of its members, and of the way in which they conducted their meetings, has already been given under the article "*WILLIAM CRAIG*," being derived from the oral information of Sir William Macleod Bannatyne, the latest survivor of the society.<sup>5</sup> Of the *Mirror Club*, Mr Mackenzie was readily acknowledged chief; and, accordingly, when it was resolved to issue their literary essays in a small weekly paper, resembling the *Spectator*, he was appointed to undertake the duties connected with the publication. The *Mirror* was commenced on the 23d of January, 1779, in the shape of a small folio sheet, price three halfpence, and terminated on the 27th of May, 1780; having latterly been issued twice a-week. Of the one hundred and ten papers to which the *Mirror* extended, forty-two were contributed by Mr Mackenzie, including *La Roche*, and several others of the most admired of his minor pieces. The sale, during the progress of the publication, never ex-

<sup>5</sup> Sir William Macleod Bannatyne was born, January 26, 1743, O. S., and died November 30, 1833, in his ninety-first year. He was the son of Mr Roderick Macleod, W. S., whose sister, lady Clanmald, for protecting Prince Charles in his wanderings, was made prisoner, and kept for some time in confinement in London. The "young Clanmald," who led out his clan in 1745, and took the town of Dundee, was therefore cousin-german to Sir William. The venerable subject of this note, passed advocate, January 22, 1765, and was the intimate friend of the first lord Melville, when at the bar, and of several other eminent persons in that profession, with whom he used to meet regularly for mutual improvement in forensic and legal business. His contributions to the *Mirror* were five papers, which are pointed out in the latest edition. On the resignation of lord Swinton, in 1799, he was raised to the bench, where he performed the duties of a judge till 1823. On his retirement, he received the honour of knighthood. The remainder of his life was spent by Sir William in a cheerful and hospitable leisure at his residence in Whiteford House, near the bottom of the Canongate, where he was for many years the only surviving specimen of the old town gentleman. Sir William was full of anecdote and information respecting the political history of Scotland during the last century, and showed, in conversation with the present writer, as intimate an acquaintance, and as lively a recollection of the secrets of the Walpole and Bute administrations, as could be displayed by any living man, respecting that of Mr Canning or the Duke of Wellington.



ceeded four hundred copies ; but this was more than sufficient to bring it under the notice of a wide and influential circle, and to found the reputation it has since enjoyed. When re-published in duodecimo volumes, a considerable sum was realized from the copyright, out of which the proprietors presented £100 to the Orphan Hospital, and treated themselves to a hogshhead of claret, to be drunk at their ensuing meetings.

The *Lounger*, a work of exactly the same character, was commenced by the same writers, and under the same editorship, February 6, 1785, and continued once a-week till the 6th of January, 1787 ; out of the hundred and one papers to which it extended, fifty-seven are the production of Mackenzie. One of the latter papers the editor devoted to a generous and adventurous critique on the poems of Burns, which were just then published, and had not yet been approved by the public voice. As might have been expected, Mackenzie dwells most fondly on the Addresses to the Mouse and the Mountain Daisy, which struck a tone nearest to that prevailing in his own mind.

On the institution of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, Mr Mackenzie became one of the members ; and amongst the papers with which he enriched its transactions, are an elegant tribute to the memory of his friend lord Abercromby, and a memoir on German tragedy ; the latter of which bestows high praise on the *Emelia Galotti* of Lessing, and on the *Robbers* by Schiller. For this memoir he had procured the materials through the medium of a French work ; but desiring afterwards to enjoy the native beauties of German poetry, he took lessons in German from a Dr Okely, who was at that time studying medicine in Edinburgh. The fruits of his attention to German literature appeared further in the year 1791, in a small volume, containing translations of the *Set of Horses* by Lessing, and of two or three other dramatic pieces. But the most remarkable result of his studies in this department, was certainly the effect which his memoir produced on the mind of Sir Walter Scott, then a very young man. It gave a direction to the genius of this illustrious person, at a time when it was groping about for something on which to employ itself ; and, harmonizing with the native legendary lore with which he was already replete, decided, perhaps, that Scott was to strike out a new path for himself, instead of following tamely on in the already beaten walks of literature.

Mr Mackenzie was also an original member of the Highland Society ; and by him were published the volumes of their *Transactions*, to which he prefixed an account of the institution, and the principal proceedings of the society. In these *Transactions* is also to be found his view of the controversy respecting Ossian's Poems, and an interesting account of Gaelic poetry.

Among Mackenzie's compositions are several political pamphlets, all upon the Tory side ; the first being "An Account of the Proceedings of the Parliament of 1784," in which he strongly defended the views of his friend, Mr Henry Dundas, afterwards viscount Melville. At the time of the French Revolution, he wrote various tracts, with the design of counteracting the progress of liberal principles in his own country. These services, with the friendship of Lord Melville and Mr George Rose, obtained for him, in 1804, the lucrative office of comptroller of taxes for Scotland, which he held till his death.

In 1793, Mr Mackenzie wrote the life of Dr Blacklock, prefixed to a quarto edition of the blind poet's works, which was published for the benefit of his widow. Mr Mackenzie's intimacy with Blacklock, gave him an opportunity of knowing the habits of his life, the bent of his mind, and the feelings peculiar to the privation of sight under which Blacklock laboured. In 1812, he read to the Royal Society his *Life of John Home*, which was some years after prefixed to an edition of that poet's works, and also published separately. At the time he



read this paper to the Society, he also laid before them, in connexion with it, some *Critical Essays*, chiefly relative to dramatic poetry, which have not been published.

Mackenzie was himself a dramatic writer, though not a successful one. A tragedy, written by him in early life, under the name of *The Spanish Father*, was never represented; in consequence of Mr Garrick's opinion, that the catastrophe was of too shocking a kind for the modern stage; although he owned the merit of the poetry, the force of some of the scenes, and the scope for fine acting in the character of Alphonso, the leading person in the drama. In 1773, Mr Mackenzie produced a tragedy under the title of *The Prince of Tunis*, which, with Mrs. Yates as its heroine, was performed with applause for six nights, at the Edinburgh theatre. Of three other dramatic pieces by Mr Mackenzie, the next was *The Shipwreck*, or *Fatal Curiosity*, which might be described as an alteration of Lilly's play under the latter of the two names. The comedies entitled the *Force of Fashion*, and *The White Hypocrite*, both of which were unsuccessful, complete the list. Mr Mackenzie's grand deficiency as a dramatic author was his inability to draw forcible characters. His novels and tales charm by other means altogether; but in the drama, striking characters, and a skilful management of them, are indispensable.

In 1808, Mackenzie published a complete edition of his works in eight volumes. From that period, and indeed from one considerably antecedent to it, he might be said to have abandoned literature, though, to use his own affecting image, as employed at one of the meetings of the Royal Society, the old stump would still occasionally send forth a few green shoots. The patronage of the government was unfortunately extended in a somewhat improper shape, in as far as the office bestowed upon him, though lucrative, required unremitting personal labour. He was thus unable, even if he had been willing, to cultivate literature to any considerable purpose. Such leisure as he possessed, he spent chiefly in healthy recreations—in shooting, particularly, and angling, to which he was devotedly attached, and the former of which he had practised in early life, on the ground now occupied by the New Town of Edinburgh. He thus protracted his days to a healthy old age, until he finally stood amidst his fellow men, like Noah amongst his descendants, a sole-surviving specimen of a race of literary men, all of whom had long been consigned to the dust. His recollections of the great men who lived in his youth, were most distinct and interesting; but it is to be regretted, that with the exception of what he has given in his *Life of Home*, he never could be prevailed upon to commit them to paper. The sole physical failing of his latter years was a slight deafness, which, however, seemed only to give him the greater power of speech, as, by a natural deception of the mind, he probably conceived, that what was inaudible to himself, was so, or ran the risk of being so, to his hearers also. At length, after a comparatively brief period of decline, he died, January 14, 1831, in the eighty-sixth year of his age.

By his wife, Miss Penuel Grant, daughter of Sir Ludovick Grant, of Grant, Bart., and lady Mary Ogilvie, Mr Mackenzie had eleven children, the eldest of whom is a judge of the courts of session and justiciary—and a younger, Mr Holt Mackenzie, one of the members of the privy council.

As a novelist and essayist, Mackenzie still ranks in the first class, though, perhaps, rather by a reflection of his former fame, than through any active or sincere appreciation of his writings by the present generation. It is, perhaps, unfair to judge of the intellectual efforts of an author, by any other age than his own, seeing that, as Johnson well remarks, the most of men content themselves if they only can, in some degree, outstrip their predecessors. Yet it is impos-



sible to overlook that Mr Mackenzie's works are not of a kind to retain the highest degree of popularity beyond the age in which they were written, and that they have been surpassed by many later writers, who, from the greater competition which they had to contend with, have not attained nearly so high an eminence. Mr Mackenzie lived in an age, when to attain certain proprieties in language, was looked upon as almost the *summum bonum* of authorship of any kind: men had not yet become sufficiently at ease about the vehicle of their thoughts, to direct their attention solely, or even chiefly, as they do now, to the sense which is conveyed. Hence, we find, in his works, a faultless sweetness and delicacy of diction, which, however, is only a mannerism, though not exactly that of an individual—while the whole scenery, incidents, and characters, instead of being taken directly from nature, are little more than a vivification of what have been the stock of fictitious writers from the commencement of the art. The *real life* with which Mr Mackenzie was acquainted, must have been, in a great measure, the same from which Sir Walter Scott afterwards fashioned his immortal narratives; but this, to Mackenzie, fashion had forbidden, and he had not the force to break through the rules of that tawdry deity. He was content to take all his materials at second-hand, to grapple only with that literary human nature, which, like certain dresses on the stage, runs through all books from perhaps some successful model of antiquity, without ever gathering a spark of the genuine article of the living world in its course. Dexterously, we allow, is the Mosaic composed, and beautiful is the crust of sentiment in which it was presented. As works of art, the novels and minor stories of Mackenzie are exquisite; but, nevertheless, they could never have attained so great a celebrity, if they had not appeared at a time when mere art was chiefly regarded by the public, and when, as yet, men esteemed nature as something not exactly fitted for drawing-room intercourse.

While we thus, with great deference, express an unfavourable opinion of his merits as a writer of fiction, we allow to Mr Mackenzie the highest credit as a moralist, and also as a composer of language, which is to be esteemed as no mean accomplishment, and depends more upon native gifts than is generally supposed. The moral sense of Mackenzie was in the highest degree pure, tender, and graceful; and has imbued his writings with a character for which they can hardly ever fail to be esteemed. "The principal object of all his novels," says Sir Walter Scott, "has been to reach and sustain a tone of moral pathos, by representing the effect of incidents, whether important or trifling, upon the human mind, and especially on those which were not only just, honourable, and intelligent, but so framed as to be responsive to those finer feelings to which ordinary hearts are callous." The sweet collocation of the words in which all these efforts are made, combines to render the effect, to an extraordinary degree, soothing, refining, and agreeable.

MACKINTOSH, (SIR) JAMES, a distinguished historian and statesman, was born on the 24th of October, 1765, at Alldowrie, the residence of his grandmother, situated on the banks of Loch Ness, about seven miles from Inverness. He was in his own person, being the eldest of three children, the representative of the Killochy branch of the family of Mackintosh, (a property which they acquired in the fifteenth century,) and was the eleventh in descent from Allan, third son of Malcolm, the tenth chief of the clan, who was one of the leaders in the celebrated battle of Harlaw, fought in 1411. The lairds of Killochy, as the eldest branch of the Mackintoshes extant, were always captains of the watch (a feudal military appointment) to the chief of the clan, and acted in this capacity in all the hostilities in which he happened to be engaged.

John Mackintosh of Killochy, father to the subject of this memoir, held a



commission for several years in Campbell's Highlanders, and was wounded in the Seven Years' War in Germany. He was afterwards a captain in the 68th regiment, and served with this corps for a considerable time in Gibraltar, and other places abroad. He was a man of amiable manners and disposition, and much esteemed by all who knew him, amongst the most remarkable of whom was major Mercer, the author of a volume of pleasing poetry, who thus speaks of him, sixteen years after his death, in a letter to lord Glenbervie:—"We lived together," says this gentleman, "for two years in the same tent, without one unkind word or look. John Mackintosh was one of the liveliest, most good-humoured, gallant lads I ever knew."

Sir James's mother, Marjory Macgilivray, who died at Gibraltar, while he was yet a child, was a daughter of Alexander Macgilivray, Esq. of the state of Carolina.

From a very early period of life the subject of this memoir discovered a singular propensity to reading; a passion which his father, who had been himself accustomed to an active life, and who desired that his son's pursuits should be of a more stirring kind, endeavoured, but in vain, to subdue. Little foreseeing the eminence to which this studious disposition was one day to raise him, he twitted the boy with his sedentary and monotonous life; telling him, with the view of rousing him to an interest in what was passing around him, and of directing his inclinations into a livelier channel, that he would become a mere pedant. His attachment to books, however, was too deeply seated in his nature to be removed by such sarcasms, and his father's opposition had the effect only of driving him to do that by stealth and in secret which he had done before openly. He rose at midnight when the family had retired to rest, lighted his candle, and pursued his solitary studies unmolested till the approach of morning.

In consequence of his father's being much abroad, the care of young Mackintosh devolved chiefly upon his grandmother, a woman of superior endowments, and to whom he was in a great measure indebted for the early discipline which his mind received. When of sufficient age to leave home, the future historian and statesman was sent to the academy of Fortrose, then the most distinguished seminary in that part of Scotland, and placed under the tuition of Mr Stalker, one of the masters. Here young Mackintosh rapidly acquired, and continued to maintain, a marked superiority over all his schoolfellows for ability and application. In this remote corner of the world, and at the early period of his life, his future fame was shadowed forth in a local reputation which gave to "Jamie Mackintosh" the character of a prodigy of learning and talent. His master entertained a similar opinion of him, and, as a proof of his confidence in his acquirements and abilities, devolved upon him, while yet a mere boy, nearly the entire management of the classical department of the school. At this period, too, he began to discover that talent for oratory and declamation by which he so eminently distinguished himself in after life. The eloquence, however, on which latterly "listening senates hung" was at this period poured out from the top of the grave stones in the churchyard of Fortrose, on which the young orator used to mount in moments of enthusiasm, and declaim from Shakspeare and Milton to a wondering, gaping, and admiring audience of his schoolfellows. The political opinions which distinguished Mr Mackintosh throughout his life were also very early formed. He was said by a lady, a relative of his own, to have been "born a whig;" but he certainly was not this by inheritance, for his friends and connexions were all staunch tories and Jacobites, and they did not view without regret and sorrow the apostasy of this scion of the house of Killochy. The youthful fancy, however, of the young



heir to that venerable title had been captivated by the fluency and sentimental descriptions of the democracies of Greece and Rome, which he found in his favourite classics, and he formed opinions of his own on the subject of political freedom with but little reference to the creed of his family. Pym, Hampden, and Algernon Sidney, were the objects of his idolatry; their example excited his imagination, and their writings imbued him with those political principles which "grew with his growth, and strengthened with his strength." The Utopian notions, however, which so often mislead men of weak minds, had no such effect on Mr Mackintosh. He saw the necessity of sobering down all such fanciful theories to the level of real life, and of pruning and adapting them to the passions and weaknesses of human nature. He was above all impressed with the necessity of circumscribing his ideas of political freedom, which had before run wild, by the great outlines of the British constitution. In his own impressive and figurative language, he desired, that the light which might break in on England should be, "through well-contrived, and well-disposed windows, and not through flaws and breaches, the yawning chasms of our ruin."

The singular talents which young Mackintosh discovered while at Fortrose, and the extraordinary proficiency which he made in his studies, determined his friends to bestow upon him a university education, and he was accordingly, through the kindness of a relative, placed in King's college, Aberdeen, under Mr Leslie. He here also attended the lectures of James Dunbar, LL.D., professor of moral philosophy, and Mr William Ogilvie, professor of humanity.

While at Aberdeen he formed an acquaintance and intimacy with the late Rev. Robert Hall of Leicester, which continued throughout their future lives. They were inseparable while at college, and a biographical sketch of his deceased friend was amongst the last literary efforts of Mackintosh. It was intended for the new edition of Mr Hall's works published by Dr Gregory.

Having acquired a complete knowledge of Greek and mathematics, Mr Mackintosh, who had now determined on adopting the medical profession, repaired to Edinburgh to complete his education at the university of that city. Here he attended the lectures of Dr Cullen and professor Black, preparatory to his taking the degree of doctor of medicine, and applying himself to regular practice in that profession. He also joined the well known literary club called the Speculative Society, instituted in 1764, in which he became a keen debater, and distinguished himself by the boldness of his opinions, and the ability and eloquence with which he expounded and maintained them. Amongst his associates at this period were Mr, now lord Gillies, Mr, now lord Moncrieff, and the present earl of Lauderdale, and amongst the number of his friends, the illustrious author of the "Wealth of Nations," who early discovered, and warmly encouraged, the promising talents of the young orator.

It was at this period that Mr Mackintosh's mind became seriously directed towards general literature, and to moral, political, and speculative philosophy, the result of his studying, which he did with the most serious attention, the works of Robertson, Smith, Clark, and Brown, who were then in the zenith of their fame. Having received his medical degree, although he had now determined to abandon that profession, to which, indeed, he had never been attached, he set out for London in the year 1787, in company with the eldest son of Sir James Grant of Grant, who had, about this period, become knight of the shire for the county of Moray. Undetermined as to his future pursuits, he lingered idly about the metropolis for some time, made a short visit to the continent, and finally returned to study law, having fairly parted with physic. In the year following, viz. 1788, he succeeded, by the death of his father, to the estate of Killochry, now worth about £900 per annum. Method and economy, however, were



not, at this period, amongst the number of Mr Mackintosh's virtues, and the consequence was, that notwithstanding this handsome accession to his means, he soon found himself involved in pecuniary difficulties of so extensive and urgent a kind as compelled him to part with his patrimonial inheritance for the very inadequate sum of £9000. Still but loosely attached to his professional studies, he now permitted his attention to be diverted to the science of politics, and in 1789, published a pamphlet on the Regency Question, in which he asserted the constitutional right of the heir-apparent to supply his father's place in the circumstances which then gave rise to the discussion. Pitt's theory, however, prevailed, and thus the first published literary essay of Mr Mackintosh was found upon the losing side. Hitherto he had attracted but little public notice, and had been foiled in his attempt to obtain political celebrity. Both of these, however, were awaiting him, and on no distant day. In 1791, he published his celebrated work entitled "*Vindiciæ Gallicæ, or a defence of the French Revolution and its English admirers, against the accusations of the right honourable Edmund Burke; including some strictures on the late production of Monsieur de Calonne,*" an octavo volume of 379 pages. This work he sold, while yet but partly written, for a trifling sum; but the merits and success of the production induced the publisher to depart from the original contract, and to give its author triple the sum stipulated for. The first two editions were disposed of within four months; and a third appeared in the end of August, 1791. The extraordinary talent which this work displayed, procured Mr Mackintosh an extensive and illustrious circle of acquaintances, in which were, amongst others, Sheridan, Grey, Whitbread, Fox, the duke of Bedford, and his celebrated antagonist, Burke himself, who soon after the appearance of the "*Vindiciæ*," opened a correspondence with him, and it is said succeeded in changing and modifying to a considerable extent many of the opinions of its author.

Mr Mackintosh now (1792) entered himself as a student of Lincoln's Inn, and in 1795, was called to the bar by that society; but did not, for several years thereafter, attain any considerable practice. He attended the courts, however, and went the Norfolk circuits, but without much improvement to his business.

With the view of enlarging his income, which the want of professional success kept within narrow bounds, he, in the year 1798, announced his intention of delivering a course of lectures on "*The Law of Nature and of Nations.*" A suspicion of his motives in a political point of view raised some obstacles in the way of this attempt; but these being effectually removed by his Introductory Lecture, which was printed under the title of "*A Discourse on the Law of Nature and of Nations,*" and which drew the most flattering eulogiums from both Mr Fox and Mr Pitt, he was permitted to proceed, and delivered his course in Lincoln's Inn hall to a large and respectable audience. These "*Discourses*" are allowed by all to comprehend nearly every excellency which human sagacity and human intelligence can bring to bear on such subjects; profundity and felicity of thought, high intellectual power, and chaste and elegant language.

After the general election of 1802, Mr Mackintosh was retained as counsel in several controverted cases, and acquitted himself with great ability before committees of the house of commons, but still without attracting much public notice as a barrister. Next year, however, a case was put into his hands which at once gained him the highest professional reputation. This was the defence of M. Peltier, editor of "*The Ambigu,*" a French journal, for a libel against Bonaparte, then first consul of France, and at that time at peace with this country. The trial took place on the 21st of February, 1803, in the court of King's Bench. Mr Mackintosh stood alone and unsupported in the defence of Peltier,



against an array of talent on the opposite side which would have appalled any man of less resolution, and which nothing but a strong confidence in his own abilities and intellectual researches could have enabled him to encounter. His principal antagonists in this case were Mr Perceval, at that period attorney general, afterwards prime minister, and Mr Abbot, afterwards lord Tenterden. Mr Mackintosh's pleading on this celebrated trial was one of the most masterly efforts of the kind which had ever been witnessed. It was one continued strain of powerful, impressive and classical eloquence. His whole energies were concentrated in the effort, and the whole stores of his vast and retentive memory, and of his elegant and felicitous fancy were brought forth and mingled with the current of his eloquence, imparting to it a richness and splendour of tint, which great and original minds only can produce. His speech on this occasion was declared by lord Ellenborough to be "the most eloquent oration he had ever heard in Westminster Hall." A still more flattering compliment was paid the orator by Madame de Stael, who translated the speech into French, in which shape it was circulated throughout Europe.

Mr Mackintosh was at this period professor of general polity and the laws in the East India college at Hertford, an appointment which the reputation he had acquired from his "Lectures on the Law of Nature and of Nations" had obtained for him; but the splendid display of talent which he had exhibited in his defence of Peltier procured him much more powerful patronage, and opened up to him prospects more commensurate to his deserts. He now attracted the notice of the government, by which he was considered a person who might be profitably employed in some official situation connected with the state, and he was accordingly offered in the same year the recordership of Bombay. This appointment he accepted, though not without some hesitation, and before setting out he received the honour of knighthood. He remained in Bombay for seven years, discharging the grave and important duties of a chief judge with an uprightness, integrity, and ability unsurpassed in the annals of criminal jurisprudence. Faithful to the high trust reposed in him, he yet tempered the severity of the laws by mingling, whenever it was possible to do so, some drops of mercy in the cups of bitterness, which duty to his country and to society compelled him to administer. A well judged and discriminate lenity, that lenity which makes the laws not an object of contempt and ridicule, but of love and reverence, and which leaves no room for grudge or reflection at their awards, formed one of the most prominent and god-like features in the judicial character of Sir James Mackintosh. A remarkable and beautiful instance of his application of this principle occurred during his recordership in Bombay. Two young natives were brought before him, tried, and convicted of having conspired to waylay and murder a Dutchman from Cochin. The penalty attached to the crime by the law was death. Some circumstances in the case, however, afforded Sir James an opportunity of extending mercy to them so far as to save their lives, and he availed himself of it. The prisoners were in the mean time withdrawn from the bar, and during this interval came to a resolution, between themselves, of murdering their judge when they should be called up to receive, as they expected, sentence of death, and for this purpose they provided themselves with knives. The design of the ruffians was most providentially discovered in sufficient time to prevent its being carried into effect. The sequel, a story worthy of the best days of Rome, and of the noblest and best of her citizens, will be best told in the language which Sir James himself addressed to the culprits, when they were brought again before him to receive the commuted sentence which his lenity had procured for them. "I was employed," he said, addressing the prisoners, "in considering the mildest judgment which public duty would allow me to pronounce on you,



when I learned from undoubted authority, that your thoughts towards me were not of the same nature. I was credibly, or rather certainly informed, that you had admitted into your minds the desperate project of destroying your own lives at the bar where you stand, and of signalizing your suicide by the previous destruction of at least one of your judges. If that murderous project had been executed, I should have been the first British magistrate who ever stained with his blood the bench on which he sat to administer justice. But I could never have died better than in the discharge of my duty. When I accepted the office of minister of justice, I knew that I ought to despise unpopularity and slander, and even death itself. Thank God I do despise them; and I solemnly assure you, that I feel more compassion for the gloomy and desperate state of mind which could harbour such projects, than resentment for that part of them which was directed against myself. I should consider myself as indelibly disgraced, if a thought of your projects against me were to influence my judgment." He then passed sentence on them to be imprisoned for twelve months, the exact amount of punishment he had originally proposed.

During his residence in India, Sir James contributed a number of valuable papers to the "Asiatic Register," and supplied the late Dr Buchanan with a large quantity of material for his voluminous works on India. His return to England was hastened by a severe illness. He left Bombay in November 1811, retiring from the Recordship with a pension of £1200 per annum.

In July 1813, a little more than twelvemonths after his arrival in his native country, he was elected, through the interest of lord Cawdor, as representative for the county of Nairn; an occasion which called him to visit the friends and the scenes of his youth; and no man could enjoy the happiness, or be more feelingly alive to all the romantic, endearing, and delightful recollections and associations, which the contemplation of objects familiar to our boyhood, and from which we have been long absent, is calculated to produce. He was, as all men of noble and generous minds are, an enthusiastic admirer of the external beauties of nature, and his native district afforded ample inducements to the indulgence of this pure and exalted taste; a taste which he himself has beautifully said, "preserves those habits of reflection and sensibility which receive so many rude shocks in the coarse contests of the world."

In 1818, he was elected for Knaresborough in Yorkshire, through the influence of the duke of Devonshire, and was re-chosen at the subsequent elections of 1820, 1826, 1830, and 1831. He was also elected Lord Rector of the university of Glasgow in 1822, and again in 1823. Sir James was now become a person to whom a national importance and consideration were attached, one of the marked and elevated characters of the country, who had acquired a conventional right from the soundness and capacity of his judgment, and the extraordinary splendour of his abilities, to take an active and prominent part in the management of her affairs, and a conviction of this truth prevailing in those high quarters where it could be acted upon, he was appointed in 1828, one of his majesty's privy council, and on the formation of the Earl Grey administration in 1830, he was made on the 1st December a commissioner for Indian affairs.

In parliament Sir James took a prominent part in all questions connected with foreign policy, and international law; but more especially distinguished himself in the discussions on the alien bill, the liberty of the press, religious toleration, the slave trade, the settlement of Greece, reform in parliament, and on the right of our colonies to self-government. But a question still more congenial to his philanthropic disposition and benevolent nature, than any of these, devolved upon him on the death of Sir Samuel Romilly. This was the consideration of



the best means of amending the criminal law—a code which he had always thought much too sanguinary, and, therefore, but ill adapted for the ends to which all laws ought to be directed. He thought with Goldsmith, that “a man might see his last crime without dying for it; and that very little blood would serve to cement our security.”

His speeches on this subject are full of the most enlightened and statesmanlike views, and combine, in a wonderful degree, all the beauties of eloquence with profound reasoning, and just and noble sentiment. So beautiful, indeed, are his orations on this subject, and so powerful the arguments which form their frame-work, that it excites a feeling of surprise in the reader to find, that they did not instantly accomplish the object for whose attainment they were constructed. They appear irresistible, and seem to comprehend every argument on the point at issue which human ingenuity could devise. As chairman of a committee of the house of commons, on the criminal law, in 1819, Sir James Mackintosh introduced six bills in the course of May, 1820. But three only of these were at the time persisted in, and in the commutation of punishment bill, seven of the eleven offences which it was intended to commute, were expunged in the house of lords, four only being suffered to remain.

Sir James Mackintosh, as already noticed, was in politics a whig, and all his votes and speeches in parliament were in favour of the opinions and sentiments of that party; but he was, perhaps, one of the most moderate and tolerant politicians that ever existed, as the natural mildness and benevolence of his disposition never failed to mingle largely in whatever character he assumed, whether author, statesman, or judge. In all he was the same—amiable, forbearing, and conciliating.

One of Sir James's last speeches in parliament, was on the bill relating to anatomical dissections, in which he strenuously advocated the propriety, nay, necessity of affording to the profession every facility for obtaining subjects for the dissecting table. His speech, on this occasion, was remarkable for all that elegance of diction, and cogency of argument which distinguished his rhetorical effusions; and indicated, besides, a love of science on the part of the speaker, and a zeal for the welfare of mankind, worthy of a great statesman and of a great philanthropist.

Great as Sir James Mackintosh certainly was as an orator, he was yet greater as an author, and the fame which he derives from the latter character, stands on still higher and firmer ground than that on which the former is rested. The *Vindiciæ Gallicæ*, published when the author was only in the twenty-sixth year of his age, is an eloquent and powerful political treatise. On all the grand points on which he meets Mr Burke—the expediency and necessity of a revolution in France—the character of the national assembly—the popular excesses which attended the revolution, &c.—it may be safely assumed, that he obtains the mastery in truth and cogency of argument. It ought to be remembered, that the French Revolution had not, at this time, put on its worst aspect. The great change which had taken place, promised to regenerate France, and to renovate civil society; and Sir James Mackintosh, like his master Fox, in his exultation at the dawn of so bright a prospect, could not foresee that it would terminate in bloodshed and tyranny.

Both works are written in a style too ornate and artificial. The rich and fertile genius of Burke, and his vast and multifarious stores of learning, crowded his pages with illustrations from all sources—from history, philosophy, and poetry—and he was not over-solicitous as to their being apposite and correct. On the other hand, Sir James Mackintosh, fresh from his books and burning with zeal, was also ambitious of display, and chastity and purity of diction were



neglected by both. Such a contest, however—so splendid a specimen of the literary *duello*, on so magnificent an arena, may not again occur for a considerable length of time. The defence of Peltier is also a masterly performance; but the dissertation in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and his life of Sir Thomas More, in Dr Lardner's *Cyclopædia*, are perhaps the most finished of the acknowledged productions of Sir James Mackintosh. The two volumes of his abridged History of England, serve rather to show the views he took of certain points of English history, and the philosophy he was able to bring to the task, with his habitual carelessness in minor details, than his talent at composing a connected, consecutive work. These two little volumes,<sup>1</sup> however, contain some striking passages and disquisitions. But in the opinion of Mr Campbell, who knew Sir James Mackintosh intimately, they were merely the expansion of the prefatory matter which he intended for a great historical work on the affairs of England since the Revolution, and which he had contemplated for several years, and in part written, but was too much impeded in his progress, both by his parliamentary duties and the infirm state of his health, to bring to a conclusion. His labours were, nevertheless, given to the world in 1834, as a History of the British Revolution. It was the opinion of Sir James that history ought to be written with feeling, but without passion; and to this excellent dogma he has himself rigidly adhered. He also contributed various articles to the *Edinburgh Review* in its earlier days. These are of such superior excellence, and so various—ranging over almost every department of literature—that it is much to be wished that the best of them were collected and published in a separate form. Lord Byron greatly admired them, and in his letters and journals, has expressed this admiration in the strongest terms.

After what has been said of Sir James Mackintosh's public life and character, it is almost unnecessary to add, that in private life, he displayed all the domestic virtues, and all the better qualities of human nature. He was mild, benevolent, generous, humane, and unaffected. Ready at all times to succour the unfortunate and the distressed, he bestowed on all who sought it, that assistance which their circumstances required; whether it was his time, his purse, or his advice; and to all three, if desired, the applicant was welcome. The most pleasing characteristic of Hume—that almost infantine simplicity which his friends remarked in his intercourse with them—mingled also in the character of Mackintosh, contrasting finely with its nobler parts. His conversational powers were of the very first order, and never failed to delight all who had the good fortune to enjoy his society. His person was well formed, and above the middle stature. His countenance was intelligent, and exhibited a pleasing compound of grave and gay expression, indicative of a readiness to sympathize with either of these feelings, as chance might direct their appeals to him.

Sir James was in an indifferent state of health for some time previous to his death, but that melancholy event was finally brought on by an accident. While at dinner, about the beginning of March, 1832, a portion of the breast of a fowl, with a fragment of bone in it, which he had attempted to swallow, stuck in his throat, and, though afterwards extracted without producing any immediate serious consequences, the accident completely unsettled his general health. His debility from that hour daily increased, till the 30th of May, when he died in the sixty-sixth year of his age, at his house in Langham Place, having anticipated and met the hour of his dissolution with a firmness and resignation worthy of his past life. He was buried at Hampstead.

Sir James Mackintosh was twice married; first in 1789, to Miss Catherine

<sup>1</sup> The greater part of a third volume was written by Sir James: he breaks off at the era of the Bartholomew massacre.



Stewart of Gerrard Street, Soho, sister to the Messieurs Stewart, formerly proprietors of the "Morning Post," by whom he had issue a son, who died in infancy, and three daughters—viz., Mary, married to Claudius James Rich, Esq., of Bombay—Maitland, married to W. Erskine, Esq.—and Catherine, married to Sir W. Wiseman, Bart. Mrs Mackintosh died in 1797.—He was afterwards married to Catharine, daughter of J. B. Allen, Esq. of Cressella, in Pembrokeshire. By this lady, who died at Chesne, near Genoa, on the 6th May, 1830, he had one son and a daughter; viz., Robert Mackintosh, Esq., B.A., fellow of New College, Oxford; and Frances, married to H. Wedgewood, Esq., Staffordshire.

MACKNIGHT, (Dr) JAMES, a learned scriptural commentator, was born on the 17th of September, 1721. His father, Mr William Macknight, minister at Irvine, was a native of Ireland, where his ancestors, descended from the family of McNaughtane, in the Highlands of Scotland, had resided for more than a century. Mr William Macknight early displayed very popular talents as a preacher; and having, it is said, accidentally officiated in the church of Irvine, sometime after the death of the former incumbent, he gave so much satisfaction to the hearers, that, in consequence of a general wish expressed by the parishioners to the patron, he was soon appointed to supply the vacant charge. In this situation he continued during life, universally esteemed for genuine piety, purity of morals, and integrity of character.

Mr James Macknight, the subject of this memoir, received the rudiments of education at the school of Irvine; and about the age of fourteen, was sent to the university of Glasgow, where he studied with great approbation from his teachers, on account of his diligence and proficiency. The notes he then took from the lectures on logic and moral philosophy, before he was sixteen, still remain among his papers, and afford remarkable indications of the same acuteness and soundness of judgment, which afterwards characterized his theological writings.

Having completed the usual course of academical discipline at Glasgow, Mr Macknight went to Leyden, in order to prosecute the study of theology, to which he had shown an early attachment. While he remained in Holland, he had an opportunity of procuring many valuable books, written by foreign divines, which afterwards assisted his own labours in explaining Scripture. After his return to Scotland, having received from the presbytery of Irvine a license to preach the gospel, he was chosen to officiate at the Gorbals, near Glasgow; a situation which at that time could be held by a licentiate of the church, before being ordained to the pastoral function. On this occasion, one of the candidates was Mr Robert Henry, afterwards the well known historian of Great Britain. It chanced that the gentlemen who were thus placed in competition with each other at the commencement of life, were at last, after an interval of many years, associated as colleagues in the charge of the Old Church parish of Edinburgh.

From the Gorbals, Mr Macknight went to Kilwinning, in consequence of an invitation from Mr Fergusson, then minister of that place; and acted for some time as his assistant in the charge of the parish. Here he conducted himself with such propriety, that his character began to be established; and on the death of Mr Fisher, at Maybole, he obtained the vacant living there, with the concurring wish of the heritors and people. Of this charge, accordingly, he was ordained as minister, on the 10th of May, 1753. At Maybole, Mr Macknight continued sixteen years; and discharged the duties of the pastoral office with such assiduity and kindness, that, when he left it, he carried with him the affections and regret of all his flock. It may be mentioned, as a pleasing evidence of attachment, that when he proposed accepting a presentation to the living of Jedburgh, many respectable inhabitants of the parish of Maybole, joined toge-



ther in earnestly soliciting him to remain as their paster; and in order to obtain his compliance with this request, they offered, not only to augment the value of his income, but to provide him an assistant, should the state of his health render it necessary. This generous proposal, however, he judged it proper, from prudential considerations, to decline.

It was at Maybole, that, amidst his professional occupations in a populous charge, Dr Macknight composed the first and second of his works. Of the former, indeed, or the Harmony of the Gospels, it appears from his papers, that the plan had been conceived by him so early as the third or fourth year of his attendance at the university; and from that time he began to collect materials for the publication. The first edition of this book was published in 1756. Although the plan of it differed considerably from that of former Harmonies, in supposing that the Evangelists have not neglected the order of time in the narration of events, the reception it met with from most competent judges was so favourable, that the author was encouraged to undertake a second edition, with considerable improvements and additions. This edition appeared in 1763. In the same year, was also published by Dr Macknight, another performance of great merit, entitled the Truth of the Gospel History, which had been the fruit of the author's studies during the interval between the first and second editions of his Harmony. Its object is, to illustrate and confirm, both by argument and by appeal to the testimony of ancient authors, what are commonly arranged under the three great titles of the Internal, the Collateral, and the Direct Evidences of the Gospel History.

By these publications, Dr Macknight soon obtained a high reputation for theological learning. The university of Edinburgh conferred on him (among the first who obtained that distinction in Scotland) the degree of Doctor of Divinity; and he was, in 1769, chosen moderator of the General Assembly of the church of Scotland. During the course of the same year, he was translated to the parochial charge of Jedburgh; in which he remained about three years, and where he received from his people the most flattering tokens of respect and kindness. In 1772, he was elected one of the ministers of Edinburgh; a preferment for which he was chiefly indebted to the long-continued and steady friendship of the very respectable and highly esteemed family of Kilkerran. His first charge in Edinburgh was the parish of Lady Yester's; from which he was translated, in 1778, to the Old Church, where he continued during the remainder of his life.

Besides performing the ordinary duties of the pastoral function, a minister of Edinburgh, in virtue of his office, is much occupied with public meetings on business of various kinds, especially the management of the different charitable foundations, which have long been the boast of the capital of Scotland. On these, accordingly, Dr Macknight, though he entertained some doubts respecting the good effects of such institutions, bestowed much of his attention; and his judicious counsels of management, were undoubtedly productive, at that time, of considerable benefit, in maintaining the strictness of their discipline, as well as the purity of their administration. Among other objects of such official care, is the fund established by act of parliament for a provision to the widows and children of ministers in the church of Scotland. As one of the trustees appointed by the act, he had long taken a leading part in conducting the business of this Charity; and after the death of Dr Webster, he was appointed joint collector with Sir W. Moncrieff Wellwood, Bart.

In the church courts he acted steadily on that system of ecclesiastical policy, which, for many years past, has guided the decisions of the General Assembly. At the same time, he firmly resisted whatever appeared to him as any infringement on the constitutional law or practice of the church; and, accordingly,



when some of his friends seemed to wish for the abolition of Calls, as an unnecessary form in the settlement of ministers, he moved and carried a resolution of the Assembly of 1782, (relative to certain overtures on the subject, then under the discussion of the house,) "declaring, that the moderation of a Call in settling ministers, is agreeable to the immemorial and constitutional practice of this church, and that it ought to be continued:" a resolution which was afterwards converted into a declaratory act, and printed as such in the proceedings of the Assembly for that year.

But what chiefly engaged his mind, and occupied his time, after he became a minister of Edinburgh, was the execution of his last and greatest work on the Apostolical Epistles; which was published in 1795, in four volumes quarto. Respecting this work, it is perhaps not unworthy of being told, that it was the result of the unremitting labour of almost thirty years; that, notwithstanding his numerous professional avocations, the author, while composing it, was seldom less than eleven hours every day employed in study; and that before it came to the press, the whole manuscript had been written no less than five times with his own hand.—At the time of publishing "The New Translation of the Apostolical Epistles, with a Commentary and Notes," Dr Macknight was highly indebted to the patronage of the duke of Grafton; and after the work made its appearance, he received the most honourable testimonies of approbation from many of the bishops and respectable dignitaries of the church of England, as well as from the ablest divines of all descriptions.

After the publication of this work, Dr Macknight considered himself as having accomplished the greatest object of his life; and, wishing to enjoy at the end of his days, some relief from the labour of study, he resisted the repeated solicitations of his friends, who earnestly urged him to undertake the illustration of the Book of the Acts, on the same plan which he had so successfully followed in explaining other parts of the New Testament.—But soon after this period, from the want of their usual exercise, a sensible decline of his faculties, particularly a failure of his memory, was observed by his family. This fact is a striking instance of the analogy between the powers of the body and those of the mind, both of which suffer by inaction; and it furnishes a useful caution to those who have been long habituated to any regular exertion of mind, against at once desisting entirely from its usual efforts; since the effect, in the course of nature, is not only to create languor, but to hasten the progress of debility and failure.

As yet, however, (1796,) Dr Macknight's bodily vigour seemed to be but little impaired. In early life, he was afflicted with frequent headaches; but after he had reached the age of thirty, they seldom returned: and he afforded a singular instance of a sedentary life long continued, with hardly any of those complaints which it usually induces. This uninterrupted enjoyment of health he owed, under Providence, to a naturally robust make, and a constitution of body uncommonly sound and vigorous, along with regular habits of temperance, and of taking exercise, which he did by walking nearly three hours every day.

Having finished the task he had prescribed to himself as an author, he mingled frequently in the society of his friends, from which, at intervals, he had always received much enjoyment; and long retained the same cheerfulness of temper, for which at the hours of relaxation from severe study, he had been remarkable, when in the company of those whom he esteemed. Even after the symptoms of his decline were become visible, (1798,) his natural sagacity and strength of judgment, as well as his extensive and familiar knowledge of the Scriptures, were still to be discerned in his conversation and public appearances. And so habitual was his anxiety to discharge his duty, that he insisted on officiating for a considerable time after his friends had wished him to with-



draw from public labour. It was not, indeed, without much entreaty, that he at last consented to accept the services of an assistant.

The disease which terminated his life was the peripneumonia notha, occasioned by an incautious exposure to the severity of the weather, about the end of December, 1799. This distemper, in its progress and issue, resisted the ablest and most assiduous efforts of medical skill.—During his illness, his mind was composed, tranquil, and resigned; he never complained; and on the morning of the 13th of January, 1800, he expired without a struggle. As in the course of the preceding night he slept but little, the time was employed in hearing passages from the Psalms and Evangelists, which by his own desire were read to him by one of his family.—Thus, having spent his life in illustrating Scripture, and exerted the last efforts of his attention in listening with delight to its precious words, he may be truly said to have slept in Jesus.

As a clergyman, the sentiments and conduct of Dr Macknight were equally characterized by consistency and propriety. In the discharge of every public and private duty of religion, with a constant reliance on divine aid, he was regular and steady. He knew and felt what became the sacred office which he held; and never departed, on any occasion, from the dignity or decorum of his professional character. Having given himself wholly to the meditation of divine things, he continued in them: in the work of his Master he was steadfast and faithful to the end.—His piety was at once sincere, rational, and without ostentation. To be useful in the cause of truth and virtue, was his highest ambition; and with all the means of attaining this end which the resources of a well-informed and liberal mind could supply, he united a zeal for the interests of Christianity, which terminated only with his life.

When engaged, either in private controversy or in the public debates of the church courts, he was always remarkable for speaking strictly to the point at issue. He was likewise distinguished by coolness, discretion, and command of temper; he listened with patience to the arguments of his opponents; and in delivering his opinions, he showed himself uniformly open, candid, and explicit. At the same time, his talent was rather that of business than of address; he appeared to be better fitted for deciding on the merits of a question in debate, than for soothing the passions, or managing the humours of mankind,—a qualification rarely possessed but by minds of a superior order.

On various subjects, besides those embraced by his profession, his range of knowledge was ample and profound. He perused the writers of antiquity with critical skill; and of his acquaintance with the Greek language, especially the original of the New Testament, his observations on the force of the particles, in his Commentary, are a sufficient proof. In the speculations, also, of metaphysical, moral, and mathematical science, he was a considerable proficient. The fact is, his powers were such as might have been turned with advantage to any department of knowledge or learning.

It may further be noticed, that in conducting the ordinary affairs of life, he displayed uncommon prudence and sagacity. He was one of those who are generally attentive to small concerns, but on proper occasions show themselves liberal to a high degree. Of this, different instances occurred in the course of his transactions with his friends; and he was enabled to act on such a principle of generosity, by his usual habits of economy and prudence.—Dr Macknight's external appearance was sufficiently expressive of his character. His countenance was manly and commanding, and his gait remarkably erect and firm.

Dr Macknight's "Harmony of the Gospels" has long been esteemed a work of standard excellence for the students of evangelical knowledge. His "Truth of the



Gospel History" has hitherto attracted the notice of the public less than any of his other productions ; but it well deserves to be more generally read ; since of what it proposes to establish, it contains the most satisfying views that can be suggested by learning, acuteness, and good sense, and is admitted by the best judges to be a performance as useful and instructive as any we have on that important subject. It is, in fact, a kind of storehouse, from which subsequent writers on the same subject, have borrowed largely in point of argument and illustration.

The " Commentary on the Apostolical Epistles " is now held in peculiar estimation ; and it may be doubted whether the scope of the sacred authors of these writings was ever, in any former age of Christianity, so fully, clearly, and happily stated, as has been done by Mr Macknight, in the general views and illustrations which he has prefixed to the several chapters of the Epistles.

The Life of the Apostle Paul, which concludes the fourth volume of " The Translation and Commentary," is an excellent compendium of the apostolical history, and may be considered as the author's view and illustration of the Acts of the Apostles—the only part of the New Testament writings (besides the Revelation of St John) to which the labours of Dr Macknight, as a commentator, were not directed.—In all his writings, his style, though unambitious of elegance or ornament, is perspicuous, and appropriate to the subject.

All Dr Macknight's works were originally printed in quarto. Of the " Harmony " and the " Epistles " many editions have since been published in octavo. To show the respect which has been paid in England to his various works, the following passage from the " Library Companion " of the Rev. T. F. Dibdin, may be quoted. After recommending to the young theologian the works of Lardner, Doddridge, and Watts, Mr Dibdin says, " Nor let the name of Macknight be forgotten. His works, indeed, are the more exclusive property of the *disciplined theological* student ; but the *general* reader will do well to secure his inviting quartos upon the *Gospels* and *Epistles* of the New Testament. In these he will find learning without pedantry, and piety without enthusiasm. In short, no theological collection can be perfect without them. If any man may be said to have exhausted his subject, it is Macknight."

Soon after the time of his being ordained, Dr Macknight married Elizabeth M'Cormick, eldest daughter of Samuel M'Cormick, Esq., general examiner of the excise in Scotland. Of his family, the only one remaining is a clergyman of the church of Scotland.

MACLAURIN, COLIN, an eminent mathematician and philosopher, was descended from an ancient and respectable family, which had long been in possession of the island of Tiree, a solitary but comparatively fertile member of the Hebridean range. His grandfather, Daniel M'Laurin, removed thence to Inverary, and contributed greatly to restore that town, which was nearly ruined in the civil wars. He wrote some memoirs of his own times, and appears to have been a man of superior abilities. John, the son of Daniel, and father of Colin, was minister of the parish of Glenderule, where he was greatly beloved as a faithful and diligent pastor ; he completed a version of the Psalms into *Irish*, which was generally used in those parts of the country where divine service is performed in that language. He married a lady of the name of Cameron, by whom he had three sons. John, the eldest, was for many years one of the ministers of the city of Glasgow, and well known as the author of several essays and sermons ; he was also one of the most popular preachers of his day. Daniel, the second son, died at an early age, after having given proofs of surprising genius ; and Colin, born at Kilmoddan, in the month of February, 1698. His father died six weeks after ; but the loss to the family was not so severely felt



as it otherwise might have been, on account of the kind advice and benevolent attention of a worthy uncle, the reverend Daniel Maclaurin, minister of Killfinnan, and the careful economy and exemplary virtues of their mother. After remaining in Argyshire for some time, on a small patrimonial estate, which was divided between Mrs Maclaurin and her sisters, she removed to Dumbarton, for the more convenient education of her children; but dying in 1707, the entire charge of the orphans devolved upon their uncle. Colin, at this time, was nine years old; and, although of a delicate constitution, he was remarkable for the quickness of his apprehension, and the retentiveness of his memory; he was passionately fond of learning, and pursued his studies with so much zeal and satisfaction, as to be fully qualified to enter the university of Glasgow, in two years after his mother's death. He was accordingly placed there under the direction of Mr Carnichael, an admirable public teacher, who took the greatest pains in superintending his education, and for whom Mr Maclaurin, ever after in life, evinced the warmest feelings of gratitude and respect. His proficiency in every branch of elementary learning was so rapid, and his application to study so intense, that his teachers were astonished at the ease and quickness with which he distanced, not only those who were commencing the same class with himself, but those who had the advantage of attending for many sessions before him. His youthful imagination entered with great delight into the beauties of the writings of the ancients, and a taste for classical learning never forsook him during the whole course of his life, notwithstanding the predominant bent of his wonderful genius for the cultivation and improvement of mathematical science. From the time he entered college, he kept a diary, in which he carefully noted down the beginning and success of every particular study, inquiry, or investigation, his conversations with learned men, the subjects of those, and the arguments on either side. This was found among his oldest manuscripts, and in it might be read the names of the celebrated Mr Robert Simpson, Dr Johnson, and several other gentlemen of learning and worth, who all seemed anxious who should most encourage our young philosopher, by opening to him their libraries, and admitting him into their most intimate society and friendship. His genius for mathematical learning discovered itself so early as twelve years of age, when, having accidentally met with a copy of Euclid, in a friend's chamber, he became master, in a few days, of the first six books, without any assistance; and having accomplished this extraordinary enterprise, his predilection for the science of quantity was determined for life. He now made an extraordinary progress, as we very soon after find him engaged in solving the most curious and difficult problems.

At fifteen years of age, Mr Maclaurin took his degree of master of arts, having passed through the *curriculum*, or public course of lectures appointed by the university, which must be attended before this honour can be gained. The subject he selected for his *thesis*, was, the "Power of Gravity," and this, according to the custom of the times, it was necessary for him to defend publicly. It may be necessary to observe, for the information of those who are acquainted with the manner in which such disputations were conducted in Scotland, that the candidate was left free to select for this ordeal any literary or scientific subject he thought proper. The depth and boldness of the topic proposed by young Maclaurin at once revealed what kind of studies had engaged his attention while at the university, and excited the wonder and admiration of all present. In most instances, the subjects of disputation were of a trifling kind, and adapted chiefly to afford the candidate an opportunity of displaying his ingenuity and acquaintance with the mood and figure of the school of logic. But the mind of our youthful philosopher disdained to stoop to any thing puerile or com-



mon-place, and the sublimity of his subject showed at once the nature of his studies and the depth of his erudition. At that time the philosophy of Newton was comparatively unknown, and even men the most distinguished in science were slow to comprehend the great and important truths it contained. None but those profoundly skilled in geometry could fully comprehend his doctrines, and that of itself excluded many from the study; whilst others were bound in the trammels of the scholastic jargon of Aristotle, or the imaginary vortices of Des Cartes. When, therefore, young Maclaurin chose the "Power of Gravity" as the subject of his thesis, it was a presupposition that he was fully acquainted with the fundamental doctrines of Newton's discoveries, and upon this occasion he acquitted himself to the wonder and delight of his auditors. He afterwards illustrated the same subject in a most beautiful manner, in the last two books of his account of the philosophical discoveries of Sir Isaac. There is only one instance more, in the whole range of literature, that we are acquainted with, of such extraordinary and precocious talent where a predisposition for mathematical science was any thing like so strong, and that is in the person of Pascal, whom Bayle calls the divine—nearly at the same age, though not exceeding that of our youthful philosopher. He, too, by the force of his irresistible genius, in secret and by stealth, may be said to have invented a system of geometrical science, which, to keep him in ignorance of, his father had sacrificed both fame and fortune. It might be invidious to compare the philosophic acquirements of these great men in after life, further than their mutual fondness for classic literature, in which they both proved themselves elegant writers. They had both a strong sense of religion on their minds, and to those who have perused their works, their most anxious desire must appear to have been to apply the theoretical propositions which were known, or they themselves had demonstrated, so as to promote the real benefit of mankind.

Maclaurin having made such an extraordinary progress in the study of geometry, and having, with little trouble, conquered difficulties which, in general, are looked upon as so formidable, passed at once to the higher branches of that science, and, instead of being deterred from exertion by the intricacy of the demonstrations which necessarily met him at every step as he proceeded in the investigation of difficult propositions, his energies seemed to acquire new life and vigour to enable him to surmount every obstacle in his way. Nothing delighted him more than to be engaged in difficult and curious problems, and this much is certain, that in his sixteenth year he had already invented many of the finest propositions afterwards published under the title of *Geometria Organica*.

At the beginning of the session in 1714, immediately subsequent to taking his degree, he entered himself as a student of divinity, but he only attended the college for one year longer, when, becoming disgusted at the dissensions that at that time had crept into the church, he relinquished all ideas of becoming a clergyman, and, happily for science, determined to devote himself to the study of mathematics and philosophy. He quitted the university and retired to his uncle's house, at Kilfinnan, in a sequestered part of the country. That good man having, at all times, acted as a father to him, he determined to wait with patience until some secular employment should occur. In this happy seclusion, he continued his favourite researches, still cultivating his mind by a perusal of the best classic authors, for which he had naturally the most refined taste. The sublime scenery amidst which he lived, would, at proper intervals, invite him to wander through the lofty mountains and lonely glens, to consider the numberless natural curiosities with which they abound; and here his fancy being warmed by the grand scenes which presented themselves, he would sometimes break



out in an ode, or hymn, on the beauties of nature, and the perfection of its Author. Of these, some fragments were preserved by his friends, and although we know not if they were ever published, still they must have possessed considerable interest, as serving to develope the openings and improvements of a mind like that of Maclaurin.

When Mr Maclaurin was only nineteen years old, in the autumn of 1717, a vacancy occurred in the professorship of mathematics in the Marischal college of Aberdeen. For this he presented himself as a candidate, and carried along with him the most ample testimonials from his friends at Glasgow, where he had distinguished himself so eminently. A very able competitor appeared in the field against him, but after a competition, or comparative trial of excellence, which lasted for ten days, Mr Maclaurin was declared the successful candidate. Being now fixed in his chair, he quickly revived the taste for mathematical learning, and raised it higher than it had ever been in that university. He continued at Aberdeen discharging the duties of his office, and had the happiness to perceive his usefulness increasing, and his popularity as a public professor greatly extended. In the vacations of 1717 and 1719, he went to London, with the view of extending his information, and of being introduced to the illustrious men there. As mathematical knowledge was never in so great request, nor its professors so much honoured at any period in the history of Britain, his fame had already gone before him; but, independent of that, he was furnished with letters of introduction from professor Simpson and Dr Clark, to the first philosophers of that or any other age. It was this first journey to London that laid the foundation to his subsequent fortunes in life. Besides Dr Hoadly, then bishop of Bangor, Dr Samuel Clark, and several other eminent men, he became acquainted with Sir Isaac Newton, who not only patronized him as a young man of genius, and possessed of a singular turn of mind for mathematical investigation, but seems to have formed for him a stronger degree of attachment than he was ever known to exhibit towards any one of the numerous candidates for his patronage. This kind preference, Mr Maclaurin ever after considered the greatest honour and happiness of his life. Long before he meditated his journey to London, he was an enthusiastic admirer of the philosophy of Newton, and of the almost superhuman genius of its inventor. To him he therefore submitted his treatise on the "Power of Gravity," which he brought with him, in manuscript, to London, and, on its receiving the sanction of him who had done more to extend the boundaries of mathematical science than almost all mankind, Mr Maclaurin's triumph was complete. He was admitted a member of the Royal Society when only twenty-one years of age, and two of his papers were, about the same time, inserted in the transactions of that learned body, and his book, entitled *Geometria Organica*, was published with the approbation of their president. In his second journey, he became acquainted with Martin Folke, Esq., who succeeded Sir Isaac Newton as president of the Royal Society, and with whom he thenceforth cultivated a most entire and unreserved friendship. This great patron of scientific men frequently corresponded with him, communicating to him all his views and improvements in the sciences, and encouraging him to proceed in his philosophical studies.

In 1722, lord Polwarth, ambassador from the court of St James's to the congress of Cambray, had been for some time looking out for a proper person to accompany his son, Mr Hume, on his travels. His lordship was fond of literature and the company of literary men; he had frequent opportunities of observing Mr Maclaurin's behaviour, who at this time, from his consummate abilities, was admitted into the highest circles of society in London. His lordship being deeply prepossessed in favour of our youthful philosopher, engaged



him as companion and tutor to his son. Maclaurin having procured a proper person to fill his place for a time at the college of Aberdeen, and feeling a strong desire to gratify his curiosity by visiting foreign countries, he accordingly with his friend and scholar set out for France, and proceeded at once to the capital, where they took up their abode. After remaining a short time at Paris, they visited several of the chief towns in France, and finally fixed upon Lorraine for their residence. Here they had the advantage of a good academy, besides the introduction to one of the most polite courts in Europe. Mr Maclaurin had now an opportunity of improving that easy and genteel address which was at all times natural to him, and with his graceful person and great erudition, he excited the admiration, and gained the esteem of the most distinguished persons of both sexes. Here he wrote his essay on the percussion of bodies, which gained the prize of the Royal Academy of Sciences in 1724. The substance of this tract is inserted in his *Treatise of Fluxions*.

On leaving Lorraine with his pupil on a tour through the southern provinces of France, and arriving at Montpellier, Mr Hume was seized with a fever which quickly terminated his life. This dreadful calamity affected Mr Maclaurin in the deepest manner and overwhelmed him with grief. In some letters written on that melancholy occasion, he seemed almost inconsolable for the loss of his pupil, companion, and friend, and his sympathy with a family to which he owed great obligations, and which had suffered an irreparable loss in the death of this hopeful young nobleman, rendered him unhappy beyond expression. Travelling and all other things being now distasteful, he set out immediately on his return to his profession at Aberdeen.

Having by this time justly earned the distinction of one of the first men of his country, the curators of the university of Edinburgh were desirous of engaging him to supply the place of Mr James Gregory, whose age and infirmities had rendered him incapable of teaching; but several difficulties retarded the design for some time. A gentleman eminent for mathematical abilities, but whose name is now forgotten, had succeeded in gaining over some of the patrons, who promised him their interest for the appointment, until a recommendatory letter from Sir Isaac Newton completely turned the balance in Mr Maclaurin's favour. Sir Isaac first addressed Mr Maclaurin, with allowance to show it to the patrons of the university, and expresses himself as follows:—"I am very glad to hear that you have a prospect of being joined to Mr James Gregory in the professorship of mathematics at Edinburgh, not only because you are my friend, but principally because of your abilities, you being acquainted as well with the new improvements of mathematics as with the former state of those sciences; I heartily wish you good success, and shall be very glad of hearing of your being elected; I am, with all sincerity, your faithful friend, and most humble servant." In a second letter to the lord provost of Edinburgh, which Mr Maclaurin knew nothing of till some years after Sir Isaac's death, he thus writes: "I am glad to understand that Mr Maclaurin is in good repute amongst you for his skill in mathematics, for I think he deserves it very well, and to satisfy you that I do not flatter him, and also to encourage him to accept the place of assisting Mr Gregory, in order to succeed him, I am ready (if you please to give me leave,) to contribute twenty pounds per annum towards a provision for him till Mr Gregory's place becomes void, if I live so long, and I will pay it to his order in London." The town council, however, with becoming pride, respectfully declined this generous offer, and the business was finally arranged that Mr Gregory was to retain his salary during life; his family in case of their father's death were secured in it for seven years from the date of Mr Maclaurin's being inducted as joint professor, who was promised fifty



pounds per annum, besides the fees he received from the students attending the class, upon condition of performing all the duties of the office. On the 3d November, 1725, he was introduced to the university, as was at the same time his learned colleague and intimate friend, Dr Alexander Monro, professor of anatomy. The subjects which Mr Maclaurin introduced into the different courses of lectures on mathematics were very miscellaneous, and the classes soon became unusually numerous, there being upwards of a hundred young gentlemen attending his lectures, who being of different standings and proficiency, he was obliged to divide them into four or five classes, in each of which he employed a full hour every day, from the 1st of November to the 1st of June. In the first or lowest class, (sometimes divided into two,) he taught the first six books of Euclid's Elements, plain trigonometry, practical geometry, the elements of fortification, and an introduction to Algebra. The second class repeated the Algebra again from its principles, and advanced farther in it, then proceeded to the theory of mensuration of solids, spherical trigonometry, the doctrine of the Sphere, dialling, and other practical parts. After this he gave the doctrine of the conic sections, with the theory of gunnery, and concluded with the elements of astronomy and optics. In the third class he went on in astronomy and perspective, prelected on Sir Isaac Newton's Principia, and explained the direct and inverse method of fluxions. At a separate hour he began a class of experimental philosophy about the middle of December, which continued thrice every week till the beginning of April, and at proper hours of the night described the constellations and showed the planets by telescopes of various kinds. All Mr Maclaurin's lectures on these different subjects were given with such perspicuity of method and language, that his demonstrations seldom stood in need of being repeated. Such, however, was his anxiety for the improvement of his scholars, that if at any time he found they could not comprehend his meaning, or if upon examining them he found they could not readily demonstrate the propositions which he had proved, he was apt rather to suspect that his own expressions had been obscure than their want of genius or attention. He, therefore, would resume the demonstration in some other method, in order to try, if, by expressing it in a different light, he could give them a better view of it. Besides the labours of his public profession, he had frequently many other employments and avocations. If an uncommon experiment was said to have been made any where, the curious were desirous of having it repeated by Mr Maclaurin. On all momentous occasions he was the first to be applied to; and if an eclipse or comet was to be observed, his telescopes were always in readiness. Such was the elegance and amenity of his manners, that the ladies took the liveliest interest in his experiments and observations, and were delighted and surprised at finding how easily and familiarly he would resolve the questions they put to him; and to those gentlemen who had been his pupils his advice and assistance were never wanting; nor was admittance refused to any except in his teaching hours, which were devoted to that purpose alone. The ingenious of all ranks courted his acquaintance and friendship, and so anxious and pressing were they to enjoy the pleasure of his company and conversation after his usual avocations were over, that he was obliged to take from the ordinary hours of repose what he bestowed on his scholars and friends, and by persevering in deep and severe study, he exhausted his strength and greatly impaired his health. About this time, at the beginning of the year 1728, Sir Isaac Newton died, and his nephew, Mr Conduitt, proposed to publish an account of his life, for which purpose he applied to Mr Maclaurin for his assistance, who out of gratitude to his great benefactor readily undertook the task, and finished the history of the progress which philosophy had made before Sir



Isaac's time. When the first draught of that work was sent up to London it was shown to some eminent judges, and met with their highest approbation. Among the rest Dr Rundle, afterwards bishop of Derry, was so pleased with the design that he mentioned it as particularly worthy of the Queen's notice, who, after attentively perusing it, was so highly gratified that she expressed a desire to see it published; but Mr Conduitt's death having prevented the execution of his part of the proposed work, Mr Maclaurin's manuscript was returned to him. To this he afterwards added the more recent proofs and examples given by himself and others on the subjects treated by Sir Isaac, and left it in the state in which it now appears. Mr Maclaurin continued to live single till the year 1733, when, having a mind equally formed for the social endearments of refined society as those of the profoundest philosophy, he married Anne, daughter of Mr Walter Stewart, solicitor-general for Scotland to George the first, by whom he had seven children.

Dr Buckley, bishop of Cloyne, having taken occasion, from some disputes that had arisen concerning the grounds of the fluxionary method, in a treatise, entitled the *Analyst*, published in 1734, to explode the method itself, and at the same time to charge mathematicians in general with infidelity in religion. Mr Maclaurin entered the lists of disputation with him, eager to defend his favourite study and repel an accusation in which he was most unjustly included. He commenced his reply to the bishop's book; but as he entered more deeply into the subject, so many discoveries, so many new theories and problems occurred to him, that, instead of a vindictory pamphlet, his work, when finished, presented a complete system of fluxions, with their application to the most considerable problems in geometry and natural philosophy. This work was published in Edinburgh in 1742, in two volumes quarto, in which we are at a loss what most to admire—his solid, unexceptionable demonstrations of the grounds of the method itself, or its application to such a variety of curious and useful problems. A society had for many years subsisted in Edinburgh, for the advancement of medical knowledge; Mr Maclaurin, on reviewing their plan of proceedings, and not thinking it sufficiently extensive, proposed to take in all parts of physics, together with the antiquities of the country. This was readily agreed to, and Mr Maclaurin's influence engaged several noblemen and gentlemen of the first rank and character, to join themselves for that purpose to the members of the former society. The earl of Morton did them the honour to accept of the office of president. Dr Plummer, professor of chemistry, and Mr Maclaurin, were appointed secretaries; and several gentlemen of distinction, English and foreigners, desired to be admitted members. At the monthly meetings of the society, Mr Maclaurin generally read some treatise of his own, or communicated the contents of his letters from foreign parts; by which means the society were informed of every new discovery or improvement in the sciences. Several of the papers read before this society, are printed in the 5th and 6th volumes of the *Medical Essays*; some of them are also published in the *Philosophical Transactions*; and Mr Maclaurin had occasion to insert a great many more in his *Treatise of Fluxions*, and in his account of Sir Isaac Newton's philosophy. He was the first who proposed the building of an astronomical observatory, and a convenient school for experiments, in the university of Edinburgh, of which he drew an elegant and well contrived plan; and, as this work was to be carried on by private subscription, he used all his influence to raise money for that purpose with so much success, that, had not the Rebellion intervened in Scotland, the work would have been speedily completed. The earl of Morton, on visiting his estates in *Orkney* and *Shetland* in 1739, wanted at the same time to settle the geography of these islands, which was very er-



roniously laid down on all our maps, to examine their natural history, to survey the coasts, and take the measure of a degree of the meridian,—and for this purpose he applied to Mr Maclaurin for his assistance; but his domestic affairs not permitting him to undertake the journey, he drew up a plan of what he thought necessary to be observed, furnished the proper instruments, and recommended Mr Short, the celebrated optician, as a fit operator for managing them. The accounts Mr Maclaurin afterwards received of this voyage, made him still more sensible of the erroneous geography we had of those parts, by which so many shipwrecks had been occasioned, and he therefore employed several of his scholars, who were then settled in the northern counties, to survey the coasts.

Mr Maclaurin had still more extensive views for the improvement of geography and navigation over all the surface of the globe. After carefully perusing all the accounts of voyages, both in the South and North Seas, he was of opinion that the sea was most probably to be found open from Greenland to the South Sea, by the North Pole; and, when schemes for finding out such a passage were submitted to parliament in 1744, he was consulted concerning them by several persons of high rank and influence; but before he could finish the memorials which he proposed to have sent, the premium was limited to the discovery of a north-west passage, and Mr Maclaurin used to regret that the word *west* was inserted, because he thought a passage, if at all to be found, must lie not far from the pole. Of this he appeared to be so deeply persuaded, that he has been heard to say, if his situation could admit of such adventures, he would gladly undertake the voyage, even at his own cost.

Such was the zeal this amiable and celebrated man evinced on every occasion for the public good: the last and most remarkable instance, is that which we shall now relate.

In 1745, when the Highland army had got between Edinburgh and the king's troops, Mr Maclaurin was the first to rouse the friends of the existing government from the security in which they had hitherto continued; and though he was aware that the city was not long defensible, or able to resist even the undisciplined and ill-armed host that was advancing to attack it, yet as he foresaw how much might be gained by the insurgents' possessing themselves of the capital, and the king's forces, under Sir John Cope, being daily expected, he made plans of the walls, proposed the several trenches, barricades, batteries, and all such defences as he thought could be thrown up before the arrival of the enemy, earnestly hoping that the town might thus hold out till relieved. The whole burden, not only of contriving, but also of overseeing the execution of this hasty defence, fell to Mr Maclaurin's share. He was indefatigable in his exertions, employed both night and day in drawing plans, and running from place to place; so that the anxiety, fatigue, and cold to which he was thus exposed, affecting a constitution naturally weak, laid the foundation of the disease of which he died. It is not properly connected with our subject to inquire how Mr Maclaurin's plans were neglected or defeated, or by what means prince Charles got possession of Edinburgh; but, after defeating the king's troops at Prestonpans, he found himself in such strength as to issue several very arbitrary orders, among which was one commanding all who had been volunteers in the defence of the city, before a stated time, to wait on his secretary, to subscribe a recantation of what they had done, and a promise of submission to the new government, under the pain of being deemed and treated as rebels. Mr Maclaurin had acted too conspicuous a part as a volunteer, to hope to escape their vengeance, if he once fell into their hands; he therefore privately withdrew into England, before the last day of receiving the submissions, but not before he



contrived means to convey a good telescope into the castle, and to supply the garrison with provisions.

Dr Thomas Herring, then archbishop of York, hearing that Mr Maclaurin had taken refuge in the north of England, invited him in the most friendly manner to reside with him during his stay in that part of the country. Mr Maclaurin gladly accepted the invitation, and soon after expresses himself thus in a letter to a friend:—"Here," says he, "I live as happily as a man can do who is ignorant of the state of his family, and who sees the ruin of his country." His grace of York, of whose talents and goodness Mr Maclaurin ever retained the highest veneration, held a frequent correspondence with him; and when it was suspected that the rebels might again enter Edinburgh on their retreat from England, he invited his former guest, for ease and security, to his hospitable mansion. While at York, it was remarked that Mr Maclaurin appeared more than usually meagre and sickly; but he, at that time, feeling no apprehension of danger, did not consider it necessary to call in medical aid. Having fallen from his horse, however, on his journey southward, and, when the Pretender's army entered England, having, on his return home, been exposed to excessive cold and tempestuous weather, he complained upon his arrival of being seriously indisposed. His disease was soon discovered to be a dropsy in the abdomen, to remove which a variety of medicines were prescribed by the most eminent physicians of the day, and three tapplings were resorted to, with little or no effect. While suffering under this painful malady, his behaviour was such as became a philosopher and Christian; calm, cheerful, and resigned; retaining his senses and judgment in their full vigour, till within a few hours of his death. Then, for the first time, while engaged in dictating to his amanuensis the last part of the last chapter of his Account of Sir Isaac Newton's Discoveries, in which he proves the goodness of God, his amanuensis perceived him to falter. Dr Monro came in shortly afterwards, and he conversed with him after his accustomed manner, and requested him to account for flashes of fire, as it were, darting from his eyes, though his sight was gradually decaying, so that he could scarcely distinguish one object from another. His hands and feet were already cold, and no pulse could be traced in any part of his body. In a short time he desired to be laid upon his bed, where he breathed his last, on the 14th June, 1746, aged forty-eight years and four months. His wife, two sons, and three daughters, survived him. John, the eldest son, studied the law, and after making a distinguished figure at the bar, was promoted to the bench, 17th January, 1789, under the designation of lord Dreghorn. He was an excellent scholar, and erected a monument to his father in the Grey Friars' churchyard, with an inscription which has often been quoted for its simple and expressive eloquence. Lord Dreghorn also published various pieces in prose and verse, which, in their day, enjoyed some reputation, and have been oftener than once printed.

Colin Maclaurin was not only distinguished by his great genius and learning, but by the qualities of his heart, his universal benevolence, and unaffected piety. Dr Monro, in an oration spoken at the first meeting of the university after his death, (from which much of the foregoing account is taken,) draws a sublime and affecting picture of his friend's great qualities, and professes that, after an intimacy with him for so many years, he had but half known his worth, which only disclosed itself in its full lustre, when it came to suffer the severe test of that distressful situation in which every man must at last find himself, and which only minds prepared like his, armed with virtue, can bear with dignity.

If we look back upon the numerous writings of Mr Maclaurin, and the



deep researches he had been engaged in, his patience and assiduity will be equally astonishing with his genius. His favourite studies were mathematics, which he cultivated with wonderful success, influenced by a disinterested love of truth, and aiming constantly at improvement and utility. The further he advanced in the knowledge of geometry and of nature, the greater his aversion grew to perfect systems, hypotheses, and dogmatizing. Without being dissatisfied with the attainments we can arrive at, or the uses which they serve, he saw that there lay infinitely more beyond our reach, and used to call our highest discoveries but a dawn of knowledge, suited to our circumstances and wants in life, in which, however, we ought thankfully to acquiesce for the present, in hopes that it will be improved in a happier and more perfect state. To a view of general utility, all his studies were accommodated; and we find in many places of his works, an application even of the most abstruse theories, to the perfecting of mechanical arts. He had resolved, for the same purpose, to compose a course of practical mathematics, and to rescue several branches of the science from the bad treatment which they often meet with in less skilful hands. But all those designs were frustrated by his death, unless we may reckon as a part of his intended work, the Translation of Dr David Gregory's Practical Geometry, which he revised and published, with additions, in the year 1745. In his lifetime, however, he often had the pleasure to serve his friends and country, by his superior skill. Whatever difficulty occurred concerning the construction or perfecting of machines, the working of mines, the improvement of manufactures, the conveying of water, or the execution of any public work, Mr Maclaurin was at hand to resolve it. He was likewise employed to terminate some disputes of consequence, that had arisen at Glasgow, concerning the gauging of vessels; and for that presented to the commissioners of excise two elaborate memorials containing rules (by which the officers afterwards acted,) with their demonstrations. But what must have given his philanthropic mind a higher source of pleasure than any thing else of the kind, were the calculations he made relative to that wise and humane provision, which is established by law, for the children and widows of the Scottish clergy, and of the professors in the universities, entitling them to certain annuities and sums, upon the voluntary annual payment of a certain sum by the incumbent. On the contrivance and adjustment of this scheme, Mr Maclaurin bestowed great labour, and contributed not a little to bring it to perfection.

To find that his knowledge rendered him thus eminently useful to a late posterity, must have been a delightful enjoyment. But what still more endeared his studies to him, was the use they were of in demonstrating the being and attributes of the Almighty Creator, and establishing the principles of natural religion on a solid foundation, equally secure against the idle sophistry of Epicureans, and the dangerous refinements of modern metaphysicians.

To this use Mr Maclaurin frequently applied them; and he was equally zealous in the defence of revealed religion, which he would warmly undertake, whenever he found it attacked, either in conversation or writing. How firm his own persuasion of its truth was, appears from the support which it afforded him in his last hours.

Among Mr Maclaurin's productions, besides the articles already specified, was a paper sent to the Royal Academy of Sciences, at Paris, in the year 1740, on account of which he shared the prize of the Academy with the celebrated D. Bernouilli and Euler, for resolving the problems relating to the motion of the tides, from the theory of gravity—a question which had been given out during the former year, without receiving any solution. Having only ten days in which to draw up this paper, he had not leisure to transcribe a fair



copy of it; so that the Paris edition of it is incorrect. Afterwards, however, he revised the whole, and inserted it in his *Treatise of Fluxions*. His contributions to the *Philosophical Transactions*, may be seen in different volumes of these collections, from No. 30 to No. 42, both inclusive, and treat on the following subjects:—"Of the Construction and Measure of Curves,"—"A New Method of describing all kinds of Curves,"—"On Equations with impossible Roots,"—"On the Description of Curves, with an Account of further Improvements, &c."—"An Account of the Annular Eclipse of the Sun at Edinburgh, January 27, 1742-3,"—"A Rule for finding the Meridional Parts of a Spheroid, with the same exactness as of a Sphere,"—And "Of the Bases of the Cells wherein the Bees deposite their Honey." These papers conclude the list of our author's writings, which were published during his lifetime. After his death, the friends, to whose judgment he submitted the disposal of his MSS., gave directions for publishing his "*Treatise of Algebra*," and his "*Account of Sir Isaac Newton's Philosophical Discoveries*." The first of these works, which appeared in 1748, though it had not the advantage to be finished by his own hands, is yet allowed to be excellent in its kind; containing, in one volume, octavo, of a moderate size, a complete elementary treatise of the science of algebra, as far as it had been hitherto carried. Subjoined to it, by way of appendix, is a Latin tract, "*De Linearum Geometricarum proprietatibus generalibus*," which appears to have been, in our author's judgment, one of the best of his performances, and in which he employed some of the latest hours that he could give to such studies, revising it for the press, as his last legacy to the sciences and the public.

MACNEIL, HECTOR, a poet and miscellaneous writer, was born at Rosebank, near Roslin, in the year 1746. His father had been in the army, where he was patronized by the duke of Argyle, and had mingled in the best company; but, having offended his patron by selling out without his advice, he was left afterwards to his own resources. He took a farm at Rosebank; but some imprudences, and the habit of living in a manner above his income, completely ruined his prospects. As his family was then large, it became necessary that the sons should, as soon as possible, be made independent of him. The only expectation for Hector was from a cousin, who carried on a mercantile concern in Bristol. The father, therefore, confined his education to the mercantile branches, dreading, from his own example, the effect of more refined and classical instruction. The youth discovered excellent parts, with an elegance of taste which seemed to mark him for a different destination from that intended. At the age of eleven, he had written a species of drama, in imitation of Gay. His master earnestly entreated to be allowed to give him some of the higher branches; but on this his father put a decided negative. The attachment, however, of the teacher to his pupil, induced him to impart secretly some elements of this forbidden knowledge. From the father, meantime, young Macneil received many anecdotes of the world, a high sense of honour, and the feelings of a gentleman.

As soon as he had completed his fourteenth year, he was sent off to his cousin at Bristol. On his way, he spent some months at Glasgow, where he completed himself in several branches of his education. His cousin was a rough, boisterous, West India captain, who could not estimate the genius of Macneil, but was pleased with some instances of his spirit. He first proposed to Hector an expedition in a slave ship to the coast of Guinea; but was diverted from it by some female friends, who rightly judged this destination wholly unsuited to the youth's disposition. He was, therefore, sent on a voyage to St Christopher's, with the view of making the sea his profession, if he liked it; otherwise, he was



furnished with an introduction to a mercantile house. On his arrival, being completely disgusted with the sea, he hesitated not in accepting the latter alternative. It is probably to this period of his life, that we are to fix an event of a singular nature which is stated to have entirely altered his prospects in life. His master had married a lady much younger than himself, and of great personal attractions; and young Macneil was upon terms of equal intimacy with both. One day, while he was sitting upon a garden chair with the lady, and reading with her from the same book, the ardent feelings of one-and-twenty prompted him to express his admiration of her beauty, by snatching a kiss. It proved the knell of his departing fortune. Notwithstanding his instant penitence, and entreaties for forgiveness, the lady conceived it necessary to inform her husband of what had happened; and the immediate consequence was, the dismissal of Macneil, and a termination to the prospects that were brightening around him. He continued for many years in the West Indies, but does not appear to have ever after known what could be called prosperity. At one time, if not during the whole remaining period of his residence in those colonies, this amiable bard had to stoop to the ungenial employment of a negro-driver. While in this situation, he became a strenuous advocate for the system of West India slavery, and wrote a pamphlet in its defence. The only thing which he allowed to be necessary to make the condition of slavery agreeable, was an improvement in the moral conduct of the masters: a subsequent age has seen slavery brought to an end before this improvement was accomplished.

When above forty years of age, Macneil returned to Scotland, in a wretched state of health, and without having earned even a moderate independence. In these circumstances, notwithstanding that he had many good connexions, and still preserved the feelings of a gentleman and a poet, his situation was of a truly deplorable kind. He, nevertheless, began to exercise the intellectual faculties, which, though so early displayed, had been kept in a kind of abeyance during the intervening period of his life. In 1789, he published "*The Harp, a Legendary Tale*," which brought him into some notice in the literary circles. In 1795, appeared his principal poetical composition, "*Scotland's Skaith, or the History o' Will and Jean; ower true a Tale*," followed next year by a sequel, entitled "*The Wae o' War*." Its excellent intention and tendency, with the strokes of sweet and beautiful pathos with which it abounds, render this one of the most admired productions of the Doric muse of Scotland. Except for a simplicity, occasionally degenerating into baldness, which characterizes this as well as other productions of Macneil, "*Will and Jean*" might safely be compared with the happiest efforts of any other Scottish poet. The enchanting influence of village potations and politics—the deterioration of a worthy rustic character by such means—the consequent despair and degradation of an originally amiable wife—besides the distresses of the Flemish campaign of 1793, and the subsequent restoration of the ruined family to partial comfort, are all delineated in most masterly style. About the same time, Macneil produced "*The Links of Forth; or a parting Peep at the Carse of Stirling*." This is a descriptive poem; but, though not devoid of merit, it is more laboured and less pleasing. He wrote also a number of songs, some of which possess much pathos and delicacy of sentiment. Not being able, however, to find any means of providing a subsistence, necessity compelled him to seek again the burning climate of the West Indies. After a residence there of only a year and a half, Mr Graham, an intimate friend, died, and left him an annuity of £100, with which he immediately returned to Edinburgh, to enjoy, with this humble independence, the sweets of literary leisure and society. His reputation and manners procured him ready admittance into the most respectable circles; he enjoyed par-



ticularly the intimacy of Mrs Hamilton, authoress of "The Cottagers of Glenburnie" and other esteemed works of fancy. He was then a tall, fine-looking old man, with a very sallow complexion, and a dignified and somewhat austere expression of countenance. His conversation was graceful and agreeable, seasoned with a somewhat lively and poignant satire. Having probably found in his own case, that devotion to the muses did not tend to promote his success in life, he gave no encouragement to it in others, and earnestly exhorted all who wrote poetry that appeared to him at all middling, to betake themselves to some more substantial occupation. In 1800, he published, anonymously, a novel, or the first part of one, entitled "The Memoirs of Charles Macpherson," which is understood to contain a pretty accurate account of the early part of his own life. In 1801, his poetical works were collected into two volumes, foolscap 8vo, and passed through several editions. In 1809, he published "The Pastoral, or Lyric Muse of Scotland," in 4to, a work which did not draw much attention. About the same time, he published, anonymously, "Town Fashions, or Modern Manners Delineated;" and also, "By-gone Times, and Late-come Changes." These pieces, like almost every thing he wrote, had a moral object; but the present one was tinged with his feelings as an old man. It appeared to him, that all the changes which had taken place in society, the increase of luxury, even the diffusion of knowledge, were manifest corruptions; and all his anxiety was to inspire a taste for the old style of living. Wishing to suit the style to the matter, he affected a very homely phraseology; and as this was not natural to him, he overdid it, and disgusted rather than persuaded. Yet he clung very fondly to these bantlings of his old age, and even rated them higher than the more elegant productions of his former pen. Their only real beauty, though he was insensible of it, consisted in a few pathetic passages. Our author also wrote, with the same views, and too much in the same style, a novel, entitled "The Scottish Adventurers, or the Way to Rise," 2 vols. 8vo, 1812. Throughout the earlier years of the century, he contributed many minor pieces, in prose and verse, to the Scots Magazine, of which he was at one time editor.

After a long life of penury, aggravated by ill health, Mr Macneil died of jaundice, March 15, 1818, not leaving behind him wherewithal to defray his funeral expenses.

MACPHERSON, JAMES, a literary character of celebrity, was born at Ruthven, in the county of Inverness, in the latter end of the year 1738. His family was one of the most ancient in that part of the country, and of high respectability. The earlier rudiments of education he received at home, and was afterwards sent to the grammar school of Inverness. At this period he began to discover a degree of talent which induced his family, contrary to their original intention, to bring him up to a learned profession. With this view he was sent, after completing an initiatory course at Inverness, to the university of Aberdeen, and afterwards to that of Edinburgh, where he finished his studies.

Young Macpherson had already begun to exercise his poetical talents; and, while at the university, gave some specimens of his powers in that department of literature, but with very indifferent success. Hitherto, however, he had confined his muse to such short and desultory flights, as young men of poetical temperament usually begin with; but, in 1758, he made a bolder essay, by producing a poem in six cantos, entitled the "Highlander." This work was printed at Edinburgh, in 12mo, in the year above named. Though not without some excellences, the "Highlander," as a whole, is an exceedingly poor production, and must be considered so, even with every allowance for the youth of its author, who was yet only in the twentieth year of his age. The public was of a similar opinion with regard to its merits:



and it almost instantly sank into oblivion. It must, however, be recorded, to the credit of the poet, that he very soon became sensible of its defects and deficiencies, and made every endeavour to suppress it. About this time, also, he wrote an ode on the arrival of the earl Marischal in Scotland, which he entitled "An Attempt in the manner of Pindar." This ode, though it certainly does not possess much poetical merit, is yet, on the whole, considerably above mediocrity. From this period, there is no more heard of Macpherson's poetical compositions, until he appeared as the translator of those singular poems on which his celebrity is founded.

It was intended by his friends that he should, on completing his studies, enter the church; but it is not certainly known whether he ever actually did take orders or not. He is, however, spoken of about this time, 1760, as a "young clergyman;" and is described by Hume, the celebrated historian, as "a modest, sensible young man, not settled in any living, but employed as a private tutor in Mr Graham of Balgowan's family; a way of life which he is not fond of." The notice of Mr Hume was thus directed to Macpherson, in consequence of the appearance of a work bearing the title of "Fragments of Ancient Poetry, collected in the Highlands of Scotland, and translated from the Gaelic, or Erse Language," the production of Macpherson, and the first presentation of that literary novelty which was afterwards to attract so large a portion of the world's notice, and to excite so much discussion and dissension in its literary circles.

The "Fragments" were declared to be genuine remains of ancient Celtic poetry; and were, as well from that circumstance, as their own intrinsic merit, received with the utmost enthusiasm and delight. Every one read them, and every one admired them; and, altogether, a sensation was created in the world of letters, which it had known but on few occasions before. As it was intimated that other specimens of this ancient poetry might be recovered, a subscription was immediately begun, to enable Macpherson to quit his employment as a family preceptor, and to undertake a mission into the Highlands to secure them. With the wishes of his patrons on this occasion, the principal of whom were Dr Blair, Dr Robertson, Dr Carlyle, and Mr Hume, Macpherson readily complied, and lost no time in proceeding in quest of more "Fragments;" having been furnished previously to his setting out with various letters of recommendation and introduction, from the influential persons just named, to gentlemen resident in the Highlands.

After making an extensive tour through the mainland and isles, he returned to Edinburgh, and in 1762 presented to the world the first portion of the results, real or pretended, of his mission. This was "Fingal, an Ancient Epic Poem, in 6 books; together with several other Poems, composed by Ossian, the son of Fingal: translated from the Gaelic," &c. These poems were received with equal, if not yet greater applause, than that which had hailed the first specimen Macpherson had given of Celtic poetry. The demand for the work was immense, and the fame of the translator and saviour, as he was deemed, of these presumed relics of ancient literature, was rapidly spread, not only over Britain, but over all Europe. They were almost immediately translated into nearly every language spoken on the continent; and in each of these translations, Macpherson was alluded to in terms, "that might," as he himself says, "flatter the vanity of one fond of fame,"—a circumstance which must have been highly gratifying to him, for he was fond of fame, even inordinately so, and was known to have been under the influence of a violent passion for literary repute, from a very early period of his life.



In the following year, viz., 1763, the poem of *Fingal*, &c., was succeeded by "*Temora*, in eight books, with other Poems, by Ossian," 4to. This was also well received, but scarcely with the same degree of enthusiasm which had marked the reception of the preceding poems. A change had taken place, both with regard to Macpherson himself, personally, and his poetry. A suspicion as to the authenticity of the latter, was now beginning to steal over the public mind; and the former, from being a modest man, as he was represented to be by Mr Hume, had become insolent and arrogant. Whether this last was the result of the operation of extraordinary success on an ill-regulated mind, or the effect of frequent irritation from the attacks of the sceptical, to which Macpherson was now certainly subjected, it would not, perhaps, be easy to determine. It probably arose partly from both. The likelihood that the latter consideration had, at any rate, some share in producing this change of demeanour is considerable, when the nature of Macpherson's disposition, which was ardent, haughty, impatient and irascible, is taken into account. That such a change, however, had taken place, is certain; and the circumstance derives no little interest from the person by whom, and the manner in which it is marked. "You must not mind," says Mr Hume, in a letter to Dr Blair on the subject of the poems of Ossian, "so strange and heteroclite a mortal, (Macpherson,) than whom I have scarce ever known a man more perverse and unamiable." This was Mr Hume's opinion of him in 1763; and it will be remarked how oddly it contrasts with that which he expressed regarding him in 1760. That Mr Hume, however, saw sufficient reason in Macpherson's conduct, thus to alter his opinion of him, no man can doubt, who knows any thing of the character of the illustrious historian, himself one of the most amiable of men.

In 1764, the year following that in which *Temora* appeared, Macpherson obtained the appointment of secretary to governor Johnstone, then about to set out for the settlement of Pensacola, of which he was made chief. After a short residence in the colony, during which he had assisted in the construction and arrangement of its civil government, a difference arose between Macpherson and the governor, and they parted. The former left the settlement, visited several of the West India islands, and some provinces of North America, and finally returned to England in 1766.

He now took up his residence in London, and shortly after resumed his literary pursuits; these, however, as the Ossianic Poems were now exhausted, were of an entirely different nature from those which had hitherto employed him. His first public appearance again as an author, was in 1771, when he produced a work, entitled "*An Introduction to the History of Great Britain and Ireland*," 4to. This work, he says himself, he composed merely for private amusement. Whatever were the incitements which led to its production, necessity, at any rate, could not have been amongst the number; for Macpherson, if not already comparatively wealthy, was rapidly becoming so by the extensive sale of the poems. Whether written, however, for amusement, or with a view to fame, the author of the "*Introduction*" had no reason to congratulate himself on the result of its publication. Both the book and the writer were attacked from various quarters with much bitterness of invective, and a controversy regarding its merits and the opinions it promulgated, arose, which was but little calculated to improve the irritable temper of its author, or to add to his happiness. Nor was this treatment compensated by any success to the work itself. It made a sufficient noise; but yielded neither fame nor profit. The former was the result of its author's celebrity; the latter, it is to be feared, of his incapacity.



In an evil hour for his literary reputation, Macpherson, with more confidence than wisdom, began a translation of the *Iliad* of Homer. This work he completed, and gave to the world in 1773. Its reception was mortifying in the extreme. Men of learning laughed at it, critics abused it; and, notwithstanding some strenuous efforts on the part of his friends, particularly Sir John Elliot, it finally sank under one universal shout of execration and contempt. The finishing blow to this production was inflicted by the *Critical Review*, in which it was ably and fatally criticised.

"There is nothing," says one of the most able and elegant of Macpherson's commentators, Dr Graham, the late learned minister of Aberfoyle, "there is nothing which serves to set Macpherson's character and powers in a stronger light than his egregious attempt to render the great father of poetry into prose, however natural it might have been for him to have made this attempt, after his success in doing the same office to *Ossian*." The temerity of this attempt will not be deemed a little enhanced by the consideration that Pope's elegant translation was already before the world, nor will the awkwardness of its failure be thought lessened by a recollection of the sentiment its author himself expressed on another occasion, viz., that he "would not deign to translate what he could not imitate, or even equal." This unguarded language was now recollected to his prejudice, and carefully employed by his enemies to increase the disgrace of his failure.

To add to the literary mortifications under which Macpherson was now suffering, he found himself attacked by Dr Johnson in his celebrated *Tour to the Hebrides*, published in 1773, on the subject of the authenticity of his translations of *Ossian*. The remarks of the great moralist, as is well known, are not confined, in this case, to an abstract discussion of the question, but include some severe, though certainly not unmerited personal reflections on the translator.

These the latter resented so highly that he immediately wrote a threatening letter to their author, who replied in spirited and still more severe and sarcastic language than he had employed in his published strictures, saying amongst other humiliating things, "your abilities since your *Homer* are not so formidable." To this letter Macpherson wisely made no reply, and is not known to have taken any further notice of it than by assisting Mc Nicol in his "*Remarks on Dr Johnson's Tour*," printed in 1774. Even of this, however, he is only suspected, there being no positive proof that he actually had any share in that production.

Although thus thanklessly acknowledged, Macpherson still continued his literary labours, and in 1775, published "*The History of Great Britain, from the Restoration to the accession of the house of Hanover*," in 2 vols. 4to.

Soon after the publication of this work another favourable change took place in the fortunes of its author, and opened up to him a new source of emolument. He was selected by the government, at this time embarrassed by the resistance of the American colonies to its authority, to defend and give force to the reasons which influenced its proceedings with regard to that country. In the discharge of this duty, he wrote a pamphlet entitled, "*The Rights of Great Britain asserted against the claims of the Colonies*," 8vo. 1776. This pamphlet was circulated with great industry, and ran through several editions. He also wrote "*A Short History of the Opposition during the last session of parliament*," 8vo. 1779. The merit of this last production was so remarkable, that it was, at the time, generally ascribed to the pen of Gibbon, a compliment which, however, it is very questionable if its real author appreciated.

About this period Macpherson's good fortune was still further increased by



his being appointed agent to the Nabob of Arcot, in behalf of whom he made several effective appeals to the public, and amongst others published "Letters from Mahommed Ali Chan, Nabob of Arcot, to the court of Directors. To which is annexed a State of facts relative to Tanjore, with an Appendix of original papers," 4to. 1777. He is also supposed to have been the author of "The History and Management of the East India Company, from its origin in 1600, to the present times; vol. i. containing the affairs of the Carnatic, in which the rights of the Nabob are explained, and the injustice of the Company proved," 4to. 1779.

It was now thought advisable that Macpherson, in capacity of agent to the Nabob, should be provided with a seat in parliament, and he was accordingly returned member for Camelford in 1780, and was re-elected for the same place in 1784 and 1790. He, however, never made any attempt to speak in the house, so that the cause of the eastern potentate, whatever it may have gained from his influence abstractly as a member of parliament, was nothing forwarded by his oratory. The period, however, was now rapidly approaching when this and all other earthly matters were no longer to be of any concernment to him. His health now began gradually to fail, and continued to decline till the year 1796, when he became so seriously ill, that it was thought advisable, as all other means were found unavailing, that he should return to his native country, and try the effect of a change of air. He accordingly proceeded to Scotland; but died in the same year, on the 17th February, at his seat of Bellville in the shire of Inverness, in the 58th year of his age.

Macpherson died in opulent circumstances, leaving by his will, dated June 1793, legacies and annuities to various persons to a large amount. Amongst his other bequests there is one of particular interest from its connexion with the celebrated works to which he owes his celebrity, and from its bearing on a circumstance which created one of the most memorable civil wars, in the literary world, upon record—the question of the authenticity of Ossian's poems.

This bequest comprised the sum of £1000, payable to John Mackenzie of Fig-tree Court, in the Temple, to defray the expense of printing and publishing Ossian in the original. Macpherson also directed by his will, that the sum of £300 should be expended in erecting a monument to his memory in some conspicuous situation at Bellville, and that his body should be carried to London and be interred in Westminster Abbey. This was complied with, and he was buried in Poet's Corner.

The preceding sketch, brief as it is, comprehends nearly all of any interest with which the life of Macpherson presents us, and affords in that brevity another instance of the utter disproportion which is so often found to exist between the bulk of a man's personal history and that of his fame,—how much may be afforded in one and the same life, to the essayist, philosopher, or moralist, and how little to the biographer.

One point of interest in Macpherson's life, however, and without some allusion to which any account of it would be incomplete, has been hitherto left all but untouched in this sketch, and that purposely; as it was thought better to give it a distinct and separate place at the conclusion than to interrupt the biographical narrative by its earlier introduction.

The circumstance alluded to is the celebrated controversy regarding the authenticity of Macpherson's translations of the Poems of Ossian,—a controversy which, whether its voluminous amount is considered, the extremely opposite and conflicting testimony by which it is supported, or the various and widely scattered members of which it is composed, cannot be approached without hesitation. The fervour with which it was once attended has long since altogether dis-



appeared, and but little now remains even of the interest with which the mooted point was associated. Few, in short, now care any thing at all about the matter, and even though it were desirable, it would be impossible to resuscitate the intense feeling with which it was once contemplated. This apathy, however, singularly contrasts with the violent commotion and furious zeal which the discussion of the momentous question excited in the public mind some thirty or forty years since. It was then an universal topic of conversation in private circles, while the literary arena was crowded with combatants eager for the contest, and inspired, if their feelings may be judged by their language, with the most cordial hatred towards each other. Fresh champions of the opposite creeds followed each other in endless succession, as their predecessors retired, exhausted or defeated, from the lists.

At one moment the authenticity of the poems seemed established beyond all doubt; in the next it was made still more clear that they were the most impudent forgeries that were ever imposed upon the credulity of the literary world. These were the results of the labours of the more active and zealous partisans of the denying and believing factions; but there were others again, who did not strictly belong to either, and these, taking arguments from both sides, succeeded, with much ingenuity, in involving the question in an obscurity from which it has not emerged to this day.

The Ossianic controversy, like all other controversies, soon became personal, and in nearly every case the discussion of the point exhibited fully as much abuse as arguments. During all this time Macpherson himself, the cause of all this bitterness of spirit and uncharitableness, and the only person who could have allayed it, kept sullenly aloof, and refused to produce that evidence which alone could restore the peace of the literary world, and which he yet declared he possessed. Notwithstanding the celebrity, however, which he was thus acquiring, his situation, in other respects, was by no means an enviable one. By those who did not believe in the authenticity of the poems, he was reviled as an impudent, unprincipled impostor; by those who did, he was charged with being a bungling, unskilful translator; and by both he was abused for his obstinacy in refusing to come forward with his testimony in the cause in dispute.

Before proceeding to take a nearer view of the Ossianic controversy itself, there will be no impropriety in alluding to certain opinions, regarding the subject of it, which have now pretty generally obtained. These are, that it is of little moment whether the poems are genuine or not, and that they are not, after all, worthy, in point of merit, of the notice they have attracted, or of the discussion and dissension they have created. With regard to the last, it is matter of opinion, and must always remain so, since it cannot be decided by any rule of taste. The first, again, involves a sentiment more specious perhaps than profound; for, besides the consideration that truth is at all times and in all cases better than falsehood, and possesses an intrinsic value which in almost every instance renders it worthy of being sought for, the investigation into the authenticity of the Poems of Ossian involves, in the language of the ingenious commentator already named, matter of importance to the "general history of literature, and even that of the human race."

Whatever weight, however, may be allowed to these considerations, it is certain that Macpherson's Poems of Ossian have lost a very large portion of the popularity which they once enjoyed, and are evidently losing more every day. The rising generation do not seem to have that relish for their beauties, or rather do not see those beauties in them which captivated their fathers, and this can be ascribed only, either to a change in literary taste, or to some defect or



defects in the poems themselves, which improved intellectual culture has detected; for it is the result of an opinion formed on their abstract merits as literary compositions, and is wholly unconnected with the question of their authenticity, that now being considered a point of such indifference, as to be but rarely taken into account in the decision. The book is now taken up, without a thought being wasted on the consideration whether it be the production of Ossian or Macpherson, and is judged of by its own intrinsic value; and tested in this way, it would appear that it has been found wanting; a result which seems to show that the greatest charm of the poems, even at the time when they were most appreciated, co-existed with the belief that they were genuine relics of antiquity; that it was inseparable from this belief, that it was born of it, fostered by it, and perished with it; that, in short, it lived and died with it, and was exactly proportioned to its strength and its weakness.

Of the controversialists in this celebrated literary war the list is both long and illustrious, and comprehends some of the proudest names of which this country has to boast. Amongst these occur those of Dr Blair, Dr Gregory, Lord Kames, Hume, and Dr Johnson. The most remarkable next to these were, Dr Smith of Campbelltown, Dr Graham of Aberfoyle, Sir John Sinclair, Mr Laing, author of "Notes and Illustrations" introduced into an edition of Ossian's Poems, published in Edinburgh in 1805; Mr Alexander Macdonald, author of a work entitled "Some of Ossian's lesser poems rendered into verse, with a preliminary discourse in answer to Mr Laing's Critical and Historical Dissertations on the antiquity of Ossian's Poems," 8vo, Liverpool, 1805; and W. Shaw, A.M., author of "An Inquiry into the Authenticity of the Poems of Ossian," London, 1781. There were besides these a host of others, but of lesser note. Of those just named, there were six who may be said, generally speaking, to have been in favour of the authenticity of the poems, and five against it. The former were Dr Blair, Dr Gregory, Lord Kames, Dr Graham, Sir John Sinclair, and Mr Macdonald. The latter, Mr Hume, Dr Johnson, Mr Laing, Dr Smith, and Mr Shaw.

Here, then, we are startled at the very outset by the near approach to equality in the amount of intelligence and talent which appears arrayed on either side; nor is this feeling greatly lessened in comparing the evidence adduced by each party in support of their opposite opinions, and in confutation of those of their opponents. Both seem conclusive when taken separately, and both defective when placed in juxta-position.

Although, however, two classes only of controversialists have been made above, there were actually four, or rather the two given are found on closer inquiry to be again subdivided—of the believers, into those whose opinion of the authenticity of the poems was unqualified, and those again who believed them to be authentic only to a certain extent, while the remainder were interpolations by the translator. Of the former were Blair, Gregory, Lord Kames, Sir John Sinclair, and Macdonald. Of the latter was Dr Graham, and though only one, he was yet the representative of a large body who entertained a similar opinion. Of the disbelievers, again, there were those who utterly denied their authenticity; and those who, entertaining strong doubts, did not yet go the whole length of rejecting them as spurious. Of the first were Dr Johnson, Laing, and Shaw. Of the last, Mr Hume, and Dr Smith.

The controversy thus stands altogether upon four separate and distinct grounds. These are, first, an entire and unqualified belief in the authenticity of the poems; second, a belief that they are in part genuine, and in part spurious, including a charge of interpolation and false translation; third, much doubt, but no certainty; and, fourth, a thorough conviction of their being wholly forgeries.



The principal arguments adduced in support of the first opinion, are,—that the poems bear internal evidence of antiquity;—that their originals are or were well known in the Highlands, and that there were many persons there who could repeat large portions of them; that Macpherson's talents, judging by his own original works, the *Highlander*, *Translation of the Iliad*, &c., were not equal to the production of poems of such transcendent merit as those ascribed to Ossian; that many credible witnesses were present, on various occasions, when Macpherson was put in possession of these poems, orally and by MS.; and, lastly, that the originals themselves are now before the world.

With regard to the internal evidence of the genuineness of these poems, it is to be feared that this is a thing more ingenious than sound; and, like the imaginary figures that present themselves in the fire, is more easily described than pointed out. It will, at any rate, scarcely be deemed sufficient proof, that the poems in question are ancient, merely because they bear no likeness to any that are modern.

Dr Blair's celebrated dissertation on this subject, and on the authenticity of the poems generally, is much more elegant, ingenious, and learned, than convincing; and appears, after all, to establish little more, indeed little more seems aimed at, than that the poems may and should be ancient, not that they are. To those who think that the absence of all modern allusion in the poems, and the exclusive use which is made of natural imagery, without one single exception, is a proof of their antiquity, the argument of internal evidence will have, no doubt, considerable weight; but there are others who see in this circumstance only caution and dexterity on the part of Macpherson, and who, in consequence, instead of reckoning it an evidence of his veracity, consider it but as a proof of his ingenuity.

As to the assertion, again, that the originals were well known in the Highlands, and that there were many persons there who could repeat them. This, on inquiry, turns out to mean only, that fragments of Gaelic poetry,—not entire poems, as given by Macpherson, but certainly, such as they were, of undoubted antiquity,—were to be met with in the Highlands. That such were, and probably are to be found there even to this day, is undeniable; but, in the first place, they have been in no instance found in the complete state in which they appear in the translations, but disjointed and disconnected, and, still worse, bearing only in a few instances any more than a resemblance to the English poems. In large portions, even this is entirely wanting. The originals, then, in the only sense in which that word ought to be used, cannot, with truth, be said to have existed in the Highlands. Fragments of ancient poetry, as already said, did indeed exist there, but not the mass of poetry given to the world by Macpherson as the *Poems of Ossian*, and said by him to have been collected in the Highlands. The assertion, therefore, has been made, either with a view to deceive, or without a due consideration of the meaning of the terms in which it is conveyed.

The argument deduced from Macpherson's talents, as exhibited in his original works, to show that he could not be the author of the poems in question, is plausible; but the premises on which it is founded, are by no means of so incontrovertible a nature as to give us implicit confidence in the conclusion. That a literary man may utterly fail in one or more instances, and be eminently successful in another, is perfectly consistent with experience. It has often happened, and is, therefore, not more extraordinary in Macpherson's case, supposing him to be the author, and not merely the translator of the poems ascribed to Ossian, than in many others that could be named. Besides, something like a reason is to be found for his success in this species of composition, in the



fact that, from his earliest years he was an enthusiastic admirer of Celtic lore ; and that its poetry, in particular, was one of his constant and most agreeable studies. This argument, then, can have no great weight, unless it be deemed an impossibility, that a man who had failed in one or more literary attempts, should be successful in another ; an assertion which, it is believed, few will be hardy enough to venture, and which, it is certain, fewer still will be able to make good.

With regard to that part of the controversy where evidence is produced by credible, and, in several of the instances, certainly highly respectable witnesses, of Macpherson's having been put in possession, in their presence, of various poems ascribed to Ossian, both oral and written ;—without questioning the credibility of these witnesses, an important objection may be fairly brought against the nature of their evidence. It is liable to that charge of generality which Mr Hume thought, and every impartial person must think, ought to be considered “ as being of no authority.” In no single instance is any particular poem, or any particular part of a poem, distinctly traced by such evidence from its original possessor to the pages of Macpherson's volumes. Not one of them has stated the results of what came under his own observation, in any thing like such plain terms as “ I saw, or heard Macpherson put in possession of the first duan of Cath-Ioda ; I read it over carefully at the time, and I assert that the English poem of that name which he has given, is a translation of the same.” The witnesses alluded to, have said nothing like this. The amount of their evidence is, that it consists with their knowledge that Macpherson did obtain Gaelic poems, when in the Highlands. They saw him get some in MS., and they were present when others were recited to him. But here their testimony terminates ; and in no case have the poems been further identified in the English dress with those which he procured on these occasions, than as bearing, in some instances, a general resemblance to them. The extent to which Macpherson made use of what they saw him get, or, indeed, what use he made of it at all, they have not said, because they could not ; for, although he carried away the originals, they did not, and could not, therefore, ascertain, by the only process by which it could with certainty be ascertained, by collation, what he had omitted, or what he had retained ; what he had changed, or what he had left unaltered.

We come now to the last proof exhibited in support of the authenticity of the English poems of Ossian, and it is by far the most startling of the whole. It would seem, indeed, were it adopted without examination, to set the question for ever at rest, and to place it beyond the reach of all further controversy. This proof is the “ Originals” published by Sir John Sinclair in 1806, an evidence which certainly appears, at first sight, conclusive ; but what is the fact ? They are not originals, in so far as the written poetry which Macpherson obtained is concerned ; for they are all in his own hand-writing, or that of his amanuensis. The term *original*, therefore, in this case, can only be applied to what he wrote down from oral communication ; and it will at once be perceived how much their evidence is already weakened by this limitation of the meaning of the word *original*, as employed by Sir John Sinclair. How far, again, it may be relied upon as applied to the oral communications which Macpherson received, must entirely depend upon the degree of faith which is put in his integrity. He has said that they are the originals, but this is all we have for it, and by many, we suspect, it will scarcely be deemed sufficient. He had a control over these documents which greatly lessens, if it does not wholly destroy all faith in them as evidences ; while his interest in producing them, must lay them open, under all circumstances, to the strongest



suspicions. But it is said, that it is not likely that he would be at the trouble of going through so laborious a process as this, merely to support an imposture—that, though willing, he was, from his want of skill in the Gaelic language, unfit for the task, and could not have produced poems in that language of such merit as those which he gave as originals—that the Gaelic poems are superior to the English—and lastly, that from impartial and critical examination, the former must have been anterior to the latter. With regard to the first of these assertions, it seems to be merely gratuitous, as it rests upon a question which Macpherson himself alone could determine, and can, therefore, be of no weight as an argument. That Macpherson was greatly deficient in critical knowledge of the Gaelic language, and that he could not consequently produce poems in that language of such merit as those which he represents as the originals of Ossian, is certain, because it is established by the clearest evidence, and by the concurring testimony of several eminent Gaelic scholars; but although he could not do this himself, he could employ others to do it, and it is well known that he was intimate, and in close correspondence with several persons critically skilled in the Gaelic language, of whose services he availed himself frequently, and largely, when preparing his “Translations.” Might he not have had recourse to the same aid in translating from the English to the Gaelic? Dr Johnson thought so. “I am far from certain,” says the sagacious moralist, “that some translations have not been lately made that may now be obtruded as parts of the original work.” In truth, the presumption that Macpherson did procure Gaelic translations to be made from the English, is exceedingly strong, as will appear from various circumstances yet to be alluded to. At all events, it does not seem by any means an inevitable conclusion, that because he was not himself capable of writing what are called the originals, they are, therefore, original. But the strongest part of the argument in favour of their originality yet remains. It is said that the Gaelic is superior to the English, and that on an impartial and critical examination, it appears that the former must have been anterior to the latter. Now, the first of these is again matter of opinion, and as such, entitled to no more consideration than opinions generally deserve. To many their merits will appear on the whole pretty equal; to others, the Gaelic will, in some instances, seem the more beautiful; and in some, again, the English. The second assertion, however, is not of this description. It is not founded on opinion, but on an alleged positive internal evidence. It is to be regretted, however, that that evidence had not been pointed out in more specific terms than those employed—that it had not been distinctly said what are those particular circumstances which, on a perusal, establish the relative ages of the Gaelic and English versions; for, on an impartial and critical examination lately made by a person eminently skilled in the Gaelic language, for the express purpose of furnishing information for this article, it does not appear, at least from any thing he could discover, that the Gaelic poems must, of necessity, have preceded the English. They certainly contain nothing that shows the contrary—nothing that discovers them to be of modern composition; but neither do Macpherson’s English poems of Ossian. Neither of them betray themselves by any slip or inadvertency, and this, negative as it is, is yet all that can be said of both as to internal evidence.

What has just been said, includes nearly all the leading and direct arguments which have been employed in the defence of the authenticity of Macpherson’s translations of the Poems of Ossian, and nearly all that can be urged against that belief, with the exception of that which may be deduced from Macpherson’s own conduct in relation to the question, and which shall be afterwards referred to.



We come now to consider the grounds of the belief, that the poems are in part genuine, and in part spurious; including a charge of interpolation, and of false translation. What has been already said having necessarily included all the ramifications of the controversy, the consideration of this point need not detain us long, for happily the evidence is not only quite at hand, but of the most conclusive and satisfactory description. That some portion of Macpherson's English poems are genuine, at least in so far as that can be considered genuine, of which the utmost that the committee of the Highland Society found themselves warranted in saying, after much and careful inquiry, was, that it bore a strong *resemblance* to certain fragments which they themselves had obtained, is beyond doubt. Macpherson, as before said, certainly did gather some scraps of poetry in the Highlands, and as certainly did make some use of them in the composition of his poems. But that he introduced a great deal of his own, that he interpolated, and that he translated falsely the little he got, is equally certain. The fact is incontrovertibly established by Dr Graham, to whose able work on the subject, entitled "An Essay on the Authenticity of the Poems of Ossian," we refer the reader for more full information, and is thus confirmed by the committee of the Highland Society, who, after stating in their Report that they had "not been able to obtain any one poem the same in title or tenor with the poems published by him," proceed to say, "It (the committee) is inclined to believe that he (Macpherson) was in use to supply chasms, and to give connexion, by inserting passages which he did not find, and to add what he conceived to be dignity and delicacy to the original composition, by striking out passages, by softening incidents, by refining the language, in short, by changing what he considered as too simple or too rude for a modern ear, and elevating what, *in his opinion*, was below the standard of good poetry." What immediately follows this sentence, though not relevant to the point immediately under discussion is too important to be passed over. The committee goes on to say, "To what degree, however, he exercised these liberties, it is *impossible* for the Committee to determine." Now, this means, if it means any thing, that the interpolations were such close imitations of the original, that, of the whole poems, it was impossible to distinguish which was Ossian's and which Macpherson's; therefore, that the poetry of the latter was as good as that of the former. An admission this, that would seem to settle the point of Macpherson's ability to forge the poems, a point so strongly insisted upon by the defenders of their authenticity, by showing that he *was* competent to write them, and, in accordance with this, it may be asked, if he wrote a part thus excellently, why might he not have written the whole? Dr Graham, it is true, has, in several instances, detected "Macpherson's bombast," but this only shows that Macpherson has occasionally fallen into an error, which it was next to impossible to avoid altogether in a work written in the peculiar style of Ossian's poems.

There still, however, remains one overpowering circumstance, which, if there were no other evidence against the fidelity of Macpherson, would probably be held by most unprejudiced inquirers as quite conclusive of the whole question. The "Originals" correspond exactly with the "Translations," in language, and indeed in every point. How can this be reconciled to the fact admitted by Macpherson himself, that he took certain liberties with the original Gaelic? The "Originals," when published, might have been expected to exhibit such differences with the "Translations," as would arise from Mr Macpherson's labours as an emendator and purifier of the native ideas. But they do not exhibit any traces of such difference. The unavoidable conclusion is, that the Originals, prepared by Macpherson, and published by Sir John Sinclair, were either



altogether a forgery, or were accommodated to the 'Translations, by such a process as entirely to destroy their credit, and render their publication useless.

We shall now proceed to take a view of the conduct of Macpherson himself, in so far as it relates to the controversy which he had been the means of exciting, and when we do this, we shall find that whether he really was an impostor or no, in the matter of the poems, he pursued exactly the course, with regard to them and the public, which an impostor would have done. He was accused of being guilty of an imposition. He took no steps to rebut the charge. He was solicited to give proofs of the authenticity of the poems. He refused, and for upwards of thirty years submitted to wear the dress of a bankrupt in integrity, without making any attempt to get rid of it. He affected, indeed, a virtuous indignation, on all occasions, when the slightest insinuation was made that an imposition had been practised; and, instead of calmly exhibiting the proofs of his innocence, he got into a passion, and thus silenced, in place of satisfying inquiry. "To revenge," says Dr Johnson, speaking of Macpherson's conduct in this matter, "reasonable incredulity, by refusing evidence, is a degree of insolence, with which the world is not yet acquainted; and stubborn audacity is the last refuge of guilt."

A suspicion of the authenticity of the poems almost immediately followed the appearance of those published in 1762, and the first public notice taken of it by Macpherson himself, occurs in 1763, in his preface to *Temora*, published in that year. He there says, "Since the publication of the last collection of Ossian's poems, many insinuations have been made, and doubts arisen, concerning their authenticity. I shall probably hear more of the same kind after the present poems make their appearance. Whether these suspicions are suggested by prejudice, or are only the effects of ignorance of facts, I shall not pretend to determine. To me they give no concern, as I have it always in my power to remove them. An incredulity of this kind is natural to persons who confine all merit to their own age and country. These are generally the weakest, as well as the most ignorant of the people. Indolently confined to a place, their ideas are very narrow and circumscribed. It is ridiculous enough to see such people as these are branding their ancestors with the despicable appellation of barbarians. Sober reason can easily discern where the title ought to be fixed with more propriety. As prejudice is always the effect of ignorance, the knowing, the men of true taste, despise and dismiss it. If the poetry is good, and the characters natural and striking, to these it is matter of indifference, whether the heroes were born in the little village of Angles, in Jutland, or natives of the barren heaths of Caledonia. That honour which nations derive from ancestors worthy or renowned, is merely ideal. It may buoy up the minds of individuals, but it contributes very little to their importance in the eyes of others. But of all those prejudices which are incident to narrow minds, that which measures the merit of performances by the vulgar opinion concerning the country which produced them, is certainly the most ridiculous. Ridiculous, however, as it is, few have the courage to reject it; and I am thoroughly convinced, that a few quaint lines of a Roman or Greek epigrammatist, if dug out of the ruins of Herculaneum, would meet with more cordial and universal applause, than all the most beautiful national rhapsodies of all the Celtic bards and Scandinavian scalds that ever existed." This, it is presumed, will be thought rather an odd reply to the doubts entertained concerning the authenticity of the poems; or rather it will be thought to be no reply at all. It is all very well as to reasoning and writing; but, it will be perceived, wonderfully little to the purpose. All that he condescends to say, in this rhapsody, to the point at issue—the "doubts"—is, that he "has it always in his power to remove them." But he made no use of



this power then, nor at any period during his after life, though urged to it by motives which gentlemen and men of honour have been always accustomed to hold as sacred.

When pressed by the committee of the Highland Society of London, to publish the originals, and thus satisfy the public mind as to the authenticity of the poems, Macpherson thus replies to the secretary of that body:—"I shall adhere to the promise I made several years ago to a deputation of the same kind, [in their anxiety to have the question set at rest, they had proposed that another deputation should wait upon him for this purpose,] that is, to employ my first leisure time, and a considerable portion of time it must be, to do it accurately, in arranging and printing the originals of the Poems of Ossian, as they have come to my hands." The delay here acknowledged, a delay of several years, and the further delay bespoken, as it were, in this extract, between the promise of giving the originals to the world and its fulfilment, will seem to many suspicious circumstances, and will appear rather a necessary provision for getting up a translation from the English, than for the preparation of original documents. Nor is this suspicion lessened by his telling us, that they were yet to arrange; a process which it will be thought must of necessity have taken place before they were translated. It seems odd that the translations should be in perfect order, while the originals were in confusion. The mere disarrangement of sheets of MS., from passing through the hands of the printer, or from inattention, could scarcely warrant the formidable and cautious provision of "a considerable portion of time."

The fact of Macpherson having interpolated, although it could not have been ascertained by other evidence, would be sufficiently established by his own. When taxed by Dr Macintyre of Glenorchy with being himself the author of the greater part of the Poem of Fingal—"You are much mistaken," replied Macpherson; "I had occasion to do *less* of that than you suppose." Thus admitting the fact, and only limiting its extent.

On the whole, it seems, on a careful revision of all that has been said on this once famous controversy, beyond all doubt that Macpherson is, in nearly the strictest sense of the word, the author of the English Poems of Ossian. The skeleton was furnished him, but it was he who clothed it with flesh, endued it with life, and gave it the form it now wears. He caught the tone and spirit of the Celtic lyre, from hearing its strings vibrating in the wind. The starting note was given him, but the strain is his own. Whatever degree of merit, therefore, may be allowed to these strains, belongs to Macpherson.

MAIR, or MAJOR, JOHN, a celebrated name of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Little of the life of this eminent person is known, beyond a few incidental circumstances mentioned in his own works, and some allusions by contemporary scholars. Dr Mackenzie and other writers not to be depended on, have stated, without reference to any authority, that he was born in the year 1469. His birth-place, by his own account, was the parish of North Berwick, and is said to have been at the village of Gleghorn. In the early part of the sixteenth century he became a member of Christ's college in Cambridge.<sup>1</sup> "In this post," says bishop Nicholson, "he seems to have written

<sup>1</sup> He afterwards went to the university of Paris. Mackenzie, who has corrected his life of Major in the preface to his work, on the ground of some communications received from Paris, says he joined the university in 1493, and became master of arts in 1496. "Mr John Harvey," continues this authority, "a Scotsman and bursar, or fellow of the Scots college, being then rector of the university of Paris, he passed through all the honourable places of the faculty of arts, being first procurator and then quæstor; and desiguis himself thus in the Register, 'M. Joannes Mair, Glegemacensis, Diocesis S. Andreae.' He was made doctor of divinity in 1508."—*Mackenzie's Lives*, vol. ii. *Preface*, vii.



his history ; which, as he acknowledges, was penned in the year 1518, the seventh of king James the fifth's age."<sup>2</sup> Mackenzie says he left Paris immediately on having written his history, and in the year mentioned we know him to have been in Scotland, as he was then incorporated a member of the university of Glasgow, and bore the titles of Canon of the chapel royal, and vicar of Dunlop, while he is termed "Doctor Parisiensis."<sup>3</sup> In 1521, the same authority shows him to have been professor of theology in Glasgow, and one of the "Intrantes" and "Deputati Rectoris ;" probably performing, in the latter capacity, the duties now performed, or presumed to be performed by the assessors of the rector. During that year his well known work, "*De Gestis Scotorum*," was published in Paris by Badius Ascensius, the same person who afterwards published the history of Hector Boece. He is said by Bayle to have written "*stylo Sorbonico*," a characteristic not intended as a compliment. The Latinity of this work has been censured by scholars ; but the matter which it clothes, if not likely to repay a reader of the present age for the labour of perusal, presents us with much contempt of prejudices common to the age ; considerable knowledge of the grounds of historical truth, and a mass of curious information, sometimes of that petty and domestic nature, which is valuable because it is so generally omitted by others. His notices of the state and value of provisions, and of local customs might be valuable to the political economist and antiquary. He has shown much sound sense in rejecting a mass of the fables narrated by his precursors in history, Wyntoun and Fordun, believing the tale of Gathelus coming from Greece, to have been invented for the purpose of excelling the English who brought their "Brute" or "Brutus" from Troy, the Greeks being, as all history and poetry must testify, a far more respectable source of ancestry than the Trojans. Of the race of kings, amounting to about forty-five, betwixt Fergus I. and Fergus II., now blotted from the list, he mentions, and that but slightly, only three or four. On this subject Dr Mackenzie, who wishes to speak favourably of the subject of his memoir, while he has a still higher respect for the antiquity of his native land, remarks, in a tone of chagrin, "in his account of our monarchs, of fifteen kings, that he only acknowledges to have been between Fergus I. and II., he mentions not above three or four of them ; and it plainly appears," continues the doctor, drawing the proper deduction, "from the whole tract of his history, that it was not drawn out of ancient and authentic monuments, for he cites none of them, but from the historians above quoted."<sup>4</sup> The views of civil liberty inculcated in this work surprise us when we consider the period and state of society at which it was written, and they would certainly at the present juncture be termed philosophically just. If a man of so original a mind as Buchanan may be supposed to have derived his political sentiments from an inferior genius, it is not improbable that the doctrines of kingly power so beautifully illustrated in the dialogue "*De Jure Regni apud Scotos*" may have been imbibed from the doctrines inculcated by Major, under whom Buchanan studied logic. The doctrines of Major are more boldly and broadly, if not justly, laid down than those of Grotius.<sup>5</sup> Although a churchman, he was

<sup>2</sup> Scottish Hist. Library, 103.

<sup>3</sup> According to the records of the university of Glasgow, in the Notes to Wodrow's Biographical Collection, now in the course of being printed by the Maitland Club, it is said that in the year 1518 "*Egregius vir dienus Joannes Majoris, Doctor Parisiensis, ac principalis Regens collegii et pedagogii dicti universitatis, Canonicusque capelle regie, ac vicarius de Dunlop, &c.*" was incorporated along with forty-three others.

<sup>4</sup> Mede, Caxton, and Froissart are Major's chief authorities.

<sup>5</sup> One passage is peculiarly striking, and, had the effect of published opinions been better known at the period, might have brought persecution on the head of the author: "*Populus liber primo regi dat robur, cujus potestas a toto populo dependet, quia aliud jus Fergusius primus rex Scotie non habuit: et ita est ubilibet, et ab erbe conditæ erat communiter.*"



likewise peculiarly unfettered in his clerical opinions. He condemned the monkish profuseness of David I., that "sair saunt to the crown," and in a work entitled "*Disputationes de Potestate Papæ et Concilii*,"<sup>6</sup> he afterwards uncanonically argued the necessity of excluding all spiritual dignitaries from authority in matters temporal. Mackenzie, in his corrected statement, continues, "he remained in Scotland about five years, and taught theology in the university of St Andrews." At what time he joined that university it would be difficult to discover, but it appears that he was connected with the university of Glasgow until the year 1522, when he receives in the record the several titles already attributed to him, and with the addition of "*Theologiæ Professor*," and "*The-saurus capellæ regię Strevelinensis*."<sup>7</sup> He was, however, assuredly professor of theology in St Andrews in the year 1525, as Buchanan is said in his life, either written by himself or by Sir Peter Young, to have then studied under him, in the college of St Salvator. The celebrity of his lectures had attracted the poet's attention; and, whether as a pupil of Major, or to fulfill his previous intentions, he followed his teacher to France. The connexion was the cause of an accusation of ingratitude against Buchanan. Buchanan had afterwards penned an epigram on Major, in which he turned his name to the bitter qualification, "*Solo cognomine Major*." It is probable that the opportunity of so apt a witticism was the sole motive of Buchanan; but Mackenzie and Christopher Irvine maintained that Buchanan had been fed both in mind and body by the charity of Major, who had procured him a professorship in the college of St Barbe. "He who had eat his bread," observes the latter, "and lived under his discipline, both in St Andrews and in the Sorbon, the space of five years, might have afforded him a handsomer character than *solo cognomine Major*;" and concludes, "but I leave these wretches to the care of the great accuser, and go to my business."<sup>8</sup> There appears to be no other foundation for the charge but the inferences which may be drawn from a passage in Buchanan's life, which does not express such a meaning.<sup>9</sup> Mackenzie states that Major remained in Paris till 1530. Unfortunately little is known of the circumstances of his life during that period, nor will our limits permit an investigation among continental authors, which might provide useful matter for a more extended memoir. We know, however, that his fame was extensive and well supported. He has received high praise from such bibliographical writers as Dupin, Bel-larmin, and Vossius. He is alluded to by some of his countrymen with less praise; and Leslie and Dempster, probably displeased at his view of the antiquities of his native country, sneer at the barbarism of his style. Major was probably one of the latest commentators on that universal text book, the Sentences of Peter Lombard. In 1519, he had published "*In Libros Sententiarum primum et secundum commentarium*;" a work which has passed to oblivion with its subject. In 1521, he published an Introduction to Aristotle's Dialectics, and in 1529, "*In Quatuor Evangelia Expositiones Luculentæ*," being a discussion on the arrangement of the Gospels as to date. Mackenzie mentions that he re-

Continuing the train of reasoning, he concludes, "*Tertio arguitur ad candem conclusionem probandum: regem et posteros pro demeritis populus potest exauthorare sicut et primo insinueret.*" p. 175.

<sup>6</sup> Printed in the *Vindiciæ Doctrinæ Majorum Scholæ Parisiensis*, &c. of Richerius.

<sup>7</sup> In the same year, "*Dominus Decanus Johannes Major*," is one of the "*auditores compiti*," and also one of the "*Intrantes*," and "*Deputati Rectoris*."

<sup>8</sup> *Nom. Scot.*, 1819, 127.

<sup>9</sup> *Primo vero ad fanum Andræ missus est, ad Joannem Majorem audiendum, qui tum ibi dialecticæ, aut verius sophisticæ, in extrema senectute docebat. Hunc in Galliam æstate proxima secutus, in flammam Lutheraniæ sectæ, jam late se spargentem incidit: ac biennium fere cum iniquitate fortunæ collectatus, tandem in Collegium Barbaranum accitus, &c.—Vita Buch. i.*



turned to Scotland in 1530, and taught theology at St Andrews "till he came to a great age; for in the year 1547, at the national council of the church of Scotland at Linlithgow, he subscribed, by proxy, in quality of dean of theology of St Andrews, not being able to come himself by reason of his age, which was then seventy-eight, and shortly after he died."

Anthony Wood has discovered from a manuscript note of Bryan Twyne that Major was at some period of his life at Oxford, but in what house is unknown, "unless," says bishop Nicholson, "in Osney Abbey, whose melodious bells he commends." If we could suppose Wood to have mistaken a century, the following might apply to the subject of our memoir during the year when he is said by Mackenzie to have gone to France. Speaking of St John's school belonging to St John's Hospital, he says, "all that I find material of this school is, that it, with others of the same faculty, were repaired by one John Major, an Inceptor in the same faculty, anno 1426."<sup>10</sup>

MAITLAND, (SIR) RICHARD, of Lethington, the collector and preserver of our early Scottish poetry, and himself a poet of no mean rank, was the son of William Maitland of Lethington and Thirlstane, and Martha, daughter of George, lord Seaton. He was born in the year 1496; but his father having perished at the calamitous battle of Flodden, he was at an early period of life deprived of paternal guidance and instruction. After going through the usual course of academical education at St Andrews, he repaired to France, then the resort of all young Scotsmen of rank, and more especially of students of law. The time of his return is altogether unknown; he is supposed by one of his biographers<sup>1</sup> to have been absent from his native country during the earlier part of the minority of James V.; or if he did return previous to that period, his name is not connected with any of its turmoils. Before his departure from Scotland, he is believed to have been connected with the court of James IV. We are at all events certain, that on his return he was successively employed by James V., the regent Arran, and Mary of Lorraine. To his services, during the regency of the latter, he alludes in his poem on "The Quenis Arryvale in Scotland:"—

Madam, I wes trew servand to thy nother,  
And in hir favoure stude ay thankfullie  
Of my estait, als weill as ony other.

A passage in Knox's history has attached some suspicion to the good name of Sir Richard, at this period of his life. He is alleged to have been instrumental in procuring, for bribes, the liberation of cardinal Beaton from the custody of his kinsman, Lord Seaton. Of his share in the guilt of this transaction, such as it is, no proof exists; while there is something very like direct evidence that he was attached to the English and protestant party, and consequently, in favouring Beaton, would have been acting against sentiments which the most of men hold sacred. That evidence consists in an entry in the Criminal Record, to the following effect:—"Richard Maitland, of Lethingtounne, found George, lord Seytounne, as his surety, that he would enter within the castle of Edinburgh, or elsewhere, when and where it might please the lord governor, on forty-eight hours' warning: and that the said Richard shall remain a good and faithful subject, and remain within the kingdom, and have no intelligence with our ancient enemies the English, under the pain of £10,000."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Wood's *Antiquities of Oxford*, ii. 766.

<sup>1</sup> Biographical Introduction to Sir Richard's Poems, printed by the Maitland Club, p. xxii.

<sup>2</sup> Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, i. 338.



We soon after find Sir Richard engaged in diplomatic transactions for the settlement of the borders. In 1552, he was appointed, along with others, to make a division of what was called the debatable land, which division was ratified in the following November;<sup>3</sup> and in 1559, he was nominated in a commission of a similar nature. The result of the last was, the conclusion of the treaty of Upsetlington.

In 1563, he was appointed one of the commissioners to decide on the application of the act of oblivion; and in the month of December of the same year, to frame regulations for the commissaries then about to be established for the decision of consistorial causes.

While he was thus employed, he was also rising rapidly in the profession which he had more peculiarly adopted. He is mentioned on the 14th of March, 1551, as an extraordinary lord of session; and about the same period, or soon afterwards, he received the honour of knighthood. Ten years afterwards (12th November, 1561) he was admitted an ordinary lord, in the room of Sir William Hamilton of Sanquhar; and on the same day his son, William Maitland, was received as an extraordinary lord, in place of Mr Alexander Livingston of Dunipace. Sir Richard was soon afterwards made a member of the privy council; and upon the 20th of December, 1562, appointed lord privy seal, which office he resigned in 1567 in favour of his second son, John, then prior of Coldinghame, and better known by his subsequent title of lord Thirlstane. When we consider that these appointments were bestowed on Sir Richard, in circumstances that seemed to oppose an almost insurmountable barrier to the performance of their duties, they will be considered as the most decided proof of the estimation in which he was held as a good man, and an able lawyer. It does not exactly appear whether his health had been impaired by the performance of the duties of his various and important offices,—it is only certain that about this period he had become blind. This calamity must have overtaken him before October, 1560, and most probably after his last appointment as a commissioner for the settlement of border disputes, in 1559. The allusion to it in his poem on “The Quenis Arryvale in Scotland,” (which must have been written in the latter part of 1561,) is clear and unquestionable.

And thoeh that I to serve be nocht sa abill  
 As I wes wont, *because I may not see*;  
 Yet in my hairt I sall be firme and stabill  
 To thy Hienes with all fidelitie,  
 Ay prayan God for thy prosperitie, &c.

The state of the administration of the laws at this period was sufficiently deplorable. The nobles and barons, while they assembled in parliament for the purpose of making statutes, felt no scruple in breaking them, on the most trifling occasions, and then appearing, when called to the bar of justice, surrounded by armed followers. So common, indeed, did this practice become, and so little regulated by the goodness or badness of the cause, that when some of the reformers were cited before Mary of Lorraine, the queen dowager and regent of Scotland, a large body of their friends assembled to accompany them to Stirling, where the queen then was; and it was not till a promise of pardon (which was in the most unprincipled manner immediately violated) had been given, that they could be prevailed on to disperse. In like manner, when the borderers or Highlanders extended their depredations beyond their usual limits, it was necessary that an army should be assembled for their suppression;

<sup>3</sup> Keith's History, p. 58.



and if the king did not accompany it in person, the command was given to some nobleman of high rank. In most cases, the nobles were by far too powerful to fear the most energetic measures of a government which, receiving as yet no support from the people, depended upon themselves for its very existence. Feeling their inability to punish the real criminals, the king and his ministers frequently wreaked their vengeance on some unfortunate individual, who, though far less guilty than his feudal lord, was too feeble to oppose the ministers of the law. In such cases, the wretched criminal was prevailed upon by intimidation, perhaps in many cases where the necessary proof of guilt could not be adduced, to "come in the king's will,"—a phrase meaning to submit without condition to the royal mercy,—or the jury were terrified into a verdict, the nature of which no one can doubt, by the threats of the king's advocate to prosecute them for wilful error, if they did not comply. No one who has looked into the late publication of the "Criminal Trials, and other Proceedings before the High Court of Justiciary," by Mr Robert Pitcairn, will accuse us of over-colouring the picture which we have now drawn. "In truth," (to quote the words of an admirable review of that work, supposed to be one of the last critiques of our lamented Sir Walter Scott,) "no reader of these volumes,—whatever his previous acquaintance with Scottish history may have been,—will contemplate without absolute wonder the view of society which they unveil; or find it easy to comprehend how a system, subject to such severe concussions in every part, contrived, nevertheless, to hold itself together. The whole nation would seem to have spent their time, as one malefactor expressed it, 'in drinking deep and taking deadly revenge for slight offences.'"<sup>5</sup> That the judges themselves, if not exposed to the fury of the more lawless part of their countrymen from the unpopular nature of their office, were not at least exempted from it by its sacred character, the subsequent part of this sketch will sufficiently show.

Setting out of the question the calamitous nature of Sir Richard Maitland's malady, and his country's loss from being deprived of his more active services, his blindness may be supposed to have contributed much to his peace of mind. The transactions of this unhappy period,—the murder of Darnley,—the queen's marriage with Bothwell, and all the subsequent events of the different regencies, are too well known to require notice here. But although the venerable knight did not engage in these transactions, he was not spared the pain of having his lands ravaged, and his property forcibly kept from him. His lands of Blythe were overrun by the border robbers,<sup>6</sup> as we know by his poem, entitled "The Blind Baronis Comfort," in which he consoles himself for his wrongs, and puns upon the name:—

Blynd man, be *blyth*, althocht that thou be wrangit;  
Thocht *Blythe* be herreit, tak no melancholie.

Happy indeed must have been the man who, dismissing from his mind the misfortunes of his lot, could devote it to the pursuits of literature; and who, estimating the good things of this world at their real value, could at the same time cultivate the temper here exhibited.

It seems to have been about the same time that the king's party took possession of the castle of Lethington, which had been the temporary abode of the

<sup>5</sup> See Quarterly Review, No. 88, p. 470.

<sup>6</sup> This was not the first time that his property had been destroyed or carried off. "Wpoun the xliij day" of September, 1549, "the Inglismen past out of Haddingtoun, and brunt in and Leidingtoun, and passed away without any battell, for the pest and hunger was rycht evil amangis thaim, quha mycht remaine na langer thairin." *Diurnal of Occurrents in Scotland*, printed by the Baunatyne and Maitland Clubs, p. 48.



secretary Maitland, and a ready justification of this violent measure was found in the conduct of that statesman. After the death of the son, the enmity of the regent Morton was transferred to the aged and unoffending father, and his house and lands were still violently withheld from him. Although Sir Richard appears to have requested the intercession of the English court, and for that purpose to have transmitted a representation to lord Burleigh, the queen, with her usual crafty and cautious policy in regard to Scottish affairs, did not interfere: the document is thus marked—"This must be well considered before any thing is done." It was not, therefore, till the fall of Morton, that the worthy knight obtained restoration of his lands. He did not, however, droop into despondency during the long period of eleven years that he was thus "wrangit." In that period his poem of "Solace in Aige" is believed to have been written. It concludes thus:—

Thocht I be sweir to ryd or gang,  
Thair is sumthing I've wantit lang,  
Fain have I wald  
Thaim punysit that did me wrang,  
Thought I be auld.

Some attempt seems to have been made by Sir Richard to obtain compensation at least for his losses. There is extant a list of "the guidis tane frae y<sup>e</sup> ald laird of Lethingtoun of his awin proper geir forthe of Blythe and y<sup>e</sup> Twallowss;" but it is to be feared that his endeavours were unsuccessful. At a later period of his life, he renewed his application for compensation; and, although he obtained an act of parliament, recognizing his claims, and rescinding an act made in favour of captain David Hume of Fishwick, who had possessed Lethington, and intronned with the rents of that estate, the benignity of his temper warrants our supposing, in the absence of historical evidence, that he did not pursue his rights with any violent or revengeful feelings.

The age and infirmities of Sir Richard now appear to have incapacitated him in a great measure for the performance of his duties as a judge. Throughout his career the conduct of his brother judges towards him was marked by the utmost kindness and sympathy for his distressing malady. As early as January, 1561, they had ordered the macers "to suffer one of the old laird of Lethington's sones to come in within all the barres as oy<sup>r</sup> pro<sup>r</sup>s. doe, and to issue as they doe, for awaiting on his father for the notoriety of his father's infirmity," and he now (3d of December 1583,) obtained leave to attend court only when he pleased, with the assurance that he "should lose no part of the contribution in consequence of absence." In May 1584, he was further exempted from the examination of witnesses, "provyding he cause his sone (Thirlstane), or his good-son the laird of Whittingham, use the utter tolebooth for him in calling of matters, and reporting the interloquitors as use is." When he was at last under the necessity of retiring altogether from the bench, it was under circumstances which no less strongly show the public estimation of his character. He was allowed the privilege of nominating his successor,—a privilege of the extension of which lord Pitmedden considers this as the first instance. Accordingly on the 1st of July, 1584, he resigned in favour of Sir Lewis Bellenden of Auchnoll, being now, as his majesty's letter to the court expresses, "sa debilitat that he is not able to mak sic continual residens as he wald give, and being movit in conscience that, be his absence, for laik of number justice may be retardit and parteis frustrat." At length, after a life, certainly not without its troubles, but supported throughout by the answer of a good conscience and by



much natural hilarity, he closed his days on the 20th of March, 1586, at the venerable age of ninety. Living in an age, marked, perhaps more strongly than any other in our history, by treachery and every vice which can debase mankind, he lived uncontaminated by the moral atmosphere by which he was surrounded, and has had the happiness,—certainly not the lot of every good man,—of being uniformly noticed, whether by friends or enemies, by his contemporaries or by posterity, with the highest respect. There is but one exception to this general tribute to his virtues,—the accusation in John Knox's History, of his having been bribed to allow cardinal Beaton to escape from imprisonment. The truth of this accusation, it has been already shown, is, to say the least, very questionable, and it is contained in a work, which, while it may have been written with every disposition to candour, too often exhibits the keenness of its author's temper.

The works of Sir Richard Maitland exhibit him in the characters of a lawyer, a poet, and an historian. Of the work belonging to the first of these classes it is only necessary to say, that it consists of "Decisions from the 15th December 1550, to the penult July 1565;" being a continuation of the body of decisions known by the title of Sinclair's Practicks, and that a copy of it, with the additions of the viscount Kingston, is preserved in MS. in the library of the Faculty of Advocates. His poetical collections consist of two kinds,—those works which were merely collected by him, and specimens of which have long been before the public,—and his own poems, the greater portion of which have not been printed till a very late date.

If it be true, as has been often asserted, that the habits and feelings of a people are best known by their poetry, surely the collectors in that department of a nation's literature are entitled to no inconsiderable portion of its gratitude. The labours of Asloan, Maitland, and Bannatyne have especial claims on our attention, as in them are to be found nearly all that remains of the Scottish poetry composed before their times. Of the first, John Asloan,—whose collections are preserved in the Auchinleck library, but unfortunately in a mutilated state,—little or nothing can be ascertained; and of George Bannatyne a notice has already been given in this work. Our attention must therefore be directed to the collections of the subject of this memoir.

Sir Richard Maitland appears to have been engaged in forming his collections of poetry before he became blind,—probably about the year 1555,—and although one of the volumes is dated 1585, it is conjectured that it was the arrangement of them only that could have been the work of his later years. The collections consist of two volumes,—a folio, comprehending 176 articles, and a quarto of 96 pieces; the latter in the handwriting of Mary Maitland, Sir Richard's daughter. They are now preserved in the Pepysian library, Magdalene college, Cambridge; but, from the regulations prescribed by the founder of that institution, they cannot be consulted except within its walls, and although its officers afford every facility which their duty permits, it must be a subject of regret to every lover of Scottish poetry that they are not in a more accessible situation. It is true, indeed, that in 1784 or 1785, the late Mr Pinkerton was furnished by Dr Peckhard with all the means of consulting them with advantage, and that he published selections from them in his *Ancient Scottish Poems*; but the charges of interpolation which have been brought against him, must make his work a subject of doubt and suspicion.

Sir Richard Maitland did not produce any of his own poems at the period when ardour of mind or ambition for distinction may be supposed to prompt men to enter that walk of literature. They were all written after his sixtieth year. They are the tranquil productions of age, and of a mind regulated by



the purest principles. The subjects, too, correspond with the age at which they were written,—most of them being of a moral or historical description. By far the most frequent subjects of his poems are lamentations for the distracted state of his native country,—the feuds of the nobles,—the discontents of the common people,—complaints “Aganis the lang proces in the courts of justice,”—“The evillis of new found lawis,” and the depredations “Of the border robbers.” Not the least interesting of his productions—are those which he entitles *Satyres*: one of these, on “The Town Ladyes,” in particular presents us with a most curious picture of the habits and dispositions of the fair sex in his day, and amply demonstrates that the desire of aping the appearance and manners of the higher ranks is by no means the peculiar offspring of our degenerate age. Sir Richard’s poetical writings were for the first time printed in an entire and distinct form, in 1830, (in one 4to volume) by the Maitland Club, a society of literary antiquaries, taking its name from this distinguished collector of early Scottish poetry.

It may probably be unknown to most of our readers, that a poet from whose mortal sight the book of knowledge was no less shut out than from the eye of the poet of *Paradise Lost*, has also written a poem on the subject of—

—Man’s first disobedience, and the fruit  
Of that forbidden tree, whose mortal taste  
Brought death into the world and all our woe.

Except in the subject, however, there is no resemblance between the *Paradise Lost* of Milton and Sir Richard Maitland’s “Ballat of the Creatioun of the World, Man his Fall and Redemptioun.” From the latter poem, the following passages are selected:—

God be his Word his wark began,  
To forme the erth and hevin for man,  
The sie and watter deip;  
The sone, the mune, the starris bricht,  
The day divydit frome the nicht,  
Thair coursis for to keip;  
The beistis that on the grund do mufe,  
And fische in to the sie,  
Fowlis in the air to fle abuse,  
Off ilk kind creat hee;  
Sum creeping, sum fleiting  
Sum fleing in the air,  
So heichtly, so lichtly,  
In moving heir and thair.

The workis of grit magnificence,  
Perfytet be his providence,  
According to his will;  
Nixt maid he man; to gif him gloir,  
Did with his ymage him decoir;  
Gaif paradise him till;  
Into that garding hevinly wrocht,  
With plesouris mony one;  
The beistis of every kynd war brocht,  
Thair names he sowld expone;



Thame nemmyng and kemmyng,  
 As he list for to call;  
 For pleising and eising  
 Of man, subdewit thame all.

In hevynly joy man so possest,  
 To be allone God thoet not best,  
 Maid Eve to be his maik;  
 Bad thame inress and multiplie;  
 And eit of every fruit and trie,  
 Thair plesour thay sowld talk,  
 Except the trie of gud and ill,  
 That in the middis dois stand;  
 Forbad that thay sowld cum it till,  
 Or twiche it with thair hand;  
 Leist plucking or lucking,  
 Baith thay and als thair sei',  
 Seveirly, awsteirly,  
 Sowld dye without remeid.

The poem thus concludes:—

Behald the stait that man wes in,  
 And als how it he tynt throw sin,  
 And loist the same for ay;  
 Yit God his promeiss dois performe,  
 Send his Sone of the Virgeny berne,  
 Oure ransome for to pry  
 To that grit God let us gif gloir,  
 To us has bene so gude,  
 Quha be his death did us restoir,  
 Quhairof we war denude;  
 Nocht karing nor sparin;  
 His body to be rent,  
 Redemyng, relieving,  
 Ws quhen we war all schent.

The historical writings of Sir Richard Maitland were the productions of an earlier period than his poems. The principal historical work of Sir Richard that has come down to us, is "The Historie and Cronicle of the Hous and Surename of Seytoun, to the moneth of November, in the yeir of God, Jm. Vc. lix. yeiris; collectit, gaderit, and set furth be Schir Richart Maitland of Lethingtoun, Knycht, Dochteris Sonn of the said Hous." This work was printed in 1829 for the Maitland Club. Another of his works bears the following title: "Heir followis ane Brief and Compendious Tabill or Catholog of the Names of the Kingis of Scotland, France, and Ingland, with the dait of thair Reignis; togidder with the Successioun of King Malcolme Cainmoir, and of all Kingis of Scotland sensyn, to the dait heiroy; quham thay Mareit; quhat Successioun they had; with quham they war Allyat. Collectit, gatherit, and set furth be Sr. Richart Maitland of Lethingtoun, Knyt. The yeir of God, Jm. Vc. and three scoir yeiris, the xiiij day of the moinethe of October."

By his wife, Mary, daughter of Thomas Cranston of Corsby, Sir Richard Maitland had a numerous family. It is said that he had seven sons, three of whom, William, John, and Thomas, rose to eminence—and four daughters—Helen, married to John Cockburn of Clerkington; Margaret, to William Douglas of Whittingham; Mary, to Alexander Lauder of Hatton; and Isabel, to James Heriot of Trabroun.



MAITLAND, WILLIAM, an antiquarian writer of some note, is generally represented as having been born at Brechin in the year 1693, though there is reason to suppose the date of his birth to have been somewhat earlier. He does not appear in his writings to have been a man of liberal education. His first employment was that of a hair merchant; in the prosecution of which business, he travelled into Sweden and Denmark, to Hamburg, and other places, and appears to have realized considerable wealth. At length he settled in London, and applied himself to the study of English and Scottish antiquities. In 1733, he was elected a member of the Royal, and in 1735, a fellow of the Antiquarian Society, which latter honour he resigned in 1740, on going to reside in the country. His first publication was his *History of London*, which appeared in 1739, and was chiefly valuable for a reason little creditable to the author,—namely, its being in a great measure a reduction of the ancient and scarce work of Stow. In 1740, he retired to Scotland; and in 1753, published his “*History of Edinburgh*,” which is by far the most useful and creditable of all his works. He was not here assisted to any considerable degree by preceding authorities: the volume is chiefly compiled from original documents, and must have been accordingly a work of very great labour. In point of composition, it is very deficient. The style is mean, and the whole tone of the work that of a plain, dull old man. It also bears in some parts the traces of credulity and narrowness of understanding on the part of the author. As a compilation of facts, it is, nevertheless, very valuable. In 1757, Maitland published a “*History of Scotland*,” in two volumes folio, a work absolutely destitute of reputation. He died at Montrose, July 16, 1757, “at an advanced age,” say the obituary notices, and possessed of above £10,000.

MALCOLM, (Sir) JOHN, a distinguished soldier and diplomatist, was born on the farm of Burnfoot, near Langholm, on the 2nd of May, 1769. This farm was granted to the paternal grandfather of Sir John, at a low rent, by the earl of Dalkeith, in 1707; it subsequently became the residence of George Malcolm, the father of Sir John, who married Miss Pasley, daughter of James Pasley, Esq. of Craig and Burn, by whom he had seventeen children, fifteen surviving to maturity. Of these children, three attained to a high station and title; namely, Sir Pulteney, vice-admiral, R. N.; Sir James, lieutenant-colonel of marines; both of whom are Knight Companions of the Bath; and the subject of this memoir. The farm is still in possession of the family.

Sir John Malcolm entered life in 1782, as a cadet in the service of the East India Company; and a part of his success is to be ascribed to the zeal with which he applied himself at first to study the manners and languages of the east. Having distinguished himself at the siege of Seringapatam in 1792, he was appointed by lord Cornwallis to the situation of Persian interpreter to an English force serving with a native prince. In 1795, on his return from a short visit to his native country, on account of his health, he performed some useful services in general Clarke's expedition at the Cape of Good Hope, for which he received the thanks of the Madras government, and was appointed secretary to the commander-in-chief. In 1797, he was made captain; and from that time to 1799, he was engaged in a variety of important services, terminating at the fall of Seringapatam, where he highly distinguished himself. He was then appointed joint secretary with captain (afterwards Sir Thomas) Munro, to the commissioners for settling the new government of Mysore. In the same year, he was selected by Lord Wellesley to proceed on a diplomatic mission to Persia, where he concluded two treaties of great importance, one political, and the other commercial; returning to Bombay in May, 1801. His services were acknowledged by his being appointed private secretary to the governor-general. In



January, 1802, he was raised to the rank of major; and on the occasion of the Persian ambassador being accidentally shot at Bombay, he was again entrusted with a mission to that empire, in order to make the requisite arrangements for the renewal of the embassy, which he accomplished in a manner that afforded the highest satisfaction to the Company. In January, 1803, he was nominated to the presidency of Mysore, and to act without special instructions; and in December, 1804, he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel. In the June of the following year, he was appointed chief agent of the governor-general, and he continued to serve in that capacity until March, 1806, having successfully concluded several very important treaties during that period.

Upon the arrival in India, in April, 1808, of the new governor-general, lord Minto, colonel Malcolm was sent by his lordship to the court of Persia on a very important mission—that of endeavouring to counteract the designs of Bonaparte, then in the zenith of his power, who threatened an invasion of India by way of Persia, supported by the Persian and Turkish governments. In this difficult embassy, colonel Malcolm did not wholly succeed. He returned to Calcutta in the following August, and soon afterwards proceeded to his residence at Mysore, after having, to use the words of lord Minto, “laid the government under additional obligations to his zeal and ability.” Early in the year 1810, he was again selected to proceed in a diplomatic capacity to the court of Persia, whence he returned upon the appointment of Sir Gore Ouseley, as ambassador. So favourable was the impression which he made, on this occasion, on the Persian prince, that he was presented by him with a valuable sword and star, and, at the same time, made a khan and sepahdar of the empire; to that impression, indeed, may be ascribed much of the good understanding, both in a political and commercial point of view, which now so happily subsists between this country and Persia. During this embassy, while at Bagdad, colonel Malcolm transmitted to the government of Bengal his final report of the affairs of Persia—a document so highly appreciated, that the government acknowledged its receipt to the secret committee in terms of unqualified praise.

In 1812, colonel Malcolm again visited his native shores. He was received by the court of directors of the East India Company, with the deepest regard and acknowledgment of his merits; and shortly afterwards he received the honour of knighthood. He returned to India in 1816, and soon became engaged in extensive political and military duties; he was attached, as political agent of the governor-general, to the force under lieutenant-general Sir T. Hislop, and appointed to command the third division of the army, with which, after taking Talym by surprise, he acted a prominent part in the celebrated battle of Mehidpoor, when the army under Mulhar Rao Holkar was completely beaten, and put to rout. His skill and valour on this occasion were the theme of general admiration. A vote of thanks was awarded him, on the proposal of Mr Canning, by the house of commons; and the prince regent expressed his regret that the circumstance of his not having attained the rank of major-general prevented his creating him a knight grand cross. The intention of his royal highness to do so was, nevertheless, recorded, and in 1821 he accordingly received the highest honour which a soldier can receive from his sovereign. After the termination of the war with the Maharattas and Pindarees, to which colonel Malcolm's services had eminently contributed, he was employed by lord Hastings in visiting and settling the distracted territories of Mulhar Rao, which, and other services, he accomplished in a most satisfactory manner, gaining to British India a large accession of territory and treasure.

At the end of the year 1821, he resolved to return once more to England; on which occasion the general orders contained the following paragraph:—



"Although his excellency the governor-general in council refrains from the specific mention of the many recorded services which have placed Sir John Malcolm in the first rank of those officers of the Honourable Company's service, who have essentially contributed to the renown of the British arms and counsels in India, his lordship cannot omit this opportunity of declaring his unqualified approbation of the manner in which Sir John Malcolm has discharged the arduous and important functions of his high political and military station in Malwah. By a happy combination of qualities, which could not fail to earn the esteem and confidence, both of his own countrymen and of the native inhabitants of all classes, by the unremitting personal exertion and devotion of his time and leisure to the maintenance of the interests confided to his charge, and by an enviable talent for inspiring all who acted under his orders with his own energy and zeal. Sir John Malcolm has been enabled, in the successful performance of the duty assigned to him, in the Malwah, to surmount difficulties of no ordinary stamp, and to lay the foundations of repose and prosperity in that extensive province, but recently reclaimed from a state of savage anarchy, and a prey to every species of rapine and devastation. The governor-general in council feels assured that the important services thus rendered to his country by Sir John Malcolm, at the close of an active and distinguished career, will be not less gratefully acknowledged by the authorities at home, than they are cordially applauded by those under whose immediate orders they have been performed."

Sir John returned to England in April, 1822, with the rank of major-general, and soon after he was presented by those who had acted under him in the war of 1818 and 1819, with a superb vase of the value of £1500. During this visit to England, Sir John received a proud testimony of the favour of the East India Company, and acknowledgment of the utility of his public career, in a grant, passed unanimously by a general court of proprietors, of a thousand pounds per annum, in consideration of his distinguished merits and services.

Sir John had quitted India with the determination to spend the evening of his life in his native country; but the solicitations of the court of directors, and of his majesty's ministers for India affairs, induced him again to embark in the service of his country, where experience had so fully qualified him to act with advantage. In July, 1827, he was appointed to the high and responsible situation of governor of Bombay, which post he continued to fill until 1831, when he finally returned to England, having effected, during the few years of his governorship, incalculable benefits both for this country, our Indian territories, and every class of the inhabitants there. Upon his leaving Bombay, the different bodies of the people seemed to vie with each other in giving proofs of the esteem and high consideration in which he was held. The principal European gentlemen of Bombay requested Sir John to sit for his statue, since executed by Chantrey, to be erected in Bombay; the members of the Asiatic Society requested a bust of him, to be placed in their library; the native gentlemen of Bombay solicited his portrait, to be placed in their public room; the East India Amelioration Society voted him a service of plate; the natives, both of the presidency and the provinces addressed him as their friend and benefactor; and the United Society of Missionaries, including English, Scottish, and Americans, acknowledged with gratitude the aids they had received from him in the prosecution of their pious labours, and their deep sense of his successful endeavours to promote the interests of truth and humanity, with the welfare and prosperity of his country and his countrymen. These were apt and gratifying incidents in the closing scene of his long and arduous services in our Indian empire. But, whether at home or abroad, all parties who knew any thing of his career concurred in awarding him the highest praises, both as a civil, mili-



tary, and political character; and the brief encomium of Mr Canning in parliament, that he was "a gallant officer, whose name would be remembered in India as long as the British flag is hoisted in that country," is only in accordance with the universal opinion of his merits.

Shortly after Sir John's arrival in England in 1831, he was returned to parliament for the burgh of Launceston, and took an active part in the proceedings upon several important questions, particularly the Scottish reform bill, which he warmly opposed. He frequently addressed the house at length; and his speeches were characterized by an intimate knowledge of the history and constitution of his country, by a happy arrangement, and much elegance of expression. Upon the dissolution of parliament in 1832, Sir John became a candidate for the Dumfries district of burghs; but being too late in entering the field, and finding a majority of the electors had promised their votes, he did not persevere. He was then solicited to become a candidate for the city of Carlisle, and complied; but having been too late in coming forward, and being personally unknown in the place, the result of the first day's poll decided the election against him. Sir John then retired to his seat near Windsor, and employed himself in writing a work upon the government of India, with the view of elucidating the difficult questions relating to the renewal of the East India Company's charter. One of his last public acts was an able speech in the general court of proprietors of East India Stock, and the introduction of certain resolutions relative to the proposals of government respecting the charter—which resolutions were, after several adjourned discussions, adopted by a large majority. His last public address was at a meeting in the Thatched House Tavern, for the purpose of forming a subscription to buy up the mansion of Sir Walter Scott for his family; and on that occasion, his concluding sentiment was, "that when he was gone, his son might be proud to say, that his father had been among the contributors to that shrine of genius." On the day following he was struck with paralysis, the disorder which had just carried off the illustrious person on whose account this address had been made. His death took place in Prince's Street, Hanover Square, London, on the 31st of May, 1833.

As an author, the name of Sir John Malcolm will occupy no mean place in the annals of British literature. His principal works are—*A Sketch of the Sikhs*, a singular nation in the province of the Penjab, in India; *The History of Persia*, from the earliest period to the present time; *Sketches of Persia*; *A Memoir of Central India*; and his treatise on the Administration of British India, which was published only a few weeks before his death. Sir John had also been engaged for some time in writing a life of Lord Clive, whose papers had been entrusted to him for publication.

Sir John married, on the 4th of June, 1807, Charlotte Campbell, daughter of Sir Alexander Campbell, baronet, who was commander-in-chief at Madras, by whom he left five children, viz:—Margaret, married to her cousin, the present Sir Alexander Campbell; George Alexander, a captain in the Guards; Charlotte Olympia; Anne Amelia; and Catharine Wellesley.

Upon the public character of Sir John Malcolm it would be superfluous to pass any lengthened eulogium in this place, since that character is so forcibly and faithfully sketched in the facts we have just recorded. Let it suffice to say, that he was a true patriot; that the chief end and aim of his public life was to advance the prosperity of his country—to promote the condition of every class of his fellow creatures. Such is the conclusion which the records of his life enable us to draw; and his private character was in perfect keeping with it: he was warmly attached to his kindred and connexions: as a friend, he was



constant and devoted ; and all his social qualities might be said to “lean to virtue’s side.” Last, though not least of all, he was a sincere and devout Christian ; and in every part of the world where it was his fortune to be placed, and under whatever circumstances, he never shrunk from any opportunity of evincing his deep regard for the religion of his country.

MALLET, DAVID, a poet and miscellaneous writer, is said to have been a descendant of the clan Macgregor, so well known for its crimes, and persecution. When that unhappy race were proscribed by a solemn act of state, an ancestor of the poet escaped to the lowlands, and assumed the fictitious name of Malloch. James Malloch, the father of the poet, kept a small public house at Crieff, on the borders of the Highlands, where it is supposed that David was born, about the year 1700. Of his career from youth to manhood, nothing certain is known, nor whence he first derived his education, as, in after life, either through pride or prejudice, he studiously endeavoured to conceal his true name and origin.

Having studied for a time under Mr Ker, a professor in Aberdeen, he, it appears, removed to Edinburgh, where he was, in 1720, employed in the station of tutor to the children of a Mr Home ; he at the same time attended the university of that city. He had while at Aberdeen early exercised himself in poetical composition ; and a pastoral and some other small pieces which he wrote about this period, attracted the notice of many of the Scottish literati, by whom he was kindly sought after. Finding his situation in Mr Home’s family by no means agreeable, being treated, it is said, with great illiberality, he anxiously sought to change it, and was so fortunate as to be recommended by the professors of the college to the duke of Montrose, who wanted a fit person to be tutor to his two sons, who were then going to Winchester. It is obvious that he must have conducted himself while at college with uncommon zeal and propriety, as nothing but superior ability could have procured for a youth so humbly connected, so marked a preference over the rest of his fellow students. He was most kindly received in his grace’s family ; and, on coming to London in the winter, attended his noble pupils to most places of public amusement, and still further improved himself in polite literature, and a knowledge of the world.

Malloch accompanied his noble pupils to the continent, and made what is usually called the grand tour. On their return to London, he still continued to reside with that illustrious family, where, from his advantageous station, he got by degrees introduced to the most polished circle of society. In 1723, in a periodical work of Aaron Hill’s, called the *Plain Dealer*, No. 36, Malloch’s pleasing ballad of William and Margaret first appeared. The beauty of the production was so highly praised, that it inspired him with courage to apply himself closely to his poetical studies, which he had for some time neglected. “Of this poem,” says Dr Johnson, “he has been envied the reputation ; and plagiarism has been boldly charged, but never proved,”—though “in its original state it was very different from what it is in the latter edition of his works.” It is, however, evident that the idea of the ballad was taken from two much older ones, namely, William’s Ghaist, and Fair Margaret. From these he borrowed largely, both in sentiment and expression. Still, notwithstanding all traces of imitation, as a modern biographer truly observes, “there is enough of Mallet’s own in the ballad of William and Margaret, to justify all the poetical reputation which it procured for its author.” The fame so justly acquired by his illustrious countryman, Thomson, whose friendship he had the honour to enjoy, stimulated him to imitate his style ; and, in 1728, he produced a poem under the title of the *Excursion*. It is a collection of



poetical landscapes, sketched with some skill and elegance, in imitation of the Seasons, but much inferior in strength and sublimity. About this time he adopted the foolish conceit of changing his name from *Malloch* to Mallet, to conceal from common observation his country and origin; having, as Dr Johnson satirically remarks, "by degrees cleared his tongue from his native pronunciation, so as to be no longer distinguished as a Scot, he seemed inclined to disincumber himself from all adherences of his original, and took upon him to change his name from Scotch *Malloch* to English *Mallet*, without any imaginable reason of preference which the eye or ear can discover."

Mallet next produced a tragedy, called *Eurydice*, which he had planned some years before: it was first brought on the stage in 1737, and met with no very flattering reception. Garrick, several years afterwards, when Mallet enjoyed both fame and fortune, again introduced *Eurydice* to the public; but not even the talents of that unrivalled actor, assisted by the celebrated Mrs Cibber, could make it be tolerated for any length of time. Though so ably supported in the principal parts, so gross was the egotism of Mallet, that, as Davies tells us, he sat all the time in the orchestra, and bestowed his execrations plentifully on the players, to whom he entirely attributed the bad success of the piece.

Mallet now left the family of the duke of Montrose, and went to reside with a Mr Knight at Gosfield, probably as a teacher; but still he had made an impression, and enjoyed the esteem of the first literary characters of the day. There is a remarkable letter extant, from Pope to Mr Knight, in which he speaks of Mallet in the following affectionate terms:—"To prove to you how little essential to friendship I hold letter-writing—I have not yet written to Mr Mallet, whom I love and esteem greatly; nay, whom I know to have as tender a heart, and that feels a remembrance as long as any man." With what heartless ingratitude Mallet returned this noble expression of confident esteem, will be seen afterwards. Proud in the first instance of being honoured by the particular regard of so eminent a poet, he servilely employed his pen, by attacking Bentley, to please Pope, whose ridicule of critics and commentators he echoed in a poem, published in 1733, entitled *Verbal Criticism*. It is stuffed, as Bentley observes, "with illiberal cant about pedantry and collections of manuscripts. Real scholars will always speak with due regard of such names as the Scaligers, Salmasiuses, Heinsiuses, Burmans, Gronoviuses, Reiskiuses, Marklands, Gesners, and Heynes." Dr Johnson considered the versification above mediocrity, which is all that can be said in its praise. About this time, Frederick, prince of Wales, being at variance with his father, kept what was considered an opposition court, where he affected the patronage of men of letters, with the hope of adding to his popularity. Mallet, through the recommendation of his friends, had the good fortune to be appointed under-secretary to his royal highness, with a salary of £200 a-year. "He attended the prince of Orange to Oxford in 1734, and presented to him a copy of verses, written in the name of the university; on which occasion he was admitted to the degree of M.A. Had then the Oxford muses lost their voice? or did he assume a fictitious character, for the purpose of spontaneous adulation? The circumstance is certainly extraordinary." In 1739, he published his tragedy of *Mustapha*: it was brought on the stage under the patronage of the prince of Wales, to whom it was dedicated. The first representation of the piece is said to have been honoured with the presence of all the leading members of the opposition. The characters of Solymán the Magnificent, and Rustán his Vizier, were generally supposed to glance at the king and Sir Robert Walpole; notwithstanding which, it was licensed by the lord chamberlain, and performed with much applause to crowded houses. But in proportion as the public mind was diverted by



the appearance of another set of political actors than those to whom the play was said to refer, it lost its only attraction, and sunk with his *Eurydice* into oblivion, whence neither is likely to be ever called forth. In the following year, Mallet wrote, in conjunction with Thomson, by command of the prince, the masque of "*Alfred*," in honour of the birth-day of his eldest daughter, the princess Augusta. It was first acted in the gardens of Clifden, by a set of performers brought from London for the express purpose; and after Thomson's death, Mallet revised it for Drury Lane theatre, where it had, with the aid of music and splendid scenery, a run for a short time.

The same year he published his principal prose work, the *Life of Lord Bacon*, prefixed to a new edition of the works of that illustrious person. In point of style, it may be considered as an elegant and judicious piece of biography, but nothing more. To develop the vast treasures stored in the mighty intellect of Bacon, was a task to which the best intellects of that and a succeeding age would have failed to do justice. Of Mallet's performance, Dr Johnson merely says, that "it is known as appended to Bacon's volumes, but is no longer mentioned."

In 1742, Mallet made a considerable addition to his fortune by marriage. He had already buried one wife, by whom he had several children; but of her there is little or no account. His second choice was Miss Lucy Estob, the daughter of the earl of Carlisle's steward, with whom he received a portion of £10,000. From his various sources of income, Mallet may be considered as one of the most fortunate worshippers of the Muses in his day, and hence, becoming either indifferent or lazy, he allowed seven years to pass over without favouring the public with any thing from his pen. When at length his *Hermit*, or *Amyntor* and *Theodora*, appeared, critics were much divided in their opinions of its merits. Dr Warton, in his *Essay on the Life and Writings of Pope*, says it "exhibits a nauseous affectation, expressing every thing pompously and poetically," while Dr Johnson praises it for "copiousness and elegance of language, vigour of sentiment, and imagery well adapted to take possession of the fancy." Up to this period the character of Mallet stood deservedly high with the public as an author, but we now come to a part of his history when he drew down upon his head the severe but just censure of all honourable men.

Pope, who honoured Mallet with his friendship at a time when a favourable word from the bard of Twickenham was sufficient to advance the interests of any genius, however depressed by obscurity, had now introduced Mallet to lord Bolingbroke, at the time when the *Patriot King* was first written by his lordship. Only seven copies were printed, and given to some particular friends of the author, including Pope, with a positive injunction against publication, Bolingbroke assigning as a reason that the work was not finished in a style sufficiently to his satisfaction before he would consent to let it go forth to the world. Pope obliged his friend Mr Ralph Allen of Prior Park, near Bath, with the loan of his copy, stating to him at the same time the injunction of lord Bolingbroke; but that gentleman was so delighted with the work, that he pressed Pope to allow him to print a limited impression at his own cost, promising at the same time to observe the strictest caution, and not to permit a single copy to get into the hands of any individual until the consent of the author could be obtained. Under this condition Pope consented, and an edition was printed, packed up, and deposited in a wareroom, of which Pope received the key. There it remained until, by the untimely death of Pope, the transaction came to the knowledge of lord Bolingbroke, who felt or affected to feel, the highest indignation at what he called Pope's breach of faith. Mallet,



it was generally believed at the time, was the person who informed his lordship of the transaction, but it has never been sufficiently proved that he was the unworthy author. The late Mr George Rose, to whom all the particulars of the story were related by the earl of Marchmont, the intimate friend of Bolingbroke, gives us an account of the discovery which clears Mallet of all blame. "On the circumstance," he says, "being made known to lord Bolingbroke, who was then a guest in his own house at Battersea with lord Marchmont, to whom he had lent it for two or three years, his lordship was in great indignation; to appease which, lord Marchmont sent Mr Grevinkop to bring out the whole edition, of which a bonfire was instantly made on the Terrace at Battersea." This, however, did not by any means appease his lordship's angry feelings. He determined on revising and publishing the work himself, and employed Mallet to write a preface, in which the part that Pope had acted was to be set forth to the world in the blackest and falsest colours possible. To the lasting disgrace of his character, he was found ready to stoop to so vile and dishonourable a task. It would be vain to seek for any palliation of such egregious turpitude. He was rich, and placed beyond the craving temptation of lending himself to any one, however high in rank or interest, to defile his pen by so unworthy a task. But no compunctious visiting of honour ever once stayed his hand, or prevented him from heaping the most malignant abuse upon his departed friend, for an affair in which, it is evident, there was nothing dishonourable intended, either on the part of Pope or Allen. Every fact that could tend to exonerate Mr Pope, particularly the share his friend had in the business, and the careful suppression of the copies until Bolingbroke's permission for their publication could be procured is studiously concealed. "How far Mallet was acquainted with all these circumstances we cannot pretend to affirm." Nor need any one care about the proportions in which they divide the infamy between them.

The unmitigated resentment of lord Bolingbroke, for the evidently unintentional error of a friend whom he almost worshipped while living, is endeavoured to be accounted for by the preference Pope gave to Warburton, whom Bolingbroke could never endure. Be that as it may; if true, it only proves the meanness of his lordship's character, and how much mistaken Pope was in the man whose name he embalmed within his deathless page, as a pattern for the most exalted and disinterested friendship. But though such may have been his lordship's feelings, pride must have made him conceal the true cause from Mallet, who had nothing but the sordid temptation of a ready hireling to incite him to the odious task. He was rewarded for this service at the death of lord Bolingbroke, by the bequest of his lordship's works, with the care and profit of those already published, as well as all his manuscripts.

Mallet, who cared as little for the fame or character of his noble benefactor as he did for the illustrious friend he was hired to traduce, with the true spirit of avarice, raked up every scrap of Bolingbroke's writings for publication, without in the least discriminating what ought to be suppressed, though many of the papers contained the most offensive doctrines, subversive of sound morals and revealed religion; the consequence was, that his hopes of gain were very properly frustrated by a presentiment which arose from a decision of the grand jury of Westminster, stopping the obnoxious works. This must have sorely affected him, for, before the publication of the five vols. 4to, in 1754, he was offered, by one Millar, a bookseller, £3000 for his copyright, which he refused. After all, the sale was so extremely slow, that it took upwards of twenty years to dispose of the first edition, though assisted by the notoriety of the prosecution of the work. He next appears as an author in, if possible, a more odious



light. The disastrous affair of Minorca, at the commencement of the war of 1756, had rendered the ministry unpopular. Mallet was employed to divert the public odium, and turn it upon the unfortunate Admiral Byng. For this purpose he wrote a paper under the character of A Plain Man, in which the disgrace brought upon the British arms in the affair of Minorca, was entirely imputed to the cowardice of the admiral. It was circulated with great industry. How cruelly it effected its purpose need not be told. Byng is now universally considered to have been offered up as a victim to the popular clamour which was thus raised against him, rather than any actual demerit in his conduct. "The price of blood," says Dr Johnson, with fearful but just severity, "was a pension which Mallet retained till his death." He continued to exercise his talent for poetical composition, and published a collection of his works, dedicated to great patrons. At the beginning of the reign of George III., when lord Bute was placed in power, Mallet, who never let an opportunity slip for serving his own interests, enlisted under the ministerial banners, and offered a two-fold service to the cause, by his *Truth in Rhyme*, and a tragedy called *Elvira*, imitated from *La Motte*, and applicable to the politics of the day. His reward was, the place of keeper of the book of entries for the port of London. The *Critical Review* of that period praised the tragedy in the highest degree; but it is asserted that Mallet had the superintendence of that publication, and was the critic of his own works. On the death of the celebrated duchess of Marlborough, in 1744, it was found by her will, that she left to Mr Glover, the author of *Leonidas*, and Mr Mallet, jointly, the sum of £1,000, on condition that they drew up, from the family papers, a *History of the Life of the Great Duke*. The legacy, however, was found to be clogged with so many unpleasant restrictions, that Glover, with the true independence of a man of genius, declined any share in the onerous task. Mallet, who never was troubled by any misgiving of conscience, accepted the legacy, under all stipulations, and was put in possession of the papers necessary for proceeding with the work. The second duke of Marlborough, in order to stimulate his industry, added, in the most liberal manner, an annual pension to the legacy. Mallet pretended all along, that he was deeply engaged in forwarding the work for publication, and in a dedication to his Grace, of a collection of his poems, he spoke of having soon the honour of dedicating to him the life of his illustrious predecessor. But, on the death of Mallet, not a vestige of any such work could be found, nor did it appear, that, after all the money he had received, he had even written a line of it. While he continued to delude his patron and friends, with the expectation of seeing his great work appear, he made the imposition subservient to his interest in many ways. In a familiar conversation with Garrick, and boasting of the diligence which he was then exerting upon the *Life of Marlborough*, he hinted, that in the series of great men quickly to be exhibited, he should find a niche for the hero of the theatre. Garrick professed to wonder by what artifice he could be introduced, but Mallet let him know, that by a dexterous anticipation, he should fix him in a conspicuous place. "Mr Mallet," says Garrick, in his gratitude of exultation, "have you left off to write for the stage?" Mallet then confessed that he had a drama in his hands—Garrick promised to act it, and Alfred was produced.

Mallet, finding his health in a declining state, went, accompanied by his wife, to the south of France, for the benefit of a change of air, but after some time, finding no improvement, he returned to England, where he died on the 21st April, 1765. Dr Johnson says, "His stature was diminutive, but he was regularly formed. His appearance, till he grew corpulent, was agreeable, and he suffered it to want no recommendation that dress could give it." His second



wife is reported to have been particularly proud, and anxious that he should, at all times, appear like a man of the first rank. She reserved to herself the pleasing task of purchasing all his fine clothes, and was always sure to let her friends know it was out of her fortune she did so. As Mallet was what is called a free thinker in religion, his wife also, who prided herself in the strength of her understanding, scrupled not, when surrounded at her table with company of congenial opinions, amongst whom it is said Gibbon was a frequent guest, to enforce her dogmas in a truly authoritative style, prefacing them with the exclamation of "Sir,—We deists." As an additional proof of the vanity and weakness of this well-matched pair, we subjoin the following anecdotes from Wilkes's Correspondence, and Johnson's Lives of the Poets:—

"On his arrival from the north, he became a great declaimer at the London coffee-houses, against the Christian religion. Old surly Dennis was highly offended at his conduct, and always called him "Moloch." He then changed his name to Mallet, and soon after published an epistle to Mr Pope on Verbal Criticism. Theobald was attacked in it, and soon avenged himself in the new edition of Shakspeare: 'An anonymous writer has, like a Scotch peddler in wit, unbraced his pack on the subject. I may fairly say of this author, as Falstaff says of Poin—Haug him, baboon, his wit is as thick as Tewkesbury mustard; there is no more conceit in him than a *mallet*.'—Preface, p. 52, edition of 1733. This Malloch had the happiness of a wife, who had *faith* enough. She *believed* that her husband was the greatest poet and wit of the age. Sometimes she would seize his hand, and kiss it with rapture, and if the looks of a friend expressed any surprise, would apologize that it was the dear hand that wrote those divine poems. She was lamenting to a lady how much the reputation of her husband suffered by his name being so frequently confounded with that of Dr Smollett. The lady answered, 'Madam, there is a short remedy; let your husband keep his own name.'"

"When Pope published his Essay on Man, but concealed the author, Mallet entering one day, Pope asked him slightly what there was new. Mallet told him that the newest piece was *something* called an Essay on Man, which he had inspected idly, and seeing the utter inability of the author, who had neither skill in writing, nor knowledge of the subject, had tossed it away. Pope, to punish his self-conceit, told him the secret."

"Mallet's conversation," says Dr Johnson, "was elegant and easy, his works are such as a writer, bustling in the world, showing himself in public, and emerging, occasionally, from time to time, into notice, might keep alive by his personal influence; but which, conveying but little information, and giving no great pleasure, must soon give way, as the succession of things produces new topics of conversation, and other modes of amusement."

A daughter, by his first wife, named Cilezia, who was married to an Italian of rank, wrote a tragedy called "Almida," which was acted at Drury Lane theatre. She died at Genoa in 1790.

M'GAVIN, WILLIAM, a modern controversial and miscellaneous writer, was born August 12th, 1773, on the farm of Darnlaw, in the parish of Auchinleck, Ayrshire, which his father held on lease from lord Auchinleck, and afterwards from his son James Boswell, the biographer of Johnson. A short attendance at the school of that parish, when about seven years of age, constituted the whole education of a regular kind, which the subject of this memoir ever enjoyed. His parents having removed in 1783 to Paisley, and being in by no means affluent circumstances, he was sent at an early period of life to earn his bread as a draw-boy in one of the manufactories. Subsequently he tried weaving of silk, but eventually was led by his taste for reading to become apprentice



to Mr John Neilson, printer and bookseller; a situation highly congenial to his taste, and which afforded him the means of cultivating his mind to a considerable extent. Among various persons of talent and information who frequented Mr Neilson's shop was the unfortunate Alexander Wilson, poet, and afterwards the distinguished ornithologist, who, finding it necessary to remove to America, was assisted to no small extent by Mr M'Gavin. The popular opinions of that period were adopted in all their latitude by Mr M'Gavin; many fugitive pieces by him upon the question of parliamentary reform and other exciting topics, were received with approbation by those who professed similar sentiments; but it is not known that he took any more active part in the politics of the time.

The duty of reading proof-sheets in his master's shop was the circumstance which first led Mr M'Gavin to study the English language carefully; and, considering the limited nature of his education, it is surprising that he should have been able to attract notice as an author under the age of twenty.

In 1793, having left Mr Neilson's shop, he was found qualified to assist his elder brother in the management of a school, where writing, arithmetic, and mathematics were taught. Of this seminary he afterwards became sole master; but he ultimately abandoned teaching as a pursuit not agreeable to his genius or temper, and in 1798, was engaged as book-keeper and clerk by Mr David Lamb, an American cotton merchant, to whose two sons he at the same time acted as tutor. Some years afterwards, on Mr Lamb removing to America, Mr M'Gavin became his partner; the business was carried on in Glasgow. In 1805, Mr M'Gavin married Miss Isabella Campbell of Paisley. As his business was of a light nature, and Mrs M'Gavin brought him no children, he enjoyed more leisure for the cultivation of his mind than falls to the lot of most merchants in the busy capital of the west of Scotland. At a later period, after the death of his original patron, he entered into partnership with the son of that gentleman, and carried on what is called a West India business under the firm of M'Gavin and Lamb. This ultimately proving unprofitable, he was induced, in 1822, to undertake the Glasgow agency of the British Linen Company's bank, which he conducted without intermission till his death.

Mr M'Gavin was brought up by his parents in the strictest tenets of the presbyterian faith, as professed by the congregations of original anti-burghers. About the year 1800, a conscientious dissent from the views of this body respecting church government induced him to join the Rev. Mr Ramsay in the formation of an independent or congregational church. In this communion he began to exercise a gift of preaching, with which he was endowed in a remarkable degree, receiving from Mr Ramsay the ordination which was considered necessary for the pastoral office by this body of Christians. Eventually, circumstances so much reduced the society, as to make it cease to answer what he conceived to be the design and use of a church—namely, “not only the edification of its own members, but the public exhibition of their spirit and practice, for manifesting the glory of the grace of God, and promoting the salvation of men.” For this reason, in 1808, he joined the kindred congregation of Mr Greville Ewing in the Nile Street meeting-house, Glasgow, where he was soon afterwards invested with the office of deacon. Here he might have also continued to preach, if he had been willing; but he was now unable, from the pressure of business, to give the duty that attention which he deemed necessary, and accordingly resisted Mr Ewing's frequent and urgent solicitations, though he occasionally consented to perform public worship in the neighbouring villages, or in places where he thought such ministrations eminently necessary.

Being a man of uncommon industry, and equally great benevolence, Mr



M'Gavin found time, amidst his numerous mercantile avocations, to write a number of religious tracts and stories, for the improvement of the poorer and junior classes of society. Though these productions are of a class which do not usually attain a high place in literature, no reader, however indifferent to the subjects, or of however highly cultivated intellect, could peruse them, without remarking the extraordinary conciseness of style and moral force by which they are characterized. The most distinguished of all Mr M'Gavin's writings is his "Protestant," a series of papers, designed to expose the errors of the church of Rome, commenced in 1818, and finished in 1822. In the general decline of religious controversial writing, the celebrity acquired by this work, is a strong testimony to the powers of the author. In its collected form, in four volumes octavo, it went through no fewer than seven editions in the first ten years. According to Mr Greville Ewing, in a funeral sermon upon Mr M'Gavin, "the commencement of the work was casual, and the whole executed with hasty preparation. While engaged in a mercantile business of his own, he had at that time the winding up of an old concern of his partner, the heavy charge of another concern, which in the end proved a severe loss to him, besides other business matters, as factorships, references, as sole arbiter, in cases both from private parties and from the Court of Session, which he decided in a manner satisfactory to all concerned; and many other things were devolved on him, which none but a man of clear judgment, and unusually industrious habits, could have undertaken. A work which, otherwise, would have been extremely irksome, was rendered pleasant by the continued and increasing favour with which it was received by the public in general, and by the approbation of distinguished individuals in each of the three kingdoms. One of the most eminent bishops of the church of England offered to give him holy orders. That, however, which was most gratifying to the author, was the interest which he was honoured to excite in the public mind, with regard to the subject of popery. I make no attempt to give a particular account of the contents of this work. It is impossible, they are so extensive: it is unnecessary, they are so generally known. It is matter of notoriety, that Mr M'Gavin was prosecuted for certain articles in the Protestant, and had a verdict against him, imposing on him a fine of £100, which, with expenses, amounted to above £1200. Into the merits of these things I shall not enter, further than to state, in round numbers, that £800 of the £1200, was raised by public subscription, and that the whole, it was believed, would have been more than paid, had not each subscriber been limited to a certain sum. As the case had been so arranged, Mr M'Gavin was obliged, in the mean time, to pay the balance out of his own pocket; of which, great as the amount was, I never heard him complain. The publishers afterwards very handsomely came forward to reimburse the author, which, from the sale of the work, they were enabled to do without loss to themselves, though he had no claim upon them."

Mr M'Gavin, in 1827, superintended a new and improved edition of "The Scots Worthies," a work commemorating the lives of the most eminent Scottish clergy of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and originally written by an unlettered individual named John Howie, of Lochgoin. The book was greatly improved by the notes of Mr M'Gavin. He soon after published a refutation of the peculiar views of Mr Cobbett in his History of the Reformation; and a similar exposure of the principles of Mr Robert Owen. Being a decided enemy to the connexion of the church and state, he was induced to embody his sentiments on that subject in a pamphlet, entitled "Church Establishments considered; in a Series of Letters to a Covenanter." Not long before his death, Mr M'Gavin superintended a new and improved edition of Knox's History of



the Reformation ; and aided with an introduction, a work by the Rev. Mr John Brown of Whitburn, entitled " Memorials of the Nonconformist Ministers of the Seventeenth Century." In the midst of his divers labours, he suddenly died of apoplexy, August 23, 1832.

Of the intellectual vigour and religious fervour of Mr Mc'Gavin, his published writings afford a sufficient and lasting memorial. His personal qualities are not, however, fully shown in that mirror. His diligence in his ordinary secular employments, his zeal in promoting the religious and worldly interests of all who came under his notice, his mild and amiable character in private society, are traits which must be added. Two of his most conspicuous qualities—the power of a satirist, and a certain precision which appeared in all he either spoke or wrote—might be supposed incompatible with the tenderer lights of a domestic character. But in him the one set of qualities was not more conspicuous than the other. " His personal disposition," says Mr Ewing, " was that of the publican, who pleaded with God for mercy, when he went up into the temple to pray, and returned justified, because he that humbleth himself shall be exalted. Like Nathanael, he was an Israelite indeed in whom there was no guile. Like Paul, he was ready to call himself less than the least of all saints, and to ascribe his salvation to Jesus Christ having come into the world to save sinners, of whom he was a chief. He had, even in his natural temper, much tenderness of heart, much sincere and generous benevolence. If conscious of any quickness, which I have heard him acknowledge, but never saw, it was guarded by the vigilance of Christian meekness, and by the genuine modesty of superior good sense. Those, who knew him only from feeling the lash of his controversial writings, may have been tempted to think of him as an austere man. In truth, however, he was the very reverse.—The profits of the Protestant he once offered as a subscription to the society in this city for the support of the Catholic schools. The offer was declined, because some of the Roman catholic persuasion regarded it as an insult. I do not wonder at the misunderstanding. But had they known him as I did, and as he was known by all his familiar friends, they would have accepted of his offer, as a mark of his cordial good-will to a valuable institution."

MELVILLE, ANDREW, one of the principal public characters, and also one of the most eminent scholars of his time, was born on the 1st of August, 1545, at Baldovy, an estate on the banks of the South Esk, near Montrose, of which his father was proprietor. He was the youngest of nine sons, and had the misfortune to lose his father, who fell in the battle of Pinkie, while he was yet only two years of age. The death of his mother, also, soon afterwards took place, and he was thus left an orphan. The loss of his parents, however, was in a great measure compensated by the kindness and tenderness of his eldest brother, and the wife of that individual, both of whom watched over his infant years with the most anxious affection and assiduity. The long-tried and unwearied kindness of the latter, in particular, made a strong impression upon Melville, which lasted during the whole of his life.

His brother, perceiving his early propensity to learning, resolved to encourage it, and with this view gave him the best education which the country afforded. He was besides of a weakly habit of body, a consideration which had its weight in determining the line of life he should pursue. Young Melville was accordingly put to the grammar school of Montrose, where he acquired the elements of the Latin language, and, among other accomplishments, a knowledge of Greek, which was then a rare study in Scotland. When removed, in his fourteenth year, to the university of St Andrews, he surprised his teachers by his knowledge of Greek, with which they were wholly unacquainted. He was in-



debted for this fortunate peculiarity in his education, to a Frenchman of the name of Marsilliers, who had been established as a teacher of Greek in the school of Montrose, by John Erskine of Dun.

The great progress which young Melville had made in learning, excited the astonishment and attracted the attention of the various teachers in the university; particularly Mr John Douglas, the rector, who on one occasion having taken the young and weakly boy between his knees, was so delighted with his replies, when questioned on the subject of his studies, that he exclaimed, "My silly fatherless and motherless boy, it's ill to witt [to guess] what God may make of thee yet."

The reputation which Melville acquired soon after entering the college, increased with his stay there; and he left it, on finishing the usual course of study, with the character of being "the best philosopher, poet, and Grecian, of any young master in the land." Having acquired all the learning which his native country afforded, he resolved to proceed to the continent to complete his education; and, accordingly, with the consent of his brothers, set out for France in the autumn of 1564, being still only in the nineteenth year of his age. At the university of Paris, whither he repaired, he acquired a similar reputation for general talent, and particularly for his knowledge of Greek, with that which he had secured at St Andrews. Here he remained for two years, when he removed to Poitiers. On his arrival at the latter place, such was the celebrity already attached to his name, he was made regent in the college of St Marceon, although yet only twenty-one years of age. From Poitiers, he went some time afterwards to Geneva, where he was presented with the humanity chair in the academy, which happened fortunately to be then vacant. In 1574, he returned to his native country, after an absence altogether of ten years. On his arrival at Edinburgh, he was invited by the regent Morton to enter his family as a domestic instructor, with a promise of advancement when opportunity should offer. This invitation he declined, alleging that he preferred an academical life, and that the object of his highest ambition was to obtain an appointment in one of the universities. He now retired to Baldov, where he spent the following three months, enjoying the society of his elder brother, and amusing himself by superintending the studies of his nephew, James Melville.

At the end of this period, he was appointed principal of the college of Glasgow by the General Assembly, and immediately proceeded thither to assume the duties of his office. Here the learning and talents of Melville were eminently serviceable, not only to the university over which he presided, but to the whole kingdom. He introduced improvements in teaching and in discipline, which at once procured a high degree of popularity to the college, and greatly promoted the cause of general education throughout Scotland. Melville possessed a considerable share of that intrepidity for which his great predecessor, Knox, was so remarkable. At an interview, on one occasion, with the regent Morton, who was highly displeased with some proceedings of the General Assembly, of which Melville was a member, the former, irritated by what he conceived to be obstinacy in the latter, exclaimed, "There will never be quietness in this country, till half-a-dozen of you be hanged or banished."—"Hark, sir," said Melville, "threaten your courtiers after that manner. It is the same to me, whether I rot in the air or in the ground. The earth is the Lord's. *Patria est ubicunque est bene*. I have been ready to give my life where it would not have been half so well wared [expended], at the pleasure of my God. I have lived out of your country ten years, as well as in it. Let God be glorified: it will not be in your power to hang or exile his truth." It is not said



that the regent resented this bold language ; but probably his forbearance was as much owing to the circumstance of his resigning the regency, which he did soon after, as to any other cause.

In 1580, Melville was translated to St Andrews, to fill a similar situation with that which he occupied at Glasgow. Here he distinguished himself by the same ability which had acquired him so much reputation in the western university. Besides giving lectures on theology, he taught the Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac, and Rabbinical languages, and discovered such an extent of knowledge and superiority of acquirement, that his classes were attended, not only by young students in unusual numbers, but by several of the masters of the other colleges. In 1582, Melville opened, with sermon, an extraordinary meeting of the General Assembly, which had been convoked to take into consideration the dangerous state of the protestant church, from the influence which the earl of Arran, and the lords D'Aubigné and Lennox, exercised over the young king. In this sermon he boldly inveighed against the absolute authority which the court was assuming a right to exercise in ecclesiastical affairs, and alluded to a design on the part of France, of which D'Aubigné was the instrument, to re-establish the catholic religion in the country. The assembly, impressed with similar sentiments, and entertaining similar apprehensions, drew up a spirited remonstrance to the king, and appointed Melville to present it. He accordingly repaired to Perth, where the king then was, and, despite of some alarming reports which reached him, of the personal danger to which he would expose himself from the resentment of the king's favourites, demanded and obtained access to his majesty. When the remonstrance was read, Arran looked round the apartment, and exclaimed, in a tone of defiance and menace, "Who dares subscribe these treasonable articles?"—"We dare," replied Melville; and, taking a pen from the clerk, he affixed his signature to the document: an example which was immediately followed by the other commissioners who were with him. The cool and dignified intrepidity of Melville, completely silenced the blustering of Arran, who, finding himself at fault by this unexpected opposition, made no further remark; and Lennox, with better policy, having spoken to the commissioners in a conciliatory tone, they were peaceably dismissed. It seems probable, however, from what afterwards ensued, that Arran did not forget the humiliation to which Melville's boldness had on this occasion subjected him. In less than two years afterwards, Melville was summoned before the privy council, on a charge of high treason, founded upon some expressions which, it was alleged, he had made use of in the pulpit. Whether Arran was the original instigator of the prosecution, does not very distinctly appear; but it is certain that he took an active part in its progress, and expressed an eager anxiety for the conviction of the accused. Failing in establishing any thing to the prejudice of Melville, the council had recourse to an expedient to effect that which they could not accomplish through his indictment. They could not punish him for offences which they could not prove; but they found him guilty of declining the judgment of the council, and of behaving irreverently before them, and condemned him to be imprisoned in the castle of Edinburgh, and to be further punished in person and goods at his majesty's pleasure. The terms of the sentence, in so far as regarded the place of imprisonment, were afterwards altered by Arran, who substituted "Blackness," where he had a creature of his own as keeper, for Edinburgh. Several hours being allowed to Melville before he was put in ward, he availed himself of the opportunity, and made his escape to England. To this step, being himself in doubt whether he ought not rather to submit to the sentence of the council, he was urged by some of his friends, who, to his request for advice in the matter, replied, with the proverb of the house of



Angus, "Loose and living;" which pretty plainly intimates what they conceived would be the result, if he permitted himself to be made "fast." On leaving Edinburgh, Melville first proceeded to Berwick, and thence to London, where he remained till the November of 1585. The indignation of the kingdom having then driven Arran from the court, he returned to Scotland, after an absence of twenty months. The plague, which had raged in the country while he was in England, having dispersed his pupils at St Andrews, and the college being, from this and other causes, in a state of complete disorganization, he did not immediately resume his duties there, but proceeded to Glasgow, where he remained for some time. In the month of March following, induced by an appearance of more settled times, he returned to St Andrews, and recommenced his lectures and former course of instruction. These, however, were soon again interrupted. In consequence of the active part which he took in the excommunication of archbishop Adamson, who was accused of overthrowing the scriptural government and discipline of the church of Scotland, he was commanded by the king to leave St Andrews, and to confine himself beyond the water of Tay. From this banishment he was soon afterwards recalled; and, having been restored to his majesty's favour, through the intercession of the dean of faculty and masters of the university, he resumed his academical labours at St Andrews.

In the year following (1587,) he was chosen moderator of the General Assembly, and appointed one of their commissioners to the ensuing meeting of parliament. A similar honour with the first was conferred upon him in 1589, and again in 1594. In the year following, he was invited to take a part in the ceremonies at the coronation of the queen, which took place in the chapel of Holyrood, on the 17th of May. On this occasion, although he did not know, until only two days before, that he was expected to take a part in the approaching ceremony, he composed and delivered, before a great concourse of noblemen and gentlemen, assembled to witness the coronation, a Latin poem, which, having been printed next day at the earnest solicitation of his majesty, who was much pleased with it, under the title of "Stephaniskion," and circulated throughout Europe, added greatly to the reputation which its author had already acquired. An instance of the generosity of Melville's disposition, which occurred about this time, cannot be passed over, however brief the sketch of his life may be, without doing an injustice to his memory. Archbishop Adamson, one of his most irreconcilable enemies, having lost the favour of the king, was reduced, by the sequestration of his annuity, which immediately followed, to great pecuniary distress. He applied to Melville for relief, and he did not apply in vain. Melville immediately visited him, and undertook to support himself and his family at his own expense, until some more effective and permanent assistance could be procured for him; and this he did for several months, finally obtaining a contribution for him from his friends in St Andrews. Such instances of benevolence are best left to the reader's own reflections, and are only injured by comment.

In 1590, he was chosen rector of the university; an office which he continued to hold by re-election for many years, and in which he displayed a firmness and decision of character on several trying occasions, that gives him a claim to something more than a mere literary reputation. Though a loyal subject in the best sense and most genuine acceptation of that term, he frequently addressed king James in language much more remarkable for its plainness than its courtesy. He had no sympathy whatever for the absurdities of that prince, and would neither condescend to humour his foibles nor flatter his vanity. A remarkable instance of this plain dealing with his majesty, occurred in 1596. In that year, Melville formed one of a deputation from the commissioners of the



General Assembly, who met at Cupar in Fife, being appointed to wait upon the king at Falkland, for the purpose of exhorting him to prevent the consequences of certain measures inimical to religion, which his council were pursuing. James Melville, nephew of the subject of this memoir, was chosen spokesman of the party, on account of the mildness of his manner and the courteousness of his address. On entering the presence, he accordingly began to state the object and views of the deputation. He had scarcely commenced, however, when the king interrupted him, and in passionate language, denounced the meeting at Cupar as illegal and seditious. James Melville was about to reply with his usual mildness, when his uncle, stepping forward, seized the sleeve of the king's gown, and calling his sacred majesty "God's silly vassal," proceeded to lecture him on the impropriety of his conduct, and to point out to him the course which he ought to pursue, particularly in matters of ecclesiastical polity. "Sir," he said, "we will always humbly reverence your majesty in public; but since we have this occasion to be with your majesty in private, and since you are brought in extreme danger both of your life and crown, and, along with you, the country and the church of God are like to go to wreck, for not telling you the truth, and giving you faithful counsel, we must discharge our duty or else be traitors both to Christ and you. Therefore, Sir, as divers times before I have told you, so now again I must tell you, there are two kings and two kingdoms in Scotland: there is king James, the head of this commonwealth, and there is Christ Jesus the king of the church, whose subject James the Sixth is, and of whose kingdom he is not a king, nor a lord, nor a head, but a member." Melville went on in a similar strain with this for a great length of time, notwithstanding repeated attempts, on the part of the king, to stop him. James expressed the strongest repugnance at the outset to listen to him, and endeavoured to frighten him from his purpose by a display of the terrors of offended royalty, but in vain. He was finally compelled to listen quietly and patiently to all that Melville chose to say. At the conclusion of the speech, the king, whose anger, and whose courage also probably, had subsided during its delivery, made every concession which was required; and the deputation returned without any loss, apparently, of royal favour. It was not, however, to be expected, that Melville should have gained any ground in the king's affections by this display of sincerity and zeal; nor were the future interviews which took place between them better calculated for this end. The very next which occurred is thus alluded to in his nephew's diary: "And ther they (the king and Melville) heeled on, till all the hous and clos bathe hard nikle, of a large houre. In end, the king takes up and dismissis him favourable."

However favourably James may have dismissed him, he does not seem to have been unwilling to avail himself of the first opportunity which should offer of getting rid of him. At a royal visitation of the university of St Andrews, which soon afterwards took place, matter of censure against Melville was eagerly sought after, and all who felt disposed to bring any complaint against him, were encouraged to come forward with their accusations. The result was, that a large roll, filled with charges against him, was put into the king's hands. He was accused of neglecting the pecuniary affairs of the college, and the duties of his office as a teacher, of agitating questions of policy in place of lecturing on divinity, and of inculcating doctrines subversive of the king's authority and of the peace of the realm. At several strict examinations, he gave such satisfactory explanations of his conduct, and defended himself so effectually against the slanders of those who sought his ruin, that the visitors were left without any ground or pretext on which to proceed against him. They, however, deprived him of the rectorship, on the plea that it was improper that that office should be united



with the professorship of theology, the appointment which Melville held in the university.

The accession of James to the English throne, did not abate his desire to assume an absolute control over the affairs of the church of Scotland, and long after his removal to England, he continued to entertain designs hostile to its liberties. The attempts which he had made to obtain this supremacy, while he was yet in Scotland, had been thwarted in a great measure by the exertions of Melville. His intrepidity kept James at bay, and his zeal, activity, and talents, deprived him of all chance of succeeding, by chicanery or cunning. Melville still presented himself as a stumbling-block in his way, should he attempt to approach the Scottish church with inimical designs, and James, therefore, now resolved that he should be entirely removed from the kingdom. To accomplish this, he had recourse to one of those infamous and unprincipled stratagems which he considered the very essence of "king craft." In May 1606, Melville received a letter from his majesty, commanding him to repair to London before the 15th of September next, that his majesty might consult with him, and others of his learned brethren, regarding ecclesiastical matters, with the view of healing all differences, and securing a good understanding between his majesty and the church. Letters of a similar tenor were received by seven other clergymen, amongst whom was Melville's nephew.

Though not without some doubts regarding the result of this rather extraordinary invitation, Melville and his brethren set out for London, where they arrived on the 25th of August. The first interview of the Scottish clergymen with the king was sufficiently gracious. He inquired for news from Scotland, and condescended even to be jocular. This, however, did not last long; at the subsequent conferences Melville found himself called upon, by the sentiments which the king expressed regarding church matters, to hold the same bold and plain language to him which he had so often done in Scotland, and this too in the presence of great numbers of his English courtiers, who could not refrain from expressing their admiration of Melville's boldness, and of the eloquence with which he delivered his sentiments. In the mean time, however, the Scottish ministers were interdicted from returning to Scotland without the special permission of the king. On the 28th September they were required by his majesty to give attendance in the royal chapel on the following day to witness the celebration of the festival of St Michael. The ceremonies and fooleries of the exhibition which took place on this occasion, were so absurd, and so nearly approached those of the Romish church, that they excited in Melville a feeling of the utmost indignation and contempt. This feeling he expressed in a Latin epigram, which he composed on returning to his lodgings. A copy of the lines found their way to his majesty, who was greatly incensed by them, and determined to proceed against their author on the ground that they were treasonable. He was accordingly summoned before the privy council, found guilty of scandalum magnatum, and after a confinement of nearly twelve months, first in the house of the dean of St Paul's, and afterwards in that of the bishop of Winchester, was committed to the Tower, where he remained a prisoner for four years. The other clergymen who had accompanied Melville to London were allowed to return to Scotland; but they were confined to particular parts of the country, and forbidden to attend any church courts. Melville's nephew was commanded to leave London within six days, and to repair to Newcastle upon Tyne, and not to go ten miles beyond that town on the pain of rebellion.

In the month of February, 1611, Melville was released from the Tower on the application of the duke of Bouillon, who had solicited his liberty from the king, in order to procure his services as a professor in his university at Sedan



in France. Melville, who was now in the 66th year of his age, was exceedingly reluctant to go abroad; but, as this was a condition of his liberty, and as there was no hope of the king's being prevailed upon to allow him to return to Scotland, he submitted to the expatriation, and sailed for France on the 19th of April.

On his arrival at Paris he was fortunate enough to fall in with one of his scholars then prosecuting his studies there, by whom he was kindly and affectionately received. After spending a few days in the French capital he repaired to Sedan, and was admitted to the place destined for him in the university.

In the year following he removed to Grenoble, to superintend the education of three sons of the treasurer of the parliament of Dauphiny, with a salary of five hundred crowns per annum; but, not finding the situation an agreeable one, he returned within a short time to Sedan, and resumed his former duties. Melville continued to maintain a close correspondence with his numerous friends in Scotland, and particularly with his nephew, James Melville, to whom he was warmly attached. Of him, his best, most constant, and dearest friend, however, he was soon to be deprived. That amiable man, who had adhered to him through good and bad fortune, through storm and sunshine, for a long series of years, died in the beginning of the year 1614. The grief of Melville on receiving the intelligence of his death was deep and poignant. He gave way to no boisterous expression of feeling; but he felt the deprivation with all the keenness which such a calamity is calculated to inflict on an affectionate heart. With his fondest wishes still directed towards his native land, he requested his friends in London to embrace any favourable opportunity which might offer of procuring his restoration; and in 1616, a promise was obtained from his majesty, that he would be relieved from banishment. This, promise, however, like many others of James's, was never realized. Melville, after all that he had done for his country, was doomed to breathe his last an exile in a foreign land. To compensate in some measure for the misfortunes which clouded his latter days, he was blessed with a more than ordinary share of bodily health, and that to a later period of life than is often to be met with. "Am I not," he says, in a letter to a friend written in the year 1612, "three score and eight years old, unto the which age none of my fourteen brethren came; and, yet I thank God, I eat, I drink, I sleep as well as I did these thirty years bygone, and better than when I was younger—in *ipso flore adolescentiæ*,—only the gravel now and then seasons my mirth with some little pain, which I have felt only since the beginning of March the last year, a month before my deliverance from prison. I feel, thank God, no abatement of the alacrity and ardour of my mind for the propagation of the truth. Neither use I spectacles now more than ever, yea I use none at all nor ever did, and see now to read Hebrew without points, and in the smallest characters." With this good bodily health, he also enjoyed to the close of his life that cheerfulness of disposition and vivacity of imagination for which he was distinguished in earlier years, and in the seventy-fourth year of his age he is found vying with the most sprightly and juvenile of his colleagues in the composition of an epithalamium on the occasion of the marriage of the eldest daughter of his patron the duke of Bouillon.

Years, however, at length undermined a constitution which disease had left untouched until the very close of life. In 1620, his health which had previously been slightly impaired, grew worse, and in the course of the year 1622, he died at Sedan, in the seventy-seventh year of his age.

The benefits which Melville conferred on his country in the department of its literature are thus spoken of by Dr Mc'Crie: "His arrival imparted a new impulse to the public mind, and his high reputation for learning, joined to the



enthusiasm with which he pleaded its cause, enabled him to introduce an improved plan of study into all the universities. By his instructions and example, he continued and increased the impulse which he had first given to the minds of his countrymen. In languages, in theology, and in that species of poetical composition which was then most practised among the learned, his influence was direct and acknowledged." The services which he rendered the civil and religious liberties of his country are recorded by the same able author in still stronger terms. "If the love of pure religion," he says, "rational liberty, and polite letters, forms the basis of national virtue and happiness, I know no individual, after her reformer, from whom Scotland has received greater benefits, and to whom she owes a deeper debt of gratitude and respect, than Andrew Melville."

MELVILLE, JAMES, with whose history are connected many most interesting facts in the ecclesiastical and literary history of Scotland, was born at Baldov, near Montrose, on the 25th of July, 1556.<sup>1</sup> His father was Richard Melville of Baldov, the friend of Wishart the Martyr, and of John Erskine of Dun, and the elder brother of Andrew Melville. Soon after the Reformation, this gentleman became minister of Mary-Kirk, in the immediate neighbourhood of his property, and continued so till the close of his life. He married Isobel Scrimgeour, sister of the laird of Glasswell, a woman of great "godlines, honestie, vertew, and affection." James Melville was, therefore, to use his own expression, descended "of godlie, faithfull, and honest parents, bathe lightned with the light of the gospell, at the first dawning of the day tharof within Scotland."

The mother of James Melville having died about a year after his birth, he was placed under the care of a nurse, "an evill inclynit woman;" and after being weaned, was lodged in the house of a cottar, from whence, when he was about four or five years old, he was brought home to Baldov. He and his elder brother David were soon afterwards sent to a school, kept by Mr William Gray, minister of Logie-Montrose, "a guid, lerned, kynd man." This school was broken up, partly by the removal of some of the boys perhaps to attend the universities, but more immediately by the ravages of the plague at Montrose, from which Logie was only two miles distant. James and his brother, therefore, returned home, after having attended it for about five years. During the following winter, they remained at home, receiving from their father such occasional instruction as his numerous duties permitted him to give them. At this period, Richard Melville seems to have intended that both his sons should be trained to agricultural pursuits, there being no learned profession in which a livelihood, even of a very moderate kind, could be obtained. In the spring, it was resolved that, as the elder brother was sufficiently old to assist in superintending his father's rural affairs, he should remain at home, and that James should be sent again to school. He accordingly attended a school at Montrose, of which Andrew Milne, afterwards minister of Fetteresso, was master. Here he continued about two years.

Of the whole of this period of his life, James Melville has left a most interesting account; and we only regret that, from the length to which this memoir must otherwise extend, we are unable to give any thing more than a very rapid sketch of this and the subsequent part of his education. He entered on his philosophical course at St Leonard's college in the university of St Andrews, in November, 1571, under the care of William Collace, one of the regents. At first he found himself unable to understand the Latin prelections, and was so much chagrined that he was frequently found in tears; but the regent took

<sup>1</sup> In a note on this date in his Diary, he says, "My vncle, Mr Andro, hauids that I was born in An. 1557."



him to lodge at his apartments, and was so much pleased with the sweetness of his disposition, and his anxiety to learn, that he made him the constant object of his care, and had the satisfaction of seeing him leave the university, after having attained its highest honours. During the prescribed period of four years, Melville was taught logic, (including the Aristotelian philosophy,) mathematics, ethics, natural philosophy, and law. At the end of the third year, he, according to the usual custom, took the degree of Bachelor, and, on finishing the fourth, that of Master of Arts. One of the most interesting events recorded by James Melville to have occurred during his residence at St Andrews, was the arrival of John Knox there in 1571; and he alludes with much feeling to the powerful effects produced on his mind by the sermons of the reformer.

After finishing his philosophical education, James Melville returned to his father's house, where he prosecuted his studies during the summer months. Having finished that part of his education which was necessary for general purposes, it was now requisite that he should determine what profession he should adopt. His father had destined him for that of a lawyer; but although James had studied some parts of that profession, and had attended the consistorial court at St Andrews, his heart "was nocht sett that way." Deference to his father's wishes had hitherto prevented him offering any decided opposition to his intentions, but he had at this period taken means to show the bent of his mind. Choosing a passage in St John's Gospel for his text, he composed a sermon, which he put in a book used by his father in preparing his weekly sermons. The MS. was accordingly found, and pleased his father exceedingly. But James was now luckily saved the pain of either opposing the wishes of a kind, but somewhat austere parent, or of applying himself to a profession for the study of which he had no affection, by an unlooked for accident—the arrival of his uncle, Andrew Melville, from the continent. To him his father committed James, "to be a pledge of his love," and they were destined to be for many years companions in labour and in adversity.

James Melville had left the university with the character of a diligent and accomplished student. He had flattered himself that he had exhausted those subjects which had come under his attention, but he was now to be subjected to a severe mortification. When his uncle examined him, he found that he was yet but a mere child in knowledge, and that many years of study were still necessary, before he could arrive at the goal which he had supposed himself to have already reached. James's mortification did not, however, lead him to sit down in despair. He renewed his studies with the determination to succeed, and revised, under his uncle's directions, both his classical and philosophical education. "That quarter of yeir," says he, "I thought I gat graitter light in letters nor all my tyme befor. . . . And all this as it wer by crack-ing and playing, sa that I lernit mikle mair by heiring of him [Andrew Melville] in daylie conversation, bathe that quarter and thereafter, nor euer I lernit of anie buik, whowbeit he set me euer to the best authors."

Endowed with such talents and acquirements, it will readily be believed that Andrew Melville was not allowed to remain long idle. He was soon after his return invited to become principal of the university of Glasgow; an appointment which, after a short trial, he agreed to accept. In October, 1574, he left Baldovoy to undertake the duties of his office, taking with him his nephew, who was, in the following year, appointed one of the regents. The labours of Andrew Melville at Glasgow, have been already noticed in his life, and we shall, therefore, only extend our inquiries here to the course adopted by the subject of this memoir. For the first year, James Melville taught his class "the Greek grammar, Isocrates Parænesis ad Demonicum, the first buk of Homers Iliads,



Phocylides, Hesiods *Εργα και Ημεραι*, the Dialectic of Ramus, the Rhetoric of Talaus, with the practise in Ciceros Catilinars and Paradoxes." "The second year of my regenting," says James Melville, "I teachit the elements of arithmetic and geometrie, out [of] Psellus, for shortnes; the Offices of Cicero; Aristotles Logic in Greek, and Ethic, (and was the first regent that ever did that in Scotland;) also, Platoes Phaedon and Axiochus; and that profession of the mathematiks, logic, and morall philosophie, I keipit (as everie ane of the regents keipit their awin, the schollars ay ascending and passing throw) sa lang as I regented ther, even till I was, with Mr Andro, transported to St Andros." His private hours were devoted to the study of the Hebrew language, and of theology. He had already, upon one occasion, given proof of his talents for public teaching, and he had now an opportunity of continuing his labours. It was a custom that each regent should, for a week in turn, conduct the students to a church near the college, where the citizens also attended, to hear prayers and one or two chapters of the Scriptures read. The regents had hitherto confined themselves exclusively to these limits, probably from a feeling of their inability to offer any commentary; but James Melville, taking a general view of the passages read, gave them a summary of the doctrines enforced, and accompanied it with an application to the situations of his hearers. "This pleasisit and comfortit guid peiple verie mikle."

The routine of academical instruction affords but few materials for biography. James Melville has therefore recorded little relative to himself at this period of his life, except an attack made upon him by one of the students, and the occurrences consequent upon it. But although this affair originated with him, it belongs more properly to the life of Andrew Melville, who as principal of the college, acted the most prominent part in all the subsequent proceedings.

Andrew Melville had now accomplished nearly all that zeal or talent could effect for the university of Glasgow. Its revenues were improved,—its character as a seat of learning raised much above that of any of the other Scottish universities,—the number of students was greatly increased, and its discipline maintained with a degree of firmness, of the necessity of which, however sceptical modern readers may be, the attack to which we have just alluded is a most decided proof. The Assembly which met at Edinburgh therefore ordained that Melville should remove to the new college of St Andrews, "to begin the wark of theologie ther with sic as he thought meit to tak with him for that effect, conform to the leat reformation of that universitie, and the new college therof, giffen be the kirk and past in parliament." Availing himself of the privilege thus granted of nominating his assistants, he requested his nephew to accompany him. James had for some time resolved upon going to France, but he had too much respect for his uncle to refuse his request. They therefore removed together from Glasgow in the month of November, 1580, leaving Thomas Smeton "a man of singular gifts of learning and godlines," and Patrick Melville, a young gentleman who had lately finished his philosophical studies, as their successors.

In December they entered upon the duties of their respective professions. After his preface, or inaugural discourse, James Melville commenced teaching his students the Hebrew grammar. There were, probably, few young men in the country who, either from their opportunities of acquiring knowledge, or their desire to improve under them, were better qualified to discharge this office well; but his natural diffidence caused him a degree of anxiety, which many less accomplished masters have not experienced. "The grait fear and cear," says he in his Diary, "quhilk was in my heart of my inabilityie to vu-



dertak and bear out sa grait a charge as to profess theologie and holie tounges amangis ministers and maisters, namelie [especially] in that maist frequent vniuersitie of St Andros, amangs diuers alterit and displacit, and therfor malcontents and mislykers, occupied me sa, that I behovit to forget all, and rin to my God and my buik."

During the earlier period of their residence at St Andrews, Andrew Melville and his nephew had many difficulties to encounter. The former principal and professors annoyed their successors by "pursuit of the compts of the college." The regents of St Leonards, enraged that the philosophy of their almost deified Aristotle should be impugned, raised a commotion; and, to quote the appropriate allusion of James Melville, cried out with one voice, Great is Diana of the Ephesians. The provost and baillies, with the prior and his gentlemen pensioners, were suspected of corrupt proceedings, especially in the provision of a minister for the town, and the opposition and exposures of Andrew Melville thus raised up for him and his fellow labourers another host of enemies. These were all open and avowed opponents, but they had one to deal with, who, as yet wearing the mask of friendship, was secretly plotting their own and the church's ruin,—this person was archbishop Adamson. Add to all this, that immediately after their settlement at St Andrews, the carelessness of one of the students had nearly been the cause of setting the establishment on fire, and we shall be abundantly persuaded that it required no small energy of mind, such as Andrew Melville indeed possessed, not only to bear up in such a situation, but successively to baffle all the opposition that was offered to him.

But amidst many discouragements which the more sensitive mind of James Melville must have keenly felt, he had also many cheering employments. He was engaged in duties which we have seen had been, from an early period, the objects of his greatest desire,—he was the teacher of some promising young men, who afterwards became shining lights in the church, and he had the gratification of being requested to occupy the pulpit on many occasions, when there was no minister in the town, or when the archbishop happened to be absent.

At the Assembly which met at Edinburgh in December 1592, James Melville was earnestly requested to become minister of Stirling. For himself he felt much inclined to accede to the wishes of the inhabitants, and the more so as he was now on the eve of his marriage; but his uncle, considering the affairs of the college still in too precarious a state to admit of his leaving it, refused his consent, and James Melville did not consider it respectful to urge his own wishes. It was indeed fortunate that he was not permitted at this period to leave the college, for in the very next year his uncle was required to appear before the king and privy council, for certain treasonable speeches alleged to have been uttered in his sermons. When the summons (which ordered him to appear in three days) was served, James Melville was in the shire of Angus, and could not upon so sudden a requisition return to St Andrews in time to accompany him to Edinburgh. He arrived, however, on the second day of his trial, if indeed the proceedings deserved that name. Passing over the minute circumstances of this transaction, our narrative only requires that we should state that Andrew Melville found it necessary to insure his safety by a flight into England.

In these discouraging circumstances, James Melville was obliged to return to St Andrews to undertake the management of the affairs of the college,—with what feelings it may readily be judged. When he considered the magnitude of his charge, and the situation of the church, he was completely overpowered; but the duration of his grief was short in proportion to its violence, and he soon found the truest remedy in applying his whole energies to the performance of his in-



creased duties. He taught divinity from his uncle's chair, besides continuing his labours in the department which properly belonged to him. Nor was this all: the *Economus* of the college, finding himself in the service of a party from whom little advantage or promotion could be expected, gave up his office, and thus did the provision of the daily wants of the institution fall to Melville's lot. In the performance of these duties, so arduous and so varied, he was greatly supported by the masters of the university who attended his lectures, and gave him many encouragements. But his greatest comfort was derived from the society of the afterwards celebrated Robert Bruce of Kinnaird, who, abandoning his attendance on the courts of law, had, with his father's permission, begun the study of theology at St Andrews.

Harmless, however, as a person whose attention was thus so completely occupied by his own duties must certainly have been, the government did not long permit James Melville to retain his station. The acts of the parliament 1584, by which the presbyterian form of church government was overthrown, were proclaimed at the market cross of Edinburgh, and protested against by Robert Pont and others, in behalf of the church. We have already alluded to the malpractices of archbishop Adamson. About the beginning of May, 1584, Melville had gone to one of the northern counties to collect the revenues of the college. It had, perhaps, been conjectured by the episcopal party, to their no small gratification, that, finding himself unable to comply conscientiously with the late enactments, he had retired, with some of the other ministers, into England. If so, they must have been grievously disappointed by his return. It was certainly not long till the archbishop abundantly manifested his real dispositions; for, on the Sunday immediately following, Melville was informed that a warrant for his apprehension was already in that prelate's possession, and that he was to proceed immediately to its execution. At the earnest desire of his friends, he was prevailed on to remove to Dundee, where he had no sooner arrived, than he learned that a search had been made for him in every part of the college, and that an indictment had been prepared against him, for holding communication with his uncle, the king's rebel. But his removal to Dundee could serve only a very temporary purpose, for it must very soon have become known, and would then have ceased to be any security for his liberty. After the most anxious consideration, he resolved to accept an offer made him by one of his cousins, to take him by sea to Berwick. This gentleman, hiring a small boat under the pretext of conveying some of his wines to one of the coast towns in the neighbourhood, took in Melville in the disguise of a shipwrecked seaman; and, after a voyage, not less dangerous from the risk of detection, than from a violent storm which overtook them, landed him safely at Berwick, where he met his uncle and the other ministers who had been obliged to flee.

The suddenness with which James Melville had been obliged to leave St Andrews, prevented him taking his wife along with him; to have done so, would, in fact, have endangered the whole party. But, after arriving at Berwick, he immediately sent back his cousin, Alexander Scrymgeour, with a letter, requesting this lady (a daughter of John Dury, minister of Edinburgh) to join him. This she had very soon an opportunity of doing, by placing herself under the care of a servant of the English ambassador, and she accordingly remained with her husband during the short period of his exile. At Berwick they resided for about a month; and there, as in every other place, James Melville's amiable and affectionate dispositions procured him many friends. Among these was the lady of Sir Harry Widdrington, governor of the town, under lord Hunsdon. In the mean time, he was invited by the earls of Angus and Mar, then at Newcastle, to become their pastor. Being totally ignorant of the characters of these



noblemen, and of the cause of their exile, he felt unwilling to connect himself with their party, and therefore replied to their invitation, that he could not comply with it, as he had never qualified himself for performing the ministerial functions; but that, as he had determined upon removing to the south, he should visit them on his way thither. When he arrived at Newcastle, he determined upon immediately securing a passage by sea to London; but John Davidson, one of his former masters at St Andrews, and now minister of Prestonpans, informed him that it was not only his own earnest desire, but that of all their brethren, that he should remain at Newcastle with the exiled lords, whose characters and cause he vindicated. To their wishes, Melville therefore acceded.

Soon after his settlement at Newcastle, Davidson, who had only waited his arrival, departed, and left him to discharge the duties alone. Thinking it proper that, before entering on his labours, the order of their religious observances and their discipline should be determined, he drew up "the order and maner of exercise of the word for instruction, and discipline for correction of manners, used in the companie of those godlie and noble men of Scotland in tyme of thair aboad in Englande, for the guid cause of God's kirk, thair king and countrey," and prefixed to it an exhortative letter to the noblemen and their followers. This prefatory epistle commences by an acknowledgment that their present calamities were the just chastisements of the Almighty, for their lukewarmness in the work of reformation,—for permitting the character of their sovereign to be formed by the society of worthless and interested courtiers,—for their pursuit of their own aggrandizement, rather than the good of their country,—and for the violation of justice, and connivance at many odious and unnatural crimes. But while *they* had thus rendered themselves the subjects of the Divine vengeance, how great had been the crimes of the court! It had followed the examples of Ahaz and Uzzah, in removing the altar of the Lord,—it had deprived the masters of their livings, and desolated the schools and universities,—it had said to the preachers, "Prophecy no longer to us in the name of the Lord, but speak unto us pleasant things according to our liking,"—it had taken from others the key of knowledge,—it entered not in, and those that would enter in, it suffered not: finally, it had threatened the ministers, God's special messengers, with imprisonment and death, and, following out its wicked designs, had compelled them to flee to a foreign land. "Can the Lord suffer these things long," Melville continues with great energy, "and be just in executing of his judgments, and pouring out of his plagues upon his cursed enemies? Can the Lord suffer his sanctuary to be defiled, and his own to smart, and be the Father of mercies, God of consolation, and most faithful keeper of his promises? Can the Lord suffer his glory to be given to another? Can he who hath promised to make the enemies of Christ Jesus his footstool, suffer them to tread on his head? Nay, nay, right honourable and dear brethren, he has anointed him King on his holy mountain; he has given him all nations for an inheritance; he has put into his hand a sceptre of iron, to bruise in powder these earthen vessels. When his wrath shall once begin to kindle but a little, he shall make it notoriously known to all the world, that they only are happy who in humility kiss the Lord Jesus, and trust in him." He then concludes by a solemn admonition, that with true repentance,—with unfeigned humiliation,—with diligent perusal of God's word,—and with fervent prayer, meditation, and zeal, they should prosecute the work of God, under the assurance that their labours should not be in vain. He warns them of the diligence of the enemies of God's church,—exhorts them to equal diligence in a good cause,—and reminds them that the ministers of Christ shall be witnesses against them, if they should be found slumbering at their posts. At the request of Archibald, earl of



Angus, Melville also drew up a "list of certain great abuses;" but as it is in many points a recapitulation of the letter just quoted from, no further allusion to it is here necessary.

About a month after the commencement of his ministrations, Melville was joined by Mr Patrick Galloway, who divided the labours with him. His family was now on the increase, and it was considered necessary to remove to Berwick, where he remained as minister of that congregation till the birth of his first child,—a son, whom he named Ephraim, in allusion to his fruitfulness in a strange land. Notwithstanding the stratagems of captain James Stewart, by which lord Hunsdon was induced to forbid them to assemble in the church, the congregation obtained leave, through the kind offices of lady Widdrington, to meet in a private house; and Melville mentions that he was never more diligently or more profitably employed, than during that winter. But the pleasure which he derived from the success of his ministrations, was more than counterbalanced by the conduct of some of his brethren at home.

It was about this period that many of the Scottish clergy, led on by the example of John Craig, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, signed a deed, binding themselves to obey the late acts of parliament, as far as "according to the word of God." Melville saw the confusions which the introduction of such an equivocal clause must produce. He accordingly addressed a most affectionate but faithful letter, to the subscribing ministers, in which he exhibited, at great length, the sinfulness of their compliance, and the handle which such a compromise must give to the enemies of religion. This letter, as it encouraged the firm, and confirmed the wavering, was proportionally the object of hatred to the court. Two of the students at St Andrews, being detected copying it for distribution, were compelled to flee; and no means seem to have been omitted to check its circulation, or to weaken the force of its statements.

About the middle of February, 1584-5, the noblemen, finding their present residence too near the borders, determined upon removing farther to the south. James Melville, therefore, prepared to follow. In the beginning of March, he and a few friends embarked for London, where they arrived, after a voyage rendered tedious by contrary winds; and, being joined by their companions in exile, were not a little comforted. Soon after his arrival, Melville resumed his ministerial labours.

Many circumstances, which it is not necessary to detail here, conspired to render their exile much shorter than their fondest wishes could have anticipated. As soon as the noblemen of their party had accommodated their disputes with the king, the brethren received a letter (dated at Stirling, 6th November, 1585) from their fellow ministers, urging them to return with all possible expedition. James Melville, and Robert Dury, one of his most intimate friends, therefore, left London, and, after encountering many dangers during the darkness of the nights, arrived at Linlithgow. There he found his brethren under great depression of mind: they had vainly expected from the parliament, then sitting, the abrogation of the obnoxious acts of 1584; and they had a further cause of grief in the conduct of Craig, the leader of the subscribing ministers. After much expectation, and many fruitless attempts to persuade the king of the impropriety of the acts, they were obliged to dismiss, having previously presented a supplication, earnestly craving that no ultimate decision respecting the church might be adopted, without the admission of free discussion.

During the following winter, James Melville was occupied partly in the arrangement of his family affairs, but principally in re-establishing order in the university. The plague, which had for some time raged with great violence, was now abated, and the people, regaining their former confidence, had begun



to return to their ordinary affairs. Taking advantage of this change, the two Melvilles resolved on resuming their labours, and accordingly entered on their respective duties about the middle of March. In the beginning of April the Synod of Fife convened, and it was the duty of James Melville, as moderator at the last meeting, to open their proceedings with a sermon. He chose for his text that part of the twelfth chapter of St Paul's Epistle to the Romans, in which the Christian church is compared to the human body,—composed, like it, of many members, the harmonious operation of which is essential to the health of the whole. After showing by reference to Scripture what was the constitution of the true church,—refuting the doctrine of “the human and devilish bishopric,”—adverting to the purity of the reformed constitution of their church, and proving that the inordinate ambition of a few had been in all ages the destruction of that purity—he turned towards the archbishop, who was sitting with great pomp in the assembly, charged him with the overthrow of the goodly fabric, and exhorted the brethren to cut off so unworthy a member from among them. Notwithstanding the remonstrances and protests of the prelate, the Synod immediately took up the case,—went on, with an inattention to *all* the forms of decency and *some* of those of justice which their warmest advocates do not pretend to vindicate, and ordered him to be excommunicated by Andrew Hunter, minister of Carnbee. Thus, by the fervour of their zeal, and perhaps goaded on by personal wrongs, did an Assembly, composed, in the main, of worthy men, subject themselves to censure in the case of a man of a character disgraceful to his profession; and whom, had they been content to act with more moderation, nothing but the strong hand of civil power could have screened from their highest censures, while even *it* could not have defended him from deserved infamy.

But the informality of the Synod's proceedings gave their enemies an unfortunate hold over them, and was the means of baffling their own ends. By the influence of the king, the General Assembly, which met soon afterwards, annulled their sentence, and the Melvilles, being summoned before the king, were commanded to confine themselves,—Andrew to his native place, and James to his college. Thus did matters continue during that summer. James Melville lectured to a numerous audience on the sacred history, illustrating it by reference to geography and chronology. On each alternate day he read lectures on St Paul's Epistle to Timothy, in the course of which he took many opportunities of attacking the hated order of bishops.

Melville was now to obtain what had all along been the object of his highest wishes—a settlement as minister of a parish. In 1583, the charge of the conjunct parishes of Abercrombie, Pittenweem, Anstruther, and Kilrenny, became vacant by the decease of the incumbent, and thus they continued for several years. When the Presbytery of St Andrews resumed their meetings on the return of the banished ministers, commissioners were appointed to visit these parishes, and to bring them, if possible, to the unanimous choice of a minister. James Melville, who had been nominated one of these commissioners, soon gained the affections of the people inasmuch that they unanimously requested the Presbytery to send him among them. That court no less warmly urged his acceptance, and he accordingly removed to his charge in July, 1586.

It may be readily conceived, that to perform the duties of four parishes was a task far beyond the moral and physical capabilities of any single individual, more especially after they had so long wanted the benefit of a regular ministry. Their conjunction was the result of the mercenary plans of Morton and his friends, but no man was less actuated by such motives than Melville. No sooner did he become acquainted with the state of these parishes than he



determined on their disjunction, at whatever pecuniary loss. When this was effected, he willingly resigned the proportions of stipend in favour of the ministers provided for three of the parishes, while he himself undertook the charge of the fourth (Kilrenny),—he obtained an augmentation of stipend, built a manse, purchased the right to the vicarage and teind fish for the support of himself and his successors, paid the salary of a schoolmaster, and maintained an assistant to perform the duties of the parish, as he was frequently engaged in the public affairs of the church. Such instances of disinterested zeal are indeed rare; but even this was not all. Many years afterwards he printed for the use of his people a catechism which cost five hundred merks, of which, in writing his *Diary*, he mentions that he could never regain more than one fifth part. While he was thus anxiously promoting the moral and religious improvement of the parishioners, he was also distinguished by the exemplification of his principles in the ordinary affairs of life. An instance of his generosity occurred soon after his settlement in his new charge. In the beginning of 1588, rumours were spread through the country of the projected invasion by the Spaniards. Some time before the destruction of the Armada was known, Melville was waited on, early in the morning, by one of the baillies of the town, who stated that a ship filled with Spaniards had entered their harbour in distress, and requested his advice as to the line of conduct to be observed. When the day was further advanced, the officers (the principal of whom is styled general of twenty hulks) were permitted to land, and appear before the minister and principal men of the town. They stated that their division of the squadron had been wrecked on the Fair Isle, where they had been detained many weeks under all the miseries of fatigue and hunger; that they had at length procured the ship which lay in the harbour; and now came before them to crave their forbearance towards them. Melville replied that, although they were the supporters of Christ's greatest enemy the pope, and although their expedition had been undertaken with the design of desolating the protestant kingdoms of England and Scotland, they should know by their conduct that the people of Scotland were professors of a purer religion. Without entering into all the minute facts of the case, it may be enough to say, that the officers and men were all at length received on shore, and treated with the greatest humanity. "Bot we thanked God with our heartes that we had sein tham amangs ws in that forme," is the quaint conclusion of James Melville, alluding to the difference between the objects of the expedition and the success which had attended it.

But, however disinterested James Melville's conduct might be, it was not destined to escape the most unjust suspicions. When subscriptions were raised to assist the French protestants and the inhabitants of Geneva, (cir. 1588), he had been appointed collector for Fife, and this appointment was now seized upon by his enemies at court, who surmised that he had given the money thus raised to the earl of Bothwell to enable him to raise forces. The supposition is so absurd that it seems incredible that any one, arguing merely on probabilities, should believe that money intended for Geneva,—the very stronghold of his beloved presbytery,—should be given to an outlaw and a catholic. Luckily Melville was not left to prove his innocence even by the doctrine of probabilities. He had in his hands a discharge for the money granted by those to whom he had paid it over, and it was, besides, matter of notoriety that he had been the most active agent in the suppression of Bothwell's rebellion. Still, however, his enemies hinted darkly where they durst not make a manly charge, and it was not till 1594, when sent as a commissioner to the king by the Assembly on another mission, that he had an opportunity of vindicating himself. He then



demanding that any one who could make a charge against him should stand forward and give him an opportunity of vindicating himself before his sovereign. No one appeared. Melville was admitted to a long interview in the king's cabinet; and "thus," says he, "I that came to Stirling the traitor, returned to Edinburgh a great courtier, yea a cabinet councillor."

At the opening of the General Assembly in 1590, James Melville preached. After the usual exordium, he insisted on the necessity of maintaining the strictest discipline,—he recalled to the memory of his audience the history of their country since the Reformation, the original purity of the church, and admonished them of its begun decline,—the brethren were warned of the practices of "the belly-god bishops of England;" and the people were exhorted to a more zealous support of the ecclesiastical establishment, and to a more liberal communication of temporal things to their ministers;—lastly, he recommended a supplication to the king, for a free and full assembly, to be held in the royal presence, for the suppression of papists and sacrilegious persons. The activity of Melville, and indeed of the ministers generally, against the catholics, must be considered as one of the least defensible parts of their conduct. We are aware that those who believe religion to be supported by works of man's device, will find strong palliations for their actions in their peculiar circumstances; and we do not mean to deny, that when the popish lords trafficked with foreign powers for the subversion of the civil and religious institutions of the country, the government did right in bringing them to account. They then became clearly guilty of a civil offence, and were justly amenable for it to the secular courts. But when the catholics were hunted down for the mere profession of their religion,—when their attachment to their opinions was considered the mere effect of obstinacy, and thus worthy to be visited with the highest pains,—the protestants reduced themselves to the same inconsistency with which they so justly charged their adversaries. If it be urged in defence, that their religion was in danger, we reply, that the conduct of the catholics, previous to the Reformation, was equally defensible on the very same grounds. In both cases was the church of the parties in imminent hazard; and, if we defend the attempt of one party to support theirs by the civil power, with what justice can we condemn the other? A remarkable passage occurs in the account which friar Ogilvie (a Jesuit, who was executed at Glasgow in 1615) has left of his trial. His examiners accused the kings of France and Spain of exterminating the protestants. Ogilvie immediately replied: Neither has Francis banished, nor Philip burned protestants on account of religion, but on account of *heresy*, which is not religion but *rebellion*.<sup>2</sup> Here, then, is the rock upon which both parties split,—that of considering it a crime to hold certain religious opinions. Both parties were in turn equally zealous in propagating their ideas,—both were justifiable in doing so,—and both equally unjustifiable in their absurd attempts to control the workings of the human mind. Truth, which all parties seem convinced is on their side, must and shall prevail, and the intolerant zeal of man can only prove its own folly and its wickedness. We return to the narrative.

When the king, in October, 1594, determined on opposing the popish lords in person, he was accompanied at his own request by the two Melvilles and two other ministers. Following the Highland system of warfare, these noblemen retired into their fastnesses; and the royal forces, after doing little more than displaying themselves, were ready to disperse, for want of pay. In this

<sup>2</sup> *Relatio Incarcerationis et Martyrii P. Joannis Ogilbei, &c., Duaci, 1615, p. 24.* This is, of course, the Roman Catholic account. Ogilvie's trial, and a reprint of the Protestant account of it set forth at the time, will be found in Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*.



emergency, James Melville was despatched to Edinburgh and the other principal towns, with letters from the king and the ministers, urging a liberal contribution for their assistance. His services on this occasion, and the spirit infused by Andrew Melville into the royal councils, materially contributed to the success of the expedition.

We have mentioned, that at the interview at Stirling, James Melville had regained the favour of the king; but it is probable that that and subsequent exhibitions of the royal confidence were merely intended to gain him, in anticipation of the future designs of the court relative to the church. In the affair of David Black, Melville had used his influence with the earl of Mar, to procure a favourable result; and, although the king did not express disapprobation of his conduct, but, on the contrary, commanded him to declare from the pulpit at St Andrews, the amicable termination of their quarrel, he observed that from that period his favour uniformly declined. Finding, after two years' trial, that his conduct towards James Melville had not induced him to compromise his principles, the king probably considered all further attempts to gain him quite unnecessary.

In May, 1596, the Covenant was renewed by the synod of Fife, and in the following July by the presbytery of St Andrews; on both which occasions, Melville was appointed "the common mouth." After the last meeting, the barons and gentlemen resolved that he and the laird of Reiras [Rires?] should be sent to the king, to inform him of the report of another Spanish invasion, and of the return of the popish lords; but Melville's interest at court was now on the decline, and his mission met with little encouragement. Returning home, he applied himself assiduously to the duties of his parish. He drew up a "Sum of the Doctrine of the Covenant renewed in the Kirk of Scotland," in the form of question and answer. Upon this the people were catechised during the month of August; and on the first Sunday of September, the Covenant was renewed, and the sacrament administered in the parish of Kilrenny.

During the next ten years, the life of Melville was spent in a course of opposition, as decided as it was fruitless, to the designs of the court for the re-establishment of episcopacy. While some of his most intimate friends yielded, he remained firm. There was but one point which he could be induced to give up. He was urged by the king (1597) to preach at the admission of Gladstones, the future archbishop, to the church of St Andrews, from which David Black had been ejected; and he did so, in the hope of benefiting some of his distressed friends by the concession; but it afterwards cost him much uncomfortable reflection. In the month of October he visited, along with others appointed for that purpose, the churches in the counties of Aberdeen, Moray, and Ross. He had entered upon this duty under considerable mental depression and bodily suffering; and it may be supposed to have been but little diminished, when he detected, during the journey, the plans of the court for the re-establishment of the episcopal order. Finding that his labours on behalf of the church had been attended with so little success, he would willingly have retired from public life, and shut out all reflection on so unsatisfactory a retrospect in the performance of his numerous parochial duties: but a sense of what he owed to the church and to his friends in adversity induced him to continue his discouraging labour; and, accordingly, till he was ensnared into England, whence he was not allowed to return, he made the most unwearied exertions in behalf of presbytery. Except the gratification the mind receives from marking the continued struggles of a good man against adversity, the reader could feel little interest in a minute detail of circumstances, which, with a few changes of place and date, were often repeated. Vexation of mind and fatigue of body at length



brought on an illness in April, 1601, which lasted about a year; but this did not damp his zeal. When he could not appear among his brethren, and subsequent illness not unfrequently compelled him to be absent, he encouraged or warned them by his letters. Every attempt was made to overcome or to gain him. He was offered emoluments and honours, and when these could not shake his resolution, he was threatened with prosecution; but the latter affected him as little. When he was told that the king hated him more than any man in Scotland, "because he crossed all his turns, and was a ringleader," he replied, in the words of the poet,

*Nec sperans aliquid, nec extimescens,  
Exarmaveris impotentis iram.*

His conduct on the first anniversary of the Gowrie conspiracy, did not tend to mitigate his majesty's wrath. An act of parliament had been passed, ordaining it to be observed as a day of thanksgiving; but as this act had never received the sanction of the church, Melville and others refused to comply with it. They were, therefore, summoned by proclamation to appear before the council, and the king vowed that the offence should be considered capital. They accordingly appeared: but his majesty, finding their determination to vindicate their conduct, moderated his wrath, and dismissed them, after a few words of admonition. The conduct of Melville, in relation to the ministers imprisoned for holding the assembly at Aberdeen, was not less decided. A short time before their trial, the earl of Dunbar requested a conference, in which he regretted to him the state of affairs, and promised that, if the warded ministers would appease the king by a few concessions, the ambitious courses of the bishops should be checked, and the king and church reconciled. With these proposals, Melville proceeded to Blackness, the place of their confinement; but negotiation was too late, for the very next morning they were awakened by a summons to stand their trial at Linlithgow. When they were found guilty of treason, it was considered a good opportunity to try the resolution of their brethren. To prevent all communication with each other, the synods were summoned to meet on one day, when five articles, relative to the powers of the General Assembly and the bishops, were proposed by the king's commissioners for their assent. On this occasion, Melville was confined by illness; but he wrote an animated letter to the synod of Fife, and had the satisfaction of hearing that they and many others refused to comply. This letter was sent by lord Scorne, the commissioner, to the king; but the threat to make it the subject of a prosecution does not appear to have been carried into effect.

The court, backed by the bishops, was now pursuing its intentions with less caution than had formerly been found necessary. An act was passed by the parliament of 1606, recognizing the king as absolute prince, judge, and governor over all persons, estates, and causes, both spiritual and temporal,—restoring the bishops to all their ancient honours, privileges, and emoluments, and reviving the different chapters. Andrew Melville had been appointed by his brethren to be present, and protest against this and another act in prejudice of the church, passed at the same time; but measures were taken to frustrate his purpose. No sooner did he stand up, than an order was given to remove him, which was not effected, however, until he had made his errand known. The protest was drawn up by Patrick Simson, minister of Stirling, and the reasons for it by James Melville. The latter document, with which alone we are concerned, is written in a firm and manly style, and shows in the clearest manner, that, in appointing bishops, the parliament had in reality committed the whole government of the church to the king, the prelates being necessarily dependent upon him.



Some months previous to the meeting of this parliament, letters were directed to the two Melvilles, and six other ministers, peremptorily desiring them to proceed to London before the 15th of September, to confer with the king on such measures as might promote the peace of the church. Although this was the alleged cause for demanding their presence at the English court, there can be little doubt that the real object of the king was to withdraw them from a scene where they were a constant check upon his designs. Their interviews with the king and his prelates have been already noticed in the life of Andrew Melville, and it is only necessary to state here, that, after many attempts, as paltry as they were unsuccessful, to win them over, to disunite them, and, when both these failed, to lead them into expressions which might afterwards be made the groundwork of a prosecution, Andrew Melville was committed to the Tower of London. At the same time, James was ordered to leave London within six days for Newcastle-upon-Tyne, beyond which he was not to be permitted to go above ten miles, on pain of rebellion. After an unsuccessful attempt to obtain some relaxation of the rigour of his uncle's confinement, he sailed from London on the 2d of July, 1607.<sup>3</sup> The confinement of James Melville at Newcastle, was attended by circumstances of a peculiarly painful nature. His wife was at this time in her last illness, but notwithstanding the urgency of the case, he could not be allowed the shortest period of absence; he was, therefore compelled to remain in England, with the most perfect knowledge that he must see his nearest earthly relation no more, and without an opportunity of performing the last duties. It was considered a matter of special favour, that he was allowed to go to Anstruther for the arrangement of his family affairs after her death; and even this permission was accompanied by peremptory orders, that he should not preach nor attend any meetings, and that he should return to England at the end of a month.

The opposition of Melville to episcopacy continued as steady during his exile as it had been during the time of his ministry. When public disputations were proposed, in the following year, between the ministers who had yielded to the government and those who remained opposed, he disapproved of the plan, and stated his objections at full length in a letter to Mr John Dykes. He considered such meetings by no means calculated for edification, and he well knew that, were their opponents to be persuaded by argument, abundant opportunities had already been afforded them. When the conferences were appointed to be held at Falkland and other places, he opposed them on the same grounds; but, as the measure had been already determined on, he advised his brethren by letter to take every precaution for the regularity of their proceedings and the safety of their persons. As Melville had anticipated, no good effect was produced; the prelates were now quite independent of the goodness of their arguments for the support of their cause, and felt little inclination to humble themselves so far as to contend with untitled presbyterians.

Notwithstanding the decided conduct of Melville, several attempts were again made, during his residence at Newcastle, to enlist him in the service of the king. In the month of October, immediately following his sentence of banishment, Sir William Anstruther<sup>4</sup> waited on him. He was authorized by the king to say that, if Melville would waive his opinions, his majesty would not only receive him into favour, but "advance him beyond any minister in Scotland." Melville replied, that no man was more willing to serve the king in his calling

<sup>3</sup> M'Crie's Melville, second edition, vol. ii. p. 187. The date attached by Wodrow to Melville's embarkation, is the 2nd of June, and to his arrival at Newcastle, the 10th of that month.—*Wodrow's Life of James Melville*, p. 132.

<sup>4</sup> Wodrow's Life of James Melville, p. 133. This gentleman is named Sir John Anstruther by Dr M'Crie; *Life of Melville*, 2nd edit. vol. ii. p. 231.



than he, and that his majesty knew very well his affection—what service he had done, and was willing to do in so far as conscience would suffer him; adding that the king found no fault nor ill with him that he knew of, but that he would not be a bishop. “If in my judgment and my conscience,” he concluded, after some further remarks, “I thought it would not undo his majesty’s monarchy and the church of Christ within the same, and so bring on a fearful judgment, I could as gladly take a bishopric and serve the king therein as I could keep my breath within me, so far am I from delighting to contradict and oppose to his majesty, as is laid to my charge; for in all things, saving my conscience, his majesty hath found, and shall find me most prompt to his pleasure and service.” With this reply the conversation ended.

During his exile various attempts were made by his parishioners to obtain leave for his return. In February, 1608, the elders of the church of Anstruther prepared a petition with that view, to be presented to the commissioners of the General Assembly, and when through stratagem they were prevented from presenting it, another was given in to the Assembly which met at Linlithgow in July, 1609. An application to the king on his behalf was promised; but a reply which he made to a most unprovoked attack on the presbyterians in a sermon by the vicar of Newcastle, afforded the bishops and their friends a ready excuse for the non-fulfilment of this promise. To preserve appearances, the prelates did indeed transmit to court a representation in favour of the banished ministers; but this is now ascertained to have been nothing more than a piece of the vilest hypocrisy. A private letter was transmitted at the same time, discouraging those very representations which in public they advocated, and urging the continuation of their banishment in unabated rigour. Equally unfavourable in their results, although we have less evidence of insincerity, were the fair promises of the earl of Dunbar and of archbishop Spottiswood.<sup>5</sup>

We have already noticed the anxious, though unsuccessful, efforts of Melville in behalf of his uncle. During the whole period of the imprisonment of Andrew Melville, his nephew’s attentions were continued. He supplied his uncle with money and such other necessities as could be sent him, and received in return the productions of his muse. About this period their correspondence, which they maintained with surprising regularity, took a turn somewhat out of its usual course. James Melville had now been for two years a widower; he had become attached to a lady, the daughter of the vicar of Berwick-upon-Tweed, and he earnestly begged his uncle’s advice. The match was considered unequal in point of years, and a long correspondence ensued, from which it became evident, that, while James’s respect for his uncle had led him to request his advice, his feelings had previously become too strongly interested to admit of any doubt as to the decision of the question. Finding his nephew’s happiness so deeply concerned in the result, Andrew Melville yielded, and the marriage accordingly took place. Whatever may have been his fears, it is but justice to state, that this connexion led to no compromise of principle, and that it was attended with the happiest results.

It would seem that the bishops, not content with separating James Melville from his brethren, still thought themselves insecure if he was allowed to remain

<sup>5</sup> Another representation in behalf of Melville appears to have been presented to the Synod of Fife by his parishioners in 1610. Archbishop Gladstones, the only authority for this statement, writes thus on the subject to the king: “As for me, I will not advise your majesty any thing in this matter, because I know not what is the man’s humour as yet, but rather wish that, ere any such man get liberty, our turns took setting a while.” *Life of Gladstones in Wodrow’s Biographical Collections*, (at present printing for the Maitland Club,) vol. i. pp. 274, 5. So little confidence, does it appear, had the bishops in the stability of their establishment.



at Newcastle. They accordingly obtained an order for his removal to Carlisle, which was afterwards changed by the interest of his friends to Berwick. About this period he was again urged by the earl of Dunbar to accede to the wishes of the king, but with as little success as formerly. That nobleman therefore took him with him to Berwick, where he continued almost to the date of his death. This period of his life seems to have been devoted to a work on the proper execution of which his mind was most anxiously bent—his *Apology for the Church of Scotland*. This work, which however he did not live to see published, bears the title of “*Jacobi Melvini libellus Supplex Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ Apologeticus*.” It was printed at London and appeared in 1645.

About the year 1612, Melville appears to have petitioned the king for liberty to return to his native country. He received for answer that he need indulge no hopes but by submitting absolutely to the acts of the General Assembly of 1610. Such conditions he would not of course accept, and he considered his return altogether hopeless. But the very measures which the king and the bishops had been pursuing were the means of carrying his wishes into effect. The prelates had lately assumed a degree of hauteur which the nobility could ill have brooked, even had they felt no jealousy of a class of men, who, raised from comparative obscurity, now formed a powerful opposition to the ancient councillors of the throne. They therefore determined to exert their influence for the return of the ministers, and to second the representations of their congregations and friends. In this even the bishops felt themselves obliged to join, and they at the same time determined upon a last attempt to obtain from the ministers a partial recognition of their authority, but in this they were unsuccessful. James Melville therefore obtained leave to return to Scotland, but it was now too late. His mind had for some time brooded with unceasing melancholy over the unhappy state of the church, and his health declined at the same time. He had proceeded but a short way in his return home, when he was suddenly taken ill, and was with difficulty brought back to Berwick. Notwithstanding the prompt administration of medicine, his complaint soon exhibited fatal symptoms; and, after lingering a few days, during which he retained the most perfect tranquillity, and expressed the firmest convictions of the justice of the cause in which he suffered, he gently expired in the fifty-ninth year of his age, and eighth of his banishment.

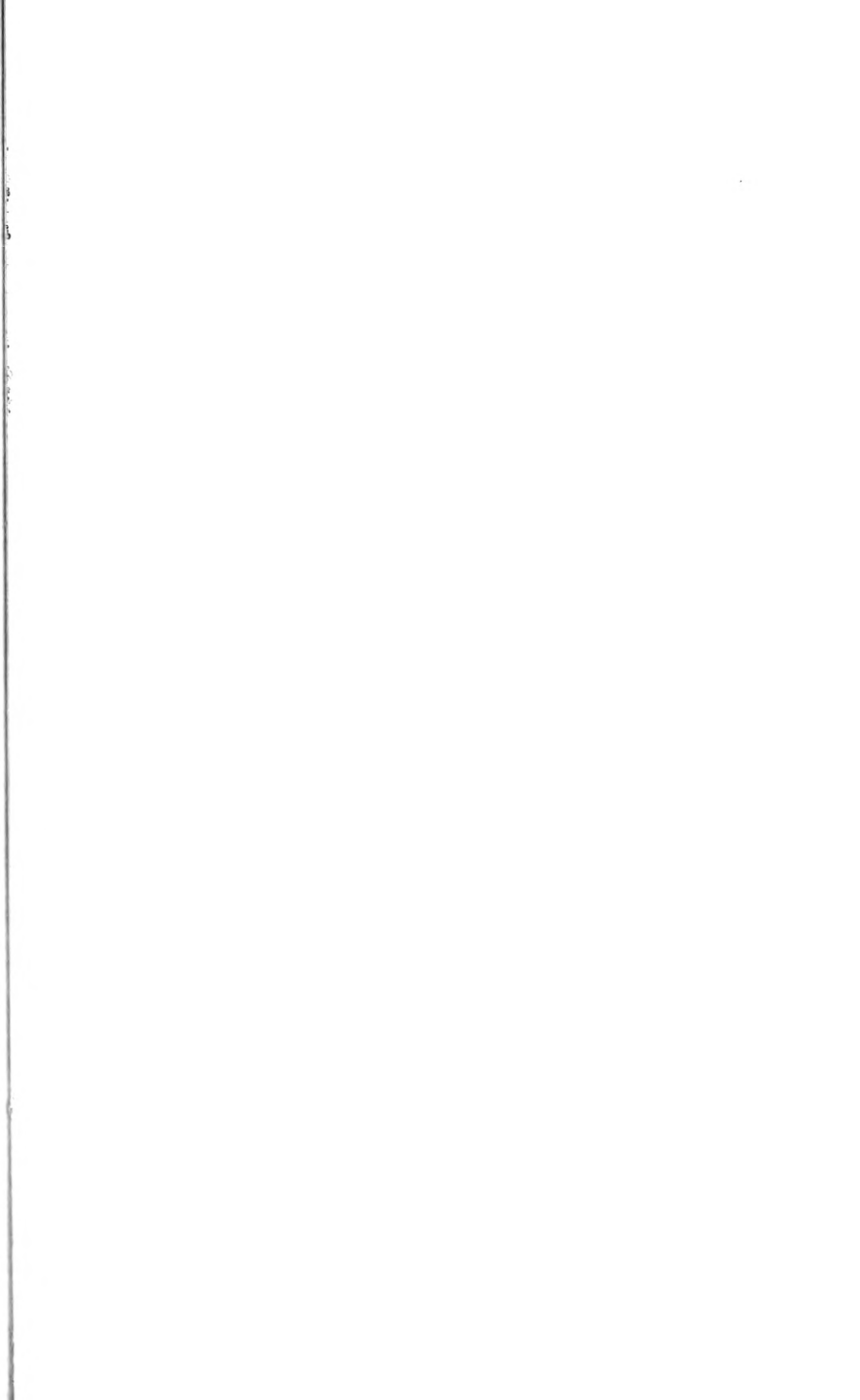
The character of Melville is so fully developed in the transactions of his life, that if the present sketch is in any degree complete, all attempt at its further delineation must be unnecessary. A list of his works will be found in the Notes to Dr McCrie's *Life of Andrew Melville*. Of these, one is his *Diary*, which has lately been printed as a contribution to the Bannatyne Club, and which has supplied the materials for the present sketch up to 1601, where it concludes. This *Diary*, combining, as it certainly does, perfect simplicity of style with a thorough knowledge of its principles,—containing the most interesting notices of himself and other public men, while it is perfectly free from egotism,—and, above all, indicating throughout, the best feelings both of a Christian and a gentleman, is one of the most captivating articles in the whole range of autobiographical history. It is no less remarkable than, in our estimation, it is unquestionable, that the most interesting additions to Scottish history, brought to light in our times, are written by persons of the same name. We allude to the *Diary of James Melville*, and the *Memoirs of Sir James Melville*, with which it must not be confounded. There is one point, however, in Melville's *Diary*, which must forcibly strike every one who is acquainted with its author's history,—we mean the allusion in many parts of his narrative to whatever evils befell the enemies of the church, as special instances of the Divine vengeance for their



opposition to its measures. We mean not to deny that, in many cases, its enemies were highly criminal, although we are just as far from asserting that the ministers did not sometimes arrogate to themselves most extravagant powers; far less do we mean to deny, that the Almighty does, in many cases, for obviously wise purposes, connect the crime and its punishment, even in this world. But against what, if not against this arrogant system of interpretation, can the words of our Saviour, in reference to those eighteen on whom the tower of Siloam had fallen, or those Galileans whose blood Pilate had mingled with their sacrifices, be directed? And what, moreover, according to this doctrine, must we infer from the events of Melville's own last years? We can scarcely consider him, if his misfortunes are to be the measure of our condemnation, anything short of Sallust's description of Catiline,—“*homo omnium quos terra continet sceleratissimus.*”

But while we condemn this theory, in connexion with James Melville's name, justice requires the admission, that it was by no means a peculiar tenet of his,—it was the doctrine of an age, rather than of an individual. It is, moreover, let it ever be remembered, to such men as Andrew and James Melville, that we owe much of our present liberty; and, but for their firmness in the maintenance of those very principles which we are so apt to condemn, we might still have been acting those bloody scenes which have passed away with the reigns of Charles and of James. They struggled for their children,—for blessings, in the enjoyment of which they could never hope to participate. And let not us, who have entered into their labours, in our zeal to exhibit our superior enlightenment, forget or underrate our obligations. The days may come when our privileges may be taken away; and how many of those who condemn the zeal and the principles of their forefathers, will be found prepared to hazard so much for conscience' sake, or to exhibit even a small portion of their courage and self-denied patriotism, in the attempt to regain them?











UC SOUTHERN REGIONAL LIBRARY FACILITY



**AA** 000 841 105 0



